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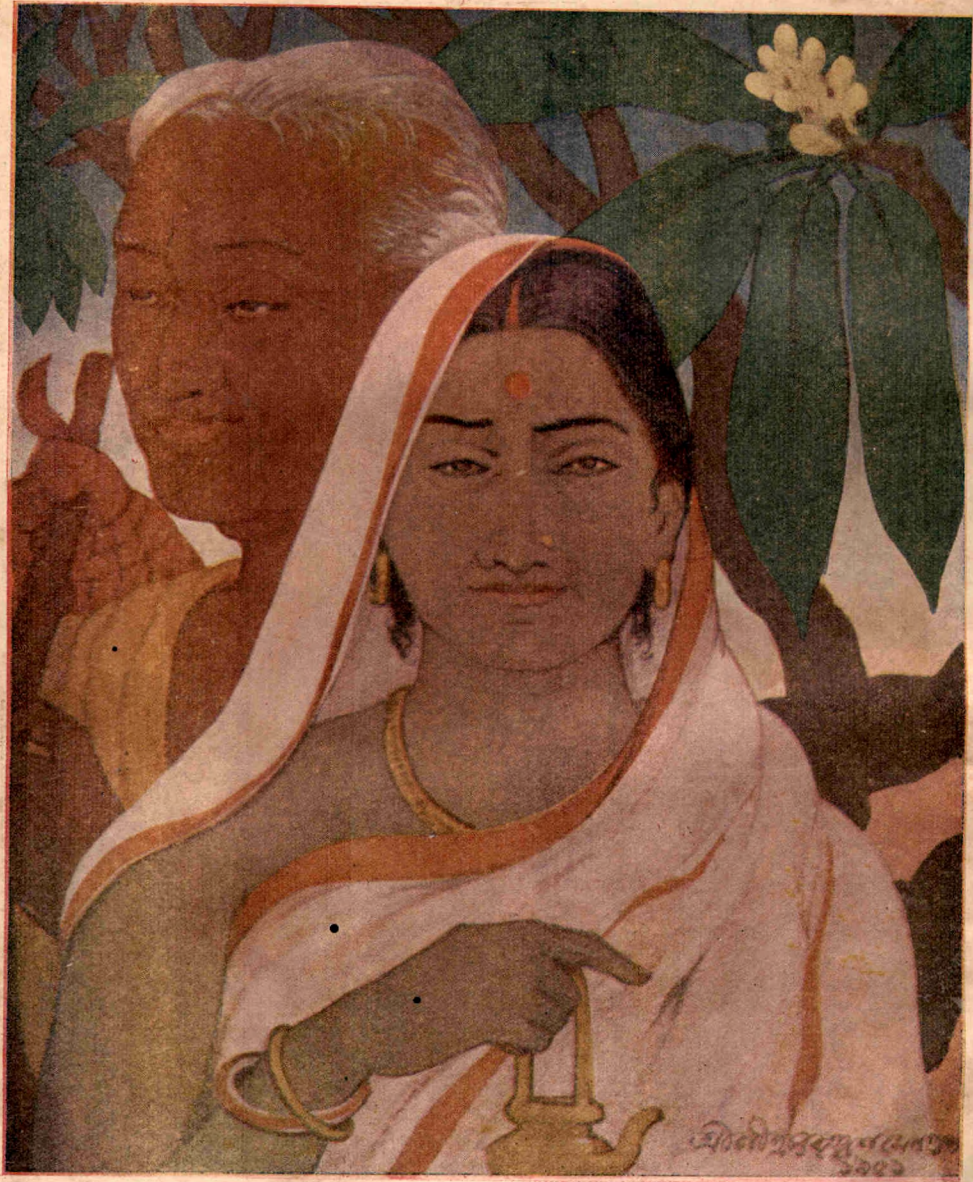


Prime Minister Nehru and President Eisenhower at Blair House in Washington



Civic reception to the Unesco delegates at Delhi. A section of the delegates attending the function





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PILGRIMS  
By Niharranjan Sen Gupta

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

1957—???

The augury for the New Year is a three-fold query. In the field of World Politics, the question is as between Peace and War, with the balance slightly restored towards peace. In the economic sphere, the effect of Suez and Hungary, has already resulted in the upsetting of world prices, which may end by severely affecting trade and industry of the West in general and that of the European nations in particular. And on the combined end-products of the reactions of world politics and economics, depends the progress of humanity.

The status of the United Nations assembly, as a factor for stability in World Politics, has been severely affected by the totally uncalled for aggression on Egypt by two of the five Permanent Members of its Security Council, and further aggravated by the dragooning of the peoples of Hungary by a third Member.

Momentous consultations have taken place, and are likely to continue for some time, between the Premiers of the People's Republic of China and India, and between the President of the United States and Pandit Nehru. How far these will succeed in restoring amity and peace, as between belligerent and suspicious power groups, is still a very complicated and involved question.

At home the elections are imminent. The draft manifesto of the Congress is out, and those of the opposition groups are being hastily recast, in the light of the Congress hand-out, and are likely to be issued any day. The lists of approved candidates, for the elections in the States and the Union, are being published daily. No great departure can be noted, in

either the procedure or the quality and fitness of the nominees, where the Congress is concerned. A few absolute duds have been replaced by either unknown quantities or well-known nonentities, but most of the notorieties have remained undisturbed. The procedure, too, has retained the full flavour of Tammany Hall.

The draft manifesto of the Congress, of which a summary, taken from the *Statesman* of December 30, is appended at the end of these editorials, is a *rechauffe* of the often reiterated statements of the Congress mouthpieces. There are declarations of faith and hope, and claims for credit aplenty, but nothing inspiring and very little that can be substantiated on close scrutiny. It is, of course, subject to ratification at the coming session of the All-India Congress and as a matter, of course, it will be accepted. We hope the last paragraph will be deleted, for it contains the name of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatmaji is dead and the Congress should allow his shades to pass into oblivion in peace.

Regarding achievements, a great deal may be claimed in the terms of steel and concrete and in the terms of that highly elastic quantity—almost as elastic as the conscience of the Congress of today—namely, statistics. But the positive side is more than balanced, adversely, by the degradation and degeneration, physical, mental, moral and educational, where our peoples are concerned. It is an irony of fate that in that respect Congress has also achieved more in ten years than what the British Raj did between 1884 and 1947. All the same the Congress will win the elections, we believe. For, if the Congress means degeneration, the opposition means disruption and/ or chaos.

## *The Second General Elections*

The Second General Elections of the Union of India and the States would be held from February 25 to March 12, and all the results would be known by March 31, 1957, declared Sri Sukumar Sen, Chief Election Commissioner, on December 13. Only in one State—Himachal Pradesh—it would not be possible to hold elections by that time because large parts of the State would be snowbound during that period. The exact dates of polling in the different States would be made known later on.

The elections in 1957 would be held on a bigger scale than in 1952. There are at the moment 18 crores 70 lakhs of voters on the rolls as against 17 crores 50 lakhs in 1952.

There would be 2,518 constituencies for the State Assemblies; of these 583 were two-membered constituencies. These would elect 3,102 members in all to the State legislatures and of these 470 seats would be reserved for the scheduled castes and 221 for the scheduled tribes. In old Andhra area, however, there would be no elections to the State Assembly.

The six Kashmir members to the Lok Sabha would be nominated by the President in consultation with the State Assembly.

The number of polling stations would exceed two lakhs in place of 1,96,084 in 1951. The total number of ballot boxes would be 28.75 lakhs against 25.94 lakhs in 1951. Orders had been placed for printing 51 crore ballot papers.

The number of constituencies for election to the Lok Sabha (House of the People) would be 293, of which 305 would be single-member and 88 double-member constituencies. They would elect 481 members to the Lok Sabha. Nineteen more seats in the Lok Sabha would be filled by Presidential nomination of six members from Kashmir, and the indirect election of thirteen members from the Union territories. Three more persons would be nominated to represent North-East Frontier Agency (N.-E. F.A.), Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Seventy-four seats in the Lok Sabha would be reserved for the representatives of scheduled castes and 29 for the scheduled tribes.

Fewer political parties would be contesting the elections this February than in the first General Elections. Only four parties—Indian National Congress, the Communist Party of India, the Praja Socialist Party and the

Bharatiya Jan Sangh—were able to secure recognition as national parties from the Election Commission. In 1951-52, the number of political parties contesting the elections was fourteen. Besides the four national parties eleven other parties got recognition as State parties from the Election Commission.

## *Tax on Education*

The craze for doing new things sometimes overlooks the consequential developments. The system of new secondary education that is going to be introduced will not only bring chaos in the field of secondary education, it will also increase the cost of school education. We find that many high schools have introduced a "Development Charge" for the purpose of expansion under the new scheme and this charge is to be imposed on the students. Generally, the charge is Re. 1 per month or Rs. 12 per year. School education of late has become much costlier and this new levy will further increase the cost. In many cases school education is costlier than college education. Recently Mr. Deshmukh, the Chairman of the University Grants Commission, revealed in Calcutta that the Government of India is short of funds in respect of the expansion schemes for education. While the funds for secondary education have been raised from Rs. 22 crores in the first Plan to Rs. 51 crores in the second Plan, the cost of primary education has been reduced from Rs. 93 crores in the first Plan to Rs. 89 crores in the second Plan. In a country where barely 20 per cent of the population are literate, primary education calls for more financial expenditure for raising the literacy of the people.

The move for reorganizing secondary education is more political than academic. At present the bulk of the students come to the colleges after the Matriculation examination. But the three years degree course will act as a break to check the rush of students to the colleges. Under the present circumstances a large number of students cannot reach the degree course for various reasons and they pass simply the intermediate examinations and demand jobs or undertake agitation against the Government so long as they are unemployed. The new system will eliminate this type of middle class population by reducing them to the level of the working class. Those who will not be able to obtain degrees, will be offered the jobs of



factory labour, simply because of the lack of higher educational qualifications. At least such people would not be able, as a matter of right, to claim any high grade clerical jobs either with the Government or with the mercantile firms. Those who are fortunate enough to pass the degree courses, will, of course, be limited in number and the Government may not feel much inconvenience in providing them with jobs.

The drive for the new type of secondary education will bring about a reorganization of our social structure inasmuch as it will eliminate considerably the middle class. The social structure will be mainly divided into two classes—the labourers and the high grade officers, the bottom and the top of the society, the middle being eliminated by the process of selection for higher education. We fail to understand why in these hard days the guardians of the students should be subjected to a compulsory levy for vagaries of the authorities in the name of educational reorganization. Who knows it will not go the way of the reorganization and re-reorganization of the railway classes? Planning is good, but when it turns into a frenzy for new things, it is dangerous. All the secondary schools in the country cannot be converted into higher secondary schools and that is admitted by the authorities. It will thus have another adverse effect to the extent that the scope of education is curtailed. The higher secondary schools not being adequate in number to the growing needs of the country, those who will be compelled to take education at the ordinary secondary schools would be placed at a disadvantage in the pursuit of higher college education.

### *Sermons on Taxation*

Sermonising is a practice devised by man often to save him from many predicaments by making it a fine way of expressing nothing or speaking something unpleasant. The Union Finance Minister's speech at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at the Royal Exchange, Calcutta, on December 10, 1956, is just a sermon on higher taxation. The Finance Minister announced that the Government of India had decided to reconstruct the basis and structure of the taxation system in the country. In his view, taxation is to be linked up with a broader investment policy.

That is the rationale of the taxation proposals he has recently put before the country. He says that there is no such thing as optimum taxation. Taxes originally considered impracticable are in course of time not only accepted but even acquire respectability. Income-tax at the early stages was considered an unpardonable encroachment on the liberty of the individual. But today a country that does not impose income-tax is generally considered extremely backward.

The Government considers that the taxation policy at this stage has to be determined in the light of two main considerations: (a) the requirements of the Second Plan and (b) the general economic situation. As regards the former, the Plan requires mobilization of financial resources on a scale not attempted hitherto. The Planning Commission has put forward a target of Rs. 850 crores by way of additional taxation over the five-year period. The outlay required for carrying through the development programmes incorporated in the Plan will require Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 crores more than the total of Rs. 4,800 crores originally envisaged in the Plan. This is partly because some of the financial provisions in the Plan estimates were inadequate and partly because the higher estimates reflect the increased cost on account of higher domestic or external prices.

The Government view is that the general economic situation has also altered somewhat since the Plan was formulated. Prices have registered persistently an upward trend—the general index is now 430—and the danger of inflationary pressures getting the upper hand has to be safeguarded against by taking steps to mop up a part of the surplus purchasing power of the people. This is evident from the fact that the demand for food, cloth, steel and cement has been rising rapidly. "In a sense the creation of new demands all along the line is the very essence of developmental planning."

Two major decisions taken by the National Development Council in the second week of December last, were to raise the target for additional taxation during the Second Plan period and to lower the level of deficit financing contemplated earlier. The increase proposed in the additional taxation is Rs. 100 crores for the year 1957. Of this amount, Rs. 50 crores

will be raised by the Centre and the other Rs. 50 crores by the States. The Council has fixed the outlay on the Plan during 1957-58 at Rs. 900 crores. The proposed outlay for the next year is Rs. 100 crores more than that in the current year. The Council agrees that the Central and State Governments should undertake additional taxation so as to make this outlay possible. As regards deficit financing, whose limit was previously fixed at Rs. 1,200 crores, the Government view seems to be that deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 250 crores per year may be safe for the first three years but subsequently there will be great inflationary pressures on the economy of the country. In pursuance of this taxation policy, the Government has imposed taxation on capital gains and an increase in super-tax on dividends. There has also been an increase in the customs duties on luxury articles.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari observes that an underdeveloped economy suffers from insufficient demand, investment opportunities and production. The vicious circle has to be broken at various points, that is, by a simultaneous expansion of demand and production. One part of the economic policy for the Plan period is to increase production, especially of articles of general consumption like food and cloth, and the other part is an appropriate tax policy aimed at regulating the flow of purchasing power so as to ensure that development proceeds under conditions of economic stability.

The Second Plan is undoubtedly much too ambitious in so far as it oversteps the known and practicable resources of the country. It envisages a rise in national investment from 7 per cent to 10 per cent at the end of the Plan period during which a total amount of Rs. 7,200 crores will be spent (Rs. 4,800 crores in the public sector and Rs. 2,400 crores in the private sector). Taxation is inevitable in modern times, but there is a limit to the taxable capacity of the people. The Finance Minister forgets that in India because of dual polity there is almost invariably double taxation, directly or indirectly, both by the Union taxation as well as by the States' levies. The spate of excise duties and sales tax together constitute a heavy taxation on the people.

In this connection another point should be taken into consideration and it is the growing

inflationary pressure which is also admitted by the authorities. Inflation is a disguised form of taxation and it involves the transfer of income from those who are too poor to save to those who are too rich to consume. The expansive inflation which is now making itself felt on the entire economy of the country is itself a measure of taxation that increases the cost of living. Had the price level been pegged then the burden of taxation would not have been much grudged in so far as it attempted to mop up the excess purchasing power. The inflationary spiral has been further worsened by the imposition of control on the import of consumer goods like butter, blades, etc. The result is that the prices of almost all the commodities have increased considerably during the recent weeks. The rise in prices will increase the cost of living and so also the prices of finished goods. The rise in prices will make the fixed income groups poorer, and the variable income groups richer thereby causing unequal distribution of national wealth. In the face of inflationary pressure more and more consumer goods should be made available. Instead, the authorities are pursuing a reverse course by restricting the availability of consumer goods.

The Government of India is relying upon taxation measures to curb the inflation. It is, however, a matter of great regret that they do not take into consideration the fact that the common people of low and middle income groups are subjected to hardships on account of multifarious taxation systems and in addition higher prices. The launching of the Second Plan has enmeshed the Government in a vicious circle of ever-increasing expenditures, to meet which they are tapping this source and that, but without ever reaching the actual targets, which are shifting. Mere planning on an ambitious scale does not bring materialisation and unrestricted taxation will defeat its own purpose.

We are, however, not opposed to every kind of taxation measure. We agree that there is justification for the imposition of capital gains tax and the super-tax. But we object to the spate of excise duties on essential consumer goods which unnecessarily increase the price and so also the cost of living. The prices of commodities on which excise duties have been imposed have been raised by the dealers at a

much higher rate than what is warranted by the excise duty. In order to do justice to the taxable capacity of the low and middle income groups, purchase tax should be introduced in lieu of the sales tax. In almost all Western countries purchase tax is in vogue as that does better justice to the people. Further, the same commodity should not be subject to double taxation by the imposition of excise duty as well as sales tax. It is better to impose taxation at the source by means of income-tax, super-tax and capital gains tax. In taxes where the incidence can be shifted, there is fraud in all the stages and the price level increases and the higher price is itself a form of disguised taxation. Higher price means higher cost of production in the end and that means enhanced cost of the Second Five-Year Plan.

### *Problems of Tea Industry*

Indian tea industry is said to have been passing through a period of crisis that has been generated through falling exports. The tea industry is the second largest industry in India, coming next to the cotton textile industry. The total capital investment in tea industry is estimated at Rs. 113.06 crores. Of this amount, Rs. 40.51 crores (or 35.8 per cent) represent Indian and Rs. 72.55 (or 64.2 per cent) represent non-Indian capital. Between 1939 and 1953, the figures of shareholdings reveal an over-all fall of 10.4 per cent in the case of the non-Indian sector and a corresponding rise in respect of the Indian sector.

Until recently, the tea exports occupied the first place in India's export trade, but in 1955 the export of jute manufactures headed the list of India's exports. There has been a progressive fall in tea exports. India exported 442 million lbs. of tea in 1950-51; 429 lbs. in 1951-52; 427 lbs. in 1952-53; 471 lbs. in 1953-54; 459 lbs. in 1954-55 and 404 lbs. in 1955-56. The value of tea exports which stood at Rs. 147.75 crores in 1954-55, came down to Rs. 109.14 crores in 1955-56. In recent years the tea export markets have become highly competitive. India has to depend on foreign markets for the disposal of her tea production. In 1955, India's tea production was 665 million lbs. as against 641 million lbs. in 1954. The internal consumption does not exceed 200 million pounds and the balance has to be exported.

India mostly produces inferior quality tea; among her production 50 per cent represents common teas, and only 25 per cent is good tea. The remainder 25 per cent is medium quality tea. In recent years there has been a glut of common teas in the world market and India's difficulty has all the more been aggravated by her excessive production of common teas.

Ceylon is the closest rival to India in tea export. Ceylonese tea is mostly of good quality, 75 per cent of her tea production consists of good quality tea. In 1955, Ceylon produced 380 million pounds of tea and her teas enjoy a monopoly in the markets of New Zealand, South Africa and Middle East countries. The United Kingdom is the biggest market for India's common teas. But in other countries where common teas have a demand, Indian tea is handicapped because of her higher prices. Indonesia, East Africa, Japan and Formosa have the advantage of exporting teas at a much cheaper price. The total world production of tea in 1955 was 1,350 million lbs. as against 1,326 million lbs. in 1954. The total consumption in 1955 was 1,259 as compared with 1,275 in 1954. In 1955, there was a world surplus of 91 million pounds of tea as against 51 million pounds in 1954. This surplus tea production includes mostly common teas and in this India's share is considerable.

The high prices of India's tea are mainly responsible for falling exports. The Plantation Enquiry Commission estimates that the cost of production of hundred pounds of tea was Rs. 131 in 1953. This works out to Re. 1-5 per pound. But in 1955 and 1956, the cost of production has further increased owing to higher payments made to labour. Further, the Union export duty of eight annas per pound must be added to the cost. Then come the Assam Carriage Tax of one anna per pound and the West Bengal Entry Tax of one anna per pound. Lastly, the high cost of railway freight has contributed to the high price of tea in general. The average cost per pound of tea comes to nearly Re. 1-12. But the prices at the Calcutta auctions often do not fetch the cost price of the producers.

The tea industry is the largest employer of organised labour in the country, providing employment to nearly eleven lakhs of workers. The Plantation Enquiry Commission estimates

that the tea production in India will rise to 710 million pounds per year by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan. This would mark an increase of about 45.5 million pounds over the present level of production. The Commission finds that the future of the tea industry is closely linked with the cost of production. India has to produce good quality tea in order to face successfully the growing competition in international market and to develop the internal market also. Unless India makes rapid progress towards producing better quality tea, at a comparatively cheaper price, her overseas markets will be very considerably lost. Improved methods of production and increased productivity of labour will have to help in turning out better quality teas. At present the general charges and payments to labour form the largest parts of the total cost of tea production.

Although the rapid Indianisation in the tea industry has been a welcome feature, it has not brought unmixed good. The Indian owners of tea gardens are more interested in quantity, rather than in quality. Quality has been sacrificed to a great extent in order to raise larger volume of tea crops. This aspect of our tea trade was referred to by the Union Finance Minister in his speech to Export Advisory Council on November 27, 1956. Mr. Krishnamachari said that if the recent changes in the ownership and management of tea gardens were in any way likely to jeopardize the export trade in tea, "the Government will have to take a more serious interest in the management of the tea gardens."

In recent weeks there has been increasing demand from overseas markets. The stocks in London are low and the demand for higher exports to London auctions is increasing. It is gratifying to note that Russia has purchased twenty million pounds of Indian tea at the Calcutta auctions and Ireland is also purchasing a considerable quantity. The export quota system unnecessarily pegs Indian tea exports. The authorities should remember that Britain is the best buyer of India's common teas and it will be a great loss to India if the U.K. market is not fully utilised. The price of the export quota has been steadily rising and in the first week of December last it went up to 102 ples per pound. The ceiling of export for direct sale in London in 1955-56 was fixed at 140

million pounds. For the 1956-57 season the export quota has been fixed at 160 million pounds. The Government of India's hesitant attitude in the grant of export quota is unfortunate as it discourages further export to London. The Plantation Enquiry Commission recommends that the export quota system should be abolished. This will affect to some extent the income of the small producers. The Commission has made recommendations that these producers should be granted assistance like subsidised issues of manures and supplies of equipment accompanied by technical assistance.

The provisional estimates of production for the year 1956 place North-India tea production at 540 million pounds and the figure for the South Indian tea gardens is estimated at 125 million pounds. Domestic consumption is estimated to be between 180 to 200 million pounds and thus nearly 465 million pounds will be available for export. The record of tea, which competes with jute for primacy of place in our export trade, is better in 1956 than in 1955. In the first nine months of 1956, India exported as much as 356 million pounds as against 260 million pounds in the corresponding period of 1955. The external price of tea is fortunately tending to rise again and it is hoped that tea will continue to make its rightful contribution to our foreign exchange resources. To promote export, the ceiling of 160 million pounds for the London auctions seems to be inadequate. The Tea Board is reported to have recommended for a fresh release of 10 per cent export quota of the best crop basis. The Government of India so far have released export quota to the extent of 50 per cent of the best crop basis, and this amounts to 346.5 million pounds. As 84 million pounds of tea were exported during the current season under special licences, the total shipments come to about 430 million pounds as compared with 450 million pounds shipped in 1954-55 and 466 million pounds in 1953-54. Further release for export will not cause any shortage in the internal market as the demands in the Calcutta auctions are poor.

The Plantation Enquiry Commission has made a notable suggestion with regard to retail distribution of tea in India. The Commission finds that packet tea sold in India was on the average 52.94 per cent of the total amount of

tea estimated to be available for internal consumption during the four years 1951-1954. The effect of a higher rate of excise duty on tea sold in packages than on loose tea has been to stimulate the retail distribution of tea in loose form rather than in packages. The Commission considers this to be undesirable since it has the effect of encouraging the distribution of an article of human consumption in a less hygienic form. Such a practice facilitates adulteration of tea with other materials. The Commission, therefore, rightly recommends that the differential rates of excise duties on packed and loose tea should be abolished and the old uniform rate of duty of three annas per pound on all tea restored. For all producers whose total production does not exceed 5,000 pounds a year, the excise duty should continue to be levied at the present rate of one anna per pound only.

In order to increase the consumption of Indian tea it is imperative that the prices should be considerably lowered. If blenders reduce their overheads and share of profits, at least in respect of the popular grades, it will lower the price and internal consumption is sure to expand. The Plantation Enquiry Commission feels that the prices of tea are high and call for reduction if internal consumption is to be increased. The Tea Board may undertake packing and distribution under its own distinguishing labels. As regards the profits earned by the tea industry, the Plantation Enquiry Commission finds that generally speaking the ratio of gross profits to total capital invested in the industry has been high. The remuneration paid to the managing agents is based partly on a percentage of gross sales and partly on a percentage of profits, a fixed minimum in certain cases being prescribed. This results in substantial payments having to be made to the managing agents as their commission, even when profits are low or non-existent as in 1951 and 1952.

The Commission feels that the tea industry has to bear several types of taxes which contribute in no small degree towards raising the prices. For determining the world price of tea for fixation of the slab for export duty, the Commission recommends that instead of taking only the previous month's weighted average of the prices ruling at the London auctions; the preceding six months' average should be taken

into consideration. The agricultural income-tax on tea plantations should also be made uniform for all States. The agricultural income-tax on tea industry may be levied and collected by the Central Government and then distributed to the States on the same principle on which the divisible pool of the income-tax is now distributed. The Commission has also recommended the abolition of the West Bengal Entry Tax of one anna per pound as this is inconsistent with the policy of encouraging the auctions in Calcutta. The Assam Carriage Tax of one anna per pound should also be abolished.

As regards the marketing of tea primary sales, the brokers have come to occupy an unusually strong position in the marketing of tea in Calcutta. The business is concentrated in a few hands. The valuation at present is practically determined by the same broker in his dual capacity. He communicates both to the seller and the buyer the prices and thus exercises considerable influence over the auction prices. The selling and the buying brokers should be separate and they must not have any connection with the management nor should they be major shareholders in any tea estate or any connection with the trade and exports of tea. The Tea Board should regulate and control the sale of tea in the Cochin and Calcutta auctions.

With regard to the financial requirements of the industry, the Plantation Enquiry Commission finds that the annual average of the working capital requirements for the three years 1951 to 1953 works out to Rs. 1,290 for North India and Rs. 727 for South India. The main resources are reserves and advances by the managing agents. The brokers and commercial banks constitute the external sources of finance. The total bank advances during the three years ending 1953 were on the average Rs. 36.82 crores per year. The levy by some of the banks of a charge on gross sale proceeds in addition to interests is unjustified and the Reserve Bank should see that this undesirable practice is stopped. The State Bank should open branches in tea plantation areas so as to be the main source of supply of working capital to the tea industry. In this respect the tea plantation should be placed on the same footing with other agricultural productions.

### India and the Commonwealth

The British attack on Egypt naturally provoked in many minds thoughts regarding the usefulness of India's continued membership of the Commonwealth. Criticisms of India's Commonwealth ties began to be voiced even in quarters hitherto considered to be sympathetic to Britain. The hostility of at least a section of Congressmen found expression in a resolution moved during the last Calcutta session of the All-India Congress Committee. The resolution failed to secure adoption only because of Pandit Nehru's vigorous opposition. Among those who had raised their voices against the Commonwealth, the most notable was Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, who in an article in the *Swarajya* had called for immediate severance of the Commonwealth ties.

The matter was discussed in the Rajya Sabha on December 7 when a Communist Member from West Bengal, Shri Satyendranarayan Mazumdar, introduced a resolution seeking the Government of India to discontinue India's membership of the Commonwealth.

Moving his resolution Shri Mazumdar referred to India's past opposition to the Commonwealth and said that the central fact against which India's Commonwealth ties were to be judged was the maintenance of world peace. The Commonwealth was supposedly an organization for stabilizing world politics. The Egyptian events had shattered that myth. The British Government had not cared to consult India, who was stated to be an equal partner of the Commonwealth, before the aggression upon Egypt had been launched. India's gains from such ties, if there were any, were not clear to many Indians. On the other hand, India's association with Britain gave the British Government considerable advantage inasmuch as the British Government could use India's good name to "hide their real intentions from the people of the world, from the people of Britain itself."

Intervening in the debate immediately after Shri Mazumdar had spoken Shri Nehru said that it had been the privilege and policy of India to "be a bridge between countries and not to break bridges that already exist. There is enough breakage in the world for us not to add to it."

Shri Nehru said: "Mr. Mazumdar referred

to the feeling in a strong section of the people in regard to this matter. I am prepared to admit that there are many people in this country who, for sentimental or other reasons, would advocate this or approve of it if it takes place. I don't deny that. I think also that those very people or many of them, if we once explain to them, may change their views on the subject. It is very easy in any issue of this type to get people to agree to a sentimental approach to a problem of this type. But it would be a bad day when the Government's policy in such matters is governed by sentiment only, and by the sudden passions of the moment. The member has referred to Rajaji repeatedly and, in fact, based his argument mainly on what Rajaji has stated in this connection. Anything Rajaji says deserves our closest and most earnest attention. He is one of our wise men who has had a great deal of experience. Nevertheless, I feel that even when wise men become unconnected with public affairs and do not have all the aspects of a particular problem, then their wisdom is likely to go astray simply because it is not based on a factual appreciation of the situation apart from other aspects of it. It is a little dangerous in such cases to offer an opinion which is really based on a reaction to some events."

Shri Nehru said that Shri Mazumdar was mistaken when he said that India had always stood for dissociation from the Commonwealth. What India had been opposed to, Shri Nehru said, was Dominion Status and not association. India today had many types of association—trade, cultural, etc.—with different countries. She had no political association "which binds us the slightest with any country." Perhaps, the only other country in the world with such a record was Switzerland. Almost every other country had a binding treaty "tying itself with some other country, whether it is political or military alliance." There were the NATO, SEATO, Warsaw Treaty and the Baghdad Pact. India was the freest. From that point of view India was "less entangled and less committed than almost any other country. But at the same time, curiously enough, we have the closest association with many countries and sometimes opposing countries."

He said that the idea that one could be friendly only with a person or a country whose

policy was identical was a dangerous conception. That was the other way of saying that "you must be in conflict with any country from whom you differ."

In reply to a question by Shri H. D. Raja Shri Nehru said that though the United States of America was not a member of the Commonwealth she was in many ways more associated with the Commonwealth than India was. The association of Britain and the USA was closer in several ways than the association of the Commonwealth countries *inter se*.

The *Hindu* in an editorial article on December 9 writes that nothing had happened during the nine years since independence to show that the reasons, on which India had deliberately decided to retain the tenuous link with the Commonwealth, had lost their force. India's attitude to the Commonwealth was based on a careful analysis of the basic facts that governed international relations. The Commonwealth link was a product of history. Its continuance facilitated the smooth working of certain economic and other relationships which, whatever their origin, have now been voluntarily accepted as being of mutual advantage, the *Hindu* points out.

The newspaper adds that India's membership of the Commonwealth had not prevented her from denouncing even those military alliances which other members of the Commonwealth were members. Neither had India hesitated to denounce the Anglo-French attack on Egypt. "And it is at least arguable that India's moral authority in this crisis was enhanced, not diminished, by the fact that she was a member of the Commonwealth and that she was so sure of her position that she did not think it necessary to seek to reinforce it by threatening to quit the Commonwealth."

"This does not mean," the *Hindu* adds, "that India would in no conceivable circumstances give up the Commonwealth connection. Mr. Nehru has plainly said that he is not making a fetish of it."

### *The Gomulka Report*

The Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland (PZPR) held in October, 1956, was an event of momentous importance in the Communist world. The Plenum restored the ousted leader

Gomulka to his position as the leader of the Party and made way for Marshal Rokossovsky's return to the Soviet Union where he was soon to join the Soviet Cabinet as Deputy Defence Minister. For a Communist State such peaceful changes in authority were remarkable, no doubt; but more significant were the disclosures made in the Plenum about Communism in action in Poland.

Communist "self-criticism," with which the world by now largely familiar, is, as a matter of fact, always carefully designed to conceal the defects of Communism from the public eye. While a single wrong decision involving legality by a non-Communist government with an otherwise clean record would be denounced as legal murder, the deliberate and planned murder of innocent people in the Communist lands are termed as 'mistakes' or mere 'violation of legality'. (Mr. Gomulka, by the way, had also to refer to this aspect of Communist practice in his report. Referring to the Polish Party's characterisation and assessment of the various factors responsible for the utter bankruptcy of the Polish economy, he said that the Party's resolutions gave a "milder appraisal" of the past mistakes. "The Central Committee of the Party has failed, at least, to draw the necessary Party consequences with regard to the people who bear the responsibility for this state of affairs," he said). Considered against such a background the Polish Party's disclosures are of momentous significance.

Mr. Gomulka in his speech before the Eighth Plenum castigated the very Communist system in Poland. His criticism of the Communist system was apparently shared by a number of other responsible members of the Party. Mr. Gomulka said: "In order to change all the bad features of our life, to change the state in which our economy is at present, it is not enough to replace some people with others which is very easy. In order to remove from our political and economic life all the bad things which are hampering its development and which have been accumulated for years, it is necessary to change a great deal in our system of People's Government, in the system of organization of our industry, in the methods of work of the State and Party apparatus" (emphasis added).

How had the Communist system functioned



in Poland? By falsification, exploitation and outright butchery. Statistics were falsified, workers exploited and doubters liquidated.

While the Six-Year Plan had been a failure it was advertised as a great success. "The juggling with figures which showed a 27-per cent rise in real wages during the Six-Year Plan proved a failure. It only exasperated the people even more and it was necessary to withdraw from the position taken by poor statisticians," Mr. Gomulka said.

There had been "unpardonable thoughtlessness" in the management of the mining industry. "The system of work on Sundays was introduced, and this could not but ruin the health and strength of the minds, and at the same time made it difficult to maintain colliery installations in proper working order. The practice was also introduced of employing soldiers and prisoners in some of the collieries," Mr. Gomulka said. With such slave labour 14.6 million tons of coal had been extracted in six years.

Grave mistakes had been made in agricultural policy, by the efforts of enforced collectivisation, Mr. Gomulka criticized the "thoughtless agricultural policy in the past period" which had resulted in the "economic ruin of a great number of peasant farms listed in the category of Kulak holding." Agricultural collectivisation had proved a failure in spite of many state facilities for collective farms. "When estimating the value of overall production per hectare of arable land," Mr. Gomulka said, "we arrive at the following picture: Individual farms 621.1 zloyts, co-operative farms 517.3 zloyts, and State farms 393.7 zloyts, at constant prices. Thus the difference between individual and co-operative farms amounts to 16.7 per cent, while in comparison with State farms, individual farm production was higher by 37.2 per cent."

Summing up the position of the agricultural co-operatives, Mr. Gomulka said: "It is a sad picture. In spite of great outlays, they had smaller results and greater costs of production. I do not mention the political aspect of the problem."

The economic policies followed by the Polish Communist Party and the Government had resulted in a situation where, to quote Gomulka, "We found ourselves in the situation of an insolvent bankrupt. We had to ask our

creditors for a moratorium. In the meantime a considerable part of these credits in the shape of machines and installations has so far found no application in production and will not find any such application for long years to come, and part of it must be considered irretrievably lost."

The political situation had been no better. There was the cast-iron dictatorship of the few over the rest of the country. The constitution had been marked more by its violation than observance. Parliament—the *Sejm*—had been a mockery having had no control over the Government. How law and justice had worked?

"In Poland too," said Mr. Gomulka, "tragic events occurred when innocent people were sent to their death. Many others were imprisoned, often for many years, although innocent, including Communists. Many people were submitted to bestial tortures. Terror and demoralization were spread . . . phenomena arose which violated and even nullified the most profound meaning of the people's power."

In short, Poland under Communist rule, according to the topmost Communist leader of the land, had been marked by "provocation, blood, prisons, and the sufferings of innocent people."

People had been arrested on the streets and after seven days of interrogation released unfit to continue their lives. Though the tortures and bestialities of the "people's police" had been known to every citizen of Poland, the Communist Chiefs had sat cool and indifferent even after repeated requests of intervention by other responsible men. Medieval methods had been employed to extract confession of guilt: the prisoners had often been compelled "to remain standing in their own excrement," their fingernails torn apart. Another form of such torture had been to compel people freeze in the winter frost outside. When the Communist leaders had been approached to stop such atrocities "they did not want to listen."

That the Communist system itself was responsible for such a state of affairs in Poland even the Communist leaders themselves have begun to realize. Mr. Gomulka's remarks have been quoted above. Another top leader of the Polish Communist Party, Mr. Leon Wudzki, also reiterated that the defects lay in the Communist system itself. "The *ty* is one thing," he



said, "but practice has been another. However beautiful the theory sounded, in practice we had such phenomena as unwillingness to work, shirking of duties, bureaucracy, fanaticism, opportunism, chauvinism, anti-semitism and falsehood. The masses dared not criticise us; their mouths were locked and they turned away from us because we in our attitude towards them were double-faced. We said one thing and did another. We liked power . . ."

"We said one thing and did another," Mr. Ludz said. This, however, has been the honourable practice of the Communists all over the world. It is still their dominant practice. Here in India, we have found the Communist Party turning away from truth and printing tendentious Soviet reports on the happenings in Hungary as whole truths. In their eagerness to forestall any serious criticism of the Communist system, which they want to hold up as perfect and all-righteous—the crimes and other misdeeds being ascribed to the whims of one man or other, the editors of the *New Age*, monthly organ of the Communist Party of India, in printing Gomulka's report have carefully omitted the first part in which Gomulka criticized the "system" of People's Government, the "system" of the organization of industry, the "methods" of work of State and Party apparatus.

### *Nehru's U.S. Tour*

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, paid a six-day visit to the United States of America from December 16 to 21. Subsequently, he also visited Canada where he had talks with Canadian Government leaders. This was Shri Nehru's second visit to the USA as Prime Minister of India. The first visit had taken place in 1949.

Political observers attached great importance to Shri Nehru's talks with President Eisenhower—particularly in view of their effects on the solution of such outstanding questions as Kashmir, Middle East and China's admission into the United Nations. In the USA itself the talks were highly publicized and one prominent American commentator went so far as to describe the Nehru-Eisenhower talks as the most significant international development since the summit conference in Geneva.

The *New York Times*, for example, wrote:

" . . . Nehru is one of the great figures of our times—and it is a time of giants. He is a man of remarkable culture and personal charm, a mind that has thousands of years of Brahmin refinement behind it, but one moulded at Harrow and Cambridge. . . . No one can take him away one inch from the India he helped so much to become free and to stay free, but he is a man we can talk to, and one we can and do welcome to our shores without reserve.

"It is good that Mr. Nehru has at last managed to get here, that he will see President Eisenhower alone and at length, that he will renew his acquaintance with the United States and the American people whom he has not seen since 1949. Surely nothing but advantage can come from this visit and we hope it will prove a pleasure as well as a benefit to Mr. Nehru."

On his arrival at the National Airport at Washington, Shri Nehru was received by Vice-President, Richard M. Nixon. In a speech of welcome, Mr. Nixon said:

"This visit has a great deal of significance for a number of reasons. This is a decisive moment in history. You represent the largest democracy in the world, and the United States is the second largest democracy in the world and, while as free and independent sovereign nations our governments do not always agree on policy, we have and share a common dedication and devotion toward developing the kind of a world in which individuals can be free, in which nations can be independent, and in which peoples can live together in peace.

"And we know that the conversations that you have with President Eisenhower and with other members of our government, will not only contribute to better understanding between our two governments and our two peoples, but that it will contribute to the cause of world peace, based on freedom and justice, to which we are all devoted.

"We only regret that your visit here is brief, that you cannot see more parts of our country, but I can assure that all of our 167 million American citizens share this expression when I say we are glad to have you with us, and while you are here, this certainly will be your home."

Reciprocating the sentiments expressed by the Vice-President, Mr. Nixon, Shri Nehru said:

"You mentioned, Mr. Vice-President, of the ideals that govern this great Republic; the ideals of independence and individual freedom. I can assure that we, in India, adhere to those ideals and that we are going to continue to adhere to them, whatever else may befall us.

"We believe in the freedom of the individual, the freedom of the human spirit, and in many other things, too. I have found that there is so much in common, even though we are separated by half the world, between this great Republic and the Republic of India."

The President, Mr. Eisenhower, welcomed Shri Nehru at the White House, saying:

"Mr. Prime Minister, this is an event to which I have long looked forward. It is a privilege and an honour to welcome you to this land—to this house."

The Indian Prime Minister thanked the President and said:

"I have been looking forward to this visit for a long time, and now that I am here I feel happy to be not only your guest, Mr. President, but among the American people who are so very friendly and hospitable."

No agenda was fixed for the talks between the two statesmen. The long hours they spent together were devoted to a discussion of various topics of mutual and general international relations. The first inkling of the nature of the talks was given by Shri Nehru during his conference with Pressmen on November 19 in which six hundred and seventy-five newspapermen were present.

Shri Nehru said that as a result of his private talks with President Eisenhower he had "gathered the impression that the policy of the United States is a flexible policy adapting itself to circumstances. How it will apply this policy I do not know. But it is not as rigid as I thought."

Asked about his impressions of U.S. views about India's policy of non-alignment, Shri Nehru said: "I should imagine there is more understanding of it and, if I may say so, perhaps, a little more appreciation of it."

He disclosed that he had conveyed to the U.S. President the gist of recent talks with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai in regard to some matters of common interest. He, however, declined to answer a question whether the U.S. policy toward China was less rigid than before.

Shri Prem Bhatia, *Statesman's* political correspondent, writes: "... White House sources think the visit has achieved the following valuable results:

"1. It has brought the two leaders closer together and enabled them, at a personal level, to know each other much better.

"2. Through the establishment of this vital personal contact the two leaders have been enabled to appreciate the strains and stresses of their national backgrounds inasmuch as these influence their international policies.

"3. They have thereby made easier the 'follow-up' tasks of diplomats on both sides. In other words, subsequent discussions at a lower level on questions considered by the two leaders will be smoother.

"4. Of greater immediate importance, especially to the U.S.A., is a demonstration through Mr. Nehru's visit that India and the U.S.A. stand together in their search for peace. As 'peace' was the principal objective of Mr. Eisenhower's election campaign this is no small gain.

"Summing up the results of Mr. Nehru's talks with Mr. Eisenhower, the President's knowledgeable Press Secretary, Mr. James Hagerty, told me that the effect on the women of America, who constitute 53 per cent of the nation's voters of the Prime Minister's insistence on peace had been 'tremendous.'

"After all don't forget," he explained, "it's the women in any country who suffer most from war. And, in America, women are very influential in making public opinion."

After his talks with President Eisenhower Shri Nehru arrived at New York on December 20. There he addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations. In his speech before the Assembly Shri Nehru said that the events in Egypt and Hungary had ushered in a certain new phase of historical development. "We have seen in the last few months how world opinion reacts to what it considers evil doings. That is one of the healthiest signs in recent months."

The mere existence of the United Nations was significant. Recently, however, it had shown that "it can face problems courageously and deal them with a view to their ultimate solution. I think that, perhaps, of the many things that have happened in recent years, this is one of the most hopeful."

Referring to the various military pacts and alliances, Shri Nehru said that even if one conceded that such pacts and alliances had some justification at an earlier stage their futility should by now be clear to all. Those pacts did neither add to the strength of a nation since they only made that country or some other country hostile. "Arms are piled up and disarmament becomes more and more difficult. Hatreds continue; in fact, the cold war continues."

Shri Nehru continued: "We have seen that the biggest and strongest nations cannot do their will because of this world opinion. Therefore, we have developed a very strong protection against a country acting wrongly. Why not take that for our protection instead of armaments and the rest? Why not do away with the system of military alliances and pacts, and face each other frankly and openly and, if there is a quarrel, deal with it in the manner individuals deal with a quarrel, trying to settle it by arguments here in the UN and elsewhere?"

He referred to the presence of foreign troops in different countries and said: "We have seen and we know that the presence of foreign forces in a country is always an irritant. It is never liked by that country; it is abnormal." It did not produce even the intended sense of security. Even from a military point of view the presence of foreign troops could be hardly justified in these days when all wars would shape as world wars and would be fought with missiles hurled from vast distances.

Pandit Nehru said that two things must be aimed at:

"One is that, according to the UN Charter, countries should be independent. A country that is dominated by another country should cease to be dominated by that country. No country in the wide world—or at any rate very few countries—can be said to be independent in the sense that they can do anything they like. There are restraining factors, and quite rightly.

"In the final analysis, the UN itself is a restraining factor in regard to countries misbehaving or taking advantage of their so-called independence to interfere with the independence of others.

"Every country's independence should be limited in the sense that it should not interfere with the independence of others. The first thing,

then, is to have this process of the independence of countries extended until it covers the whole world.

"Secondly, there is this idea—these ideas are all allied and overlapping—that we can ensure security by increasing our armaments. This notion has been rather exposed recently because obviously the other party can increase its armaments, too, and so, in a sense, the balance of arms would vary but little. In any event, total destruction may well be the result.

"Therefore, this maintenance of armed forces all over the world on foreign soil is basically wrong, even though such maintenance is with the agreement of the countries concerned. These countries may agree to it through fear of somebody else, in order to seek protection, but it is not a good way of thinking.

"Now, if we could remove these armies, and together with such removal, bring about some measure of disarmament—although I admit the difficulty in doing so suddenly—I believe the atmosphere in the world would change completely.

"I think the natural result would be a much more rapid progress towards peace and the elimination of fear. Furthermore, I do not see how you can make progress so long as you, I, and all of us are constantly afraid and are thinking of becoming more powerful than the other country and speaking to the other country from a position of strength. Obviously the other country thinks in the same way and there can be no great improvement in the situation so long as it is approached from this standpoint."

Giving his impression of the results of talks between Pandit Nehru and President Eisenhower, K. Balaraman, *Hindu's* correspondent in Washington, writes:

"True, the accomplishments of the summit meeting are in the realm of the intangible at present, but their beneficent effect, in course of time, could be considerable. Close personal contact with the President has been established, a strong base of Indo-American friendship has been laid, mutual suspicions between their respective countries have been allayed, the President now has better appreciation of India's policies and objectives and Mr. Nehru for his part has gained better understanding of America's policies. Nothing

but good, both for the United States and India, could come out of all this."

### Egypt and Hungary

The Anglo-French aggression on Egypt and the Soviet aggression on Hungary have been the two issues agitating the people's minds for the last quarter of a year. The Egyptian issue has been simple and people throughout the world had no difficulty in identifying the aggressors—Britain and France—and in condemning them.

Not so in the case of Hungary however. Evasive Soviet propaganda relayed by the Communist press throughout the world combined with equally tortuous Western exaggeration and insinuation have greatly confused the matter. In this context the views of the Government of India, which had all along refused to be drawn into any provocative action or gesture toward the Soviet Union or the Government of Hungary, have served to clear the truth from the mist of conflicting East-West propaganda.

Opening a two-day debate in the Lok Sabha on foreign affairs, Pandit Nehru said: "The major fact stands out that the great majority of the people of Hungary wanted a change, political, economic or whatever the changes were, and actually rose in insurrection after demonstrations, etc., to achieve it and ultimately they were suppressed." While it was true that some outsiders and internal fascist elements had also been present, Shri Nehru added, "The major fact is that the people of Hungary or a very large part of them, claimed freedom from outside control or interference, objected to the Soviet forces (remaining in Hungary) and wanted them to withdraw and wanted some internal changes in Government. That is a basic fact which, I think, nobody can deny."

Another feature of the Hungarian situation was "the extraordinary demonstration of passive resistance" of the people after the fighting had stopped. The people of Budapest had refused to go back to work, refused to take part "in any other normal activities at a time when the city was suffering very greatly by the stoppage of work during the period of armed conflict.

"This resistance of vast numbers of people in a passive and peaceful way," declared Pandit

Nehru, "seemed to me more significant of the wishes of that country rather than an armed revolt which might be organized by some groups here and there."

"There is little doubt that the present movement in Hungary was a popular movement. It was a movement with the great masses of the people behind it, with the workers and young people in it. May be there are a number of people against it—we cannot speak about all of them—but this (the fact that the people as a whole are behind it) has become even more patent by this passive resistance of the people in spite of the heavy armed strength being opposed to them."

Pandit Nehru said that while in Hungary there had been no "immediate aggression" in the sense of something immediately happening as there had been in the case of Egypt, it was a "continuing intervention" of the Soviet troops in Hungary.

The Soviet Armies might have been justified to be present in Hungary under the Warsaw Pact "but that is a small matter. The fact is that subsequent events have shown that the Soviet armies were there against the wishes of the Hungarian people. That is clear enough and if, that is so, any other explanation is not adequate." In the same way as in Egypt, in Hungary too "on a first view of events one sees the great forces of the Soviet Union triumphing in a military way in Budapest and in Hungary."

Pandit Nehru said that he had no doubt about the ultimate victory of the Hungarian people.

"Another aspect of this question," said Pandit Nehru, "is that we have these ideas (of Communism and other 'isms') which people of great merit and of integrity have pursued. Communism gradually became somewhat more respectable in people's eyes, in the sense that Communist Governments functioned as other Governments did. Nevertheless it had that aspect of some kind of a religion being spread, and often spread by intervention. The most recent instance (of intervention) is the fact that undoubtedly the Government in Hungary was not a free Government but an imposed Government and that the people of Hungary were not satisfied with it. If in ten years (since a Communist Government was established in Hungary after the last War) people could not be converted to

that particular theory, it shows a certain failure which is far greater, it seems to me, than the failure of a military coup. It indicates that all of us, whether we are Communists or non-Communists or anti-Communists, have to think afresh.

"Therefore, apart from the outward features of the present crisis, there is this crisis of conscience, a spiritual crisis almost, in people's minds and I hope that more strong reactions to events will not smother this spiritual crisis and this attempt to find a better way of international co-operation."

Replying to the debate on his speech Shri Nehru told the Lok Sabha on November 20 that the events in Hungary resulting in suppression by Soviet troops would probably have taken a "different turn if there had been no invasion of Egypt." So far as the Soviet Communism was concerned, he added, "Quite apart from its military adventure, it has done something which has uprooted the deep faith in it of many Communists."

On November 24, the Soviet authorities in Hungary abducted Imre Nagy, former Hungarian Prime Minister, who had taken refuge at the Yugoslav legation at Budapest, Mr. Nagy had come out of his shelter at the Yugoslav legation following a Yugoslav-Hungarian agreement which guaranteed the safe conduct of Mr. Nagy and eleven of his supporters together with fifteen women and seventeen children. The party also included the world-renowned Marxist intellectual, Lukas. No sooner had the Hungarian leader and his party come out of the precincts of the Yugoslav legation than the Russian (it was not Hungarian) police party swooped upon them and eventually forced them to go to Rumania instead of to their own homes where they had been scheduled to go under the agreement. The Yugoslav Government took up the matter with the Kadar Government as it involved a breach of the agreement concluded between the two Governments but the Hungary Government proved itself unable to honour its own agreement.

Referring to Nagy's abduction by the Russian forces in his own homeland Pandit Nehru said in the Rajya Sabha on December 3 that it was a serious matter and it showed that the Hungarian Government had either broken

its assurance to Yugoslavia or had found itself unable to keep it.

Shri Nehru reiterated his earlier assertion that the Hungarian upsurge had been a popular rising against the Hungarian authorities in which a large number of people, including workers and trade unions had participated. Everybody including the Communists had admitted that grave errors had been committed by the Hungarian Government and the Communist Party and that the Hungarian people had been justified in their voice and objecting to those things, which had been admitted as mistakes. "But it is sad," Shri Nehru said, "that they went too far in that direction. May be they went too far, but the point is, it was undoubtedly a popular upheaval against certain leading people in their own country."

Shri Nehru said that two things needed to be recognised: the Hungarian people had the right to fashion their own destiny as they liked and the Soviet troops should be withdrawn. In this matter the Government of India had been addressing the Hungarian and Soviet Governments.

He referred to charges of large-scale deportation of Hungarians from Hungary to the Soviet Union and said that India had sponsored a resolution in the United Nations along with some other countries suggesting that the UN Secretary-General and some UN observers should go to Hungary. It was a matter of profound regret that the Hungarian and Soviet authorities had not allowed the UN observer to go there. The Hungarian and Soviet Governments "have said that this will be an infringement on their sovereignty, that these people from outside unsettle settled things. They said that there are hundreds of foreign correspondents and that they do not hide things. But the fact remains that it is most unfortunate that they have not allowed the Secretary-General or the UN observers to go there," Shri Nehru said.

On December 4, the Hungarian Government invited the Secretary-General of the United Nations to visit Hungary and Mr. Hammerskjöld announced that he would go there on December 16. The Hungarian Government, however, promptly said that December 16 would not suit them and that while they had no objection against a visit by the UN Secretary-General the visit could not be ar-

ranged until at a later date than December 16. The Secretary-General declared that a later visit would not be worthwhile. As a matter of fact, the UN Secretary-General had not been allowed entry even till the end of the year.

The situation in Hungary, in the meanwhile, was tense and Soviet bullets confined to take toll of helpless Hungarian lives. Workers refused to join work and the workers staged a highly successful general strike on December 11 even in the teeth of determined opposition by the Kadar Government. The "liberating" role of Soviet troops was given by the following account taken from a *Reuter's* dispatch:

"Budapest, December 6.—The British Legation opened its doors yesterday to a group of Hungarians staging an anti-Russian demonstration beneath the guns of Soviet tanks. One of the tensest moments came when two Soviet tanks charged into women marching to lay wreaths at a statue of Sandor Petoefi, poet hero of the 1848 revolution. All the time the Indian Charge d'Affaires here, Mr. Rahman, drove round the square in a car plying the Indian flag." Guerilla fighting continued even up to December 11.

On December 11, the Hungarian Delegation at the United Nations walked out of the General Assembly in protest against what Mr. Imre Horvath, the Hungarian Foreign Minister, described as the World Organisation's "continued interference" in Hungary's internal affairs. "The walk-out occurred," reported *Reuter*, "while the UN had before it proposals by India urging direct negotiations between the UN and Moscow against the background of a 48-hour general strike in Hungary and guerilla fighting in western areas."

On December 13, Prime Minister Nehru reverted to the situation in Hungary in his speech in the Rajya Sabha. Shri Nehru disclosed that Indian diplomatic representatives had estimated that about 25,000 Hungarians and 7,000 Russians had been killed during the recent disturbances. Shri Nehru confirmed the fact that although large-scale clashes had stopped a considerable measure of passive resistance continued. He quoted Shri K. P. S. Menon, Indian Ambassador to Hungary, as saying that the atmosphere in Budapest was reminiscent of Civil Disobedience days in India. The Indian diplomatic representatives—Dr. J.

N. Khosla and Shri K. P. S. Menon—had stated that there was no doubt about the essentially nationalist character of the upheaval. What had been described as reactionary as well as foreign elements had been present but they had played a small part.

Moscow radio broadcast Shri Nehru's statement but omitted the number of the killed. The Hungarian Government clamped a ban on all meetings and demonstrations on December 14. The punishment for violation of that order was imprisonment ranging from six months to five years.

More than one lakh and thirty-four thousand Hungarians had to leave their country since October 23 for fear of their lives.

The impact of the events in Hungary was so great that even some Communists were also beginning to see truth about Hungary as would appear from the Polish Communist leader, Mr. Gerzy Morawski's speech before the Italian Communist Party Congress in Rome on December 12. Mr. Morawski, a member of the Polish Communist Party's Political Bureau, declared that the Hungarian uprising and the Poznan revolt had been "entirely due to our own errors." According to *Reuter*:

"The 4,064 Italian delegates had on previous days heard an authoritative Soviet spokesman as well as their own leaders, state that the uprisings were caused by the 'revolutionary campaign launched by the Western imperialists.'

"An unexpected burst of applause greeted the Polish delegate's declaration that the Hungarian and Poznan rebellions could not be reduced simply to diversionary and provocative activities inspired from abroad."

"Madame Katerina Furtseva, only woman member of the Soviet Presidium and leader of the Soviet delegation, and Signor Togliatti, Italy's Communist leader, sat motionless as a bigger wave of applause followed Mr. Morawski's statement that 'coercive measures must be supported by the great majority of the working class—they must be in accordance with Socialist humanity and must be approved by the masses.'

"Mr. Morawski, after appealing for more democratic methods within the Communist system, added that the relations between the Communist parties of individual countries must

be governed by 'the independence and autonomy of each party'.

"His attack on the official line was immediately continued by the Italian Communist labour leader, Signor di Vittorio, who insisted that 'measures of repression can only be used if they are backed by the mass of the working classes'."

Not so the Indian Communists however. They are doing their best to prove themselves as best pupils of the Kremlin as ever. Thus the Party's weekly organ *The New Age*, December 23, editorially castigated the Indian press and the Government for their support of the Hungarian nationalists in their fight against Soviet military domination. It has no words of sympathy for the thousands of Hungarians killed. All its tears are exclusively reserved for the "heavy Russian casualties!"

Even Shri Nehru is not spared. The weekly sharply takes him to task for his characterisation of the Hungarian uprising as a national movement and calls this "the imperialist assessment of the developments in Hungary." All the Indian Communists were interested in was "what would have happened to Hungary's Socialist system if the insurgents had triumphed." The "socialist system" for which the *New Age* shows such concern had been characterised, viz., to borrow a phrase from Gomulka, "provocation, blood, poisons and the sufferings of innocent people." Unless you are ready to uphold such a system you must be an American agent—such is the way of Communist logic! The fact that a great number of well-meaning people can yet be persuaded to take such a view is, indeed, symptomatic of a great "spiritual crisis" of our times.

### *Japan's Seat in UN*

Japan became the eightieth member of the United Nations on December 18, when the General Assembly unanimously approved a resolution, moved by fifty-one nations including India, the USA, USSR and Britain, calling for her admission. All the seventy-seven nations present on that occasion voted for the resolution. Two States, Hungary and South Africa, were absent.

*Reuter* says: "A great burst of applause went up as Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thai-

land, the Assembly President, announced the result."

Speaking on the occasion Mr. Shigemitsu, the Japanese Foreign Minister, told the members of the General Assembly that Japan desired to occupy an honoured place in the organization striving for "the preservation of peace and the banishment of tyranny, slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from earth." He expressed Japan's determination to strive for peace and national security and existence.

Japan was convinced, he said, that no nation was responsible to itself alone but, rather, that the laws of political morality was universal. Japan would utilize the UN Charter as a guide to conduct and honour its obligations.

The recent happenings in the Middle East, Mr. Shigemitsu continued, had demonstrated the tremendous role the United Nations could play in the maintenance of peace. The UN could play an equally significant role in solving the problems of disarmament. "Being the only country which has experienced the horrors of the atomic bomb, Japan knows its tragic consequences," he said. That was why the Japanese Diet (Parliament) had adopted a resolution on last February calling for the prohibition of the use and testing of nuclear bombs. "It came from a desire that mankind may not again be visited by the horrors of mass destruction. I earnestly hope that under UN leadership the great task of disarmament will be successfully consummated, and mankind secured from a calamitous fate and relieved from the inhibitive psychology of fear," said Mr. Shigemitsu.

Turning to the East Asian situation Mr. Shigemitsu referred to the tension existing in the area and said, "I believe we should separate ourselves from ideological issues and devise a realistic approach to the practical problems involved."

Earlier on December 12, the United Nations Security Council had unanimously endorsed Japan's entry into the world body.

Last year (1955) during the "package deal" admission of sixteen new members into the UN, Japan failed to secure an admission because of a Soviet veto against her as a retaliatory measure against KMT's veto against the entry of Outer Mongolia. This year (1956) also Outer Mongolia's admission was vetoed by



Formosa. The voting in the Security Council was four (Peru, Iran, Soviet Union and Yugoslavia) in favour of Outer Mongolia's admission, two (Cuba and Formosa) against; and five (Australia, the USA, Britain, France and Belgium) abstentions. This meant that even without a KMT veto Outer Mongolia would not have been admitted.

Japan's admission into the membership of the United Nations was a welcome news to the Indian people. The Government of India had consistently advocated her admission into the UN. India was again a co-sponsor of the resolution calling for Japan's admission which the General Assembly eventually approved unanimously. The Japanese people, as Mr. Shigemitsu pointed out, had undergone the worst suffering during the last war and they were likely to have realized the follies of warfare. Mr. Shigemitsu's maiden speech before the UN, indeed, reflected that sentiment. In such circumstances, Japan may be assumed to become a factor of peace and stabilisation in East Asia. As a highly developed industrial country with a long tradition of culture, Japan could play a very significant role in many other fields of activity in the international sphere.

While speaking of Eastern Asia it is impossible to forget that China, Asia's largest republic, was as yet unrepresented in the United Nations. It does not require much thought to realize that without the co-operation of a bloc consisting of one-fifth of the world's population, it was not possible to maintain peace.

The question of admission of China had a further bearing on the broader question of greater Asian representation in the various organs of the United Nations. The Security Council, the principal executive organ of the world organization, as at present constituted had no East Asian State in its ranks with the exception of Formosa which was recognised by no Asian country of any great significance. Africa was not represented at all. Such disproportionate representation of the different parts of the world in an organization which claimed itself to be a world forum, could hardly be called satisfactory. Such a situation has arisen only because of the fact that the UN had been designed by its framers as a predominantly Western body. The framers of the UN had

apparently little idea of the sweeping changes that were to occur in Asia and Africa after the Second World War.

The United Nations as an international organisation thus today found itself unable to adjust itself to the changed circumstances. Hence, arose the need for the revision of the Charter. The Charter could not be amended even if only one of the Five Permanent Members of the Security Council (Britain, the USA, France, the Soviet Union and Formosa) would oppose one or the other provision of amendment. The Soviet Union clearly indicated that it was in no mood to tolerate any proposal for revision of the Charter unless China was immediately admitted into the UN. In spite of its seemingly obstructive nature the Soviet stand in reality only underlined the need for a stricter adherence to the principles of international law and morality since under the present circumstances the exclusion of China from her rightful seat in the UN could not be justified on any reasonable ground whatsoever.

### *The Bhoodan Movement :*

A conference of Bhoodan workers was held at Palni in Tamilnad from the 19th to the 22nd November in which several significant decisions were adopted for the guidance of the Bhoodan Movement. The most important of the decisions was the resolution calling for dissolution of the organisation that had so long been carrying on the work of Bhoodan.

The Bhoodan Movement had been launched on 18th April, 1951. At the Sarvodaya conference held at Sevapuri in April, 1952, the Sarva Seva Sangh had adopted a resolution for the collection of twenty-five lakh acres of land in the following two years. In course of the past five years nearly five and a half lakh donors had donated forty-two lakh acres of land and nearly five lakh acres had been distributed to one and a half lakh landless families. *Sampattidan* (gift of property) amounting to eleven lakhs of rupees annually had been obtained from sixty-seven thousand donors.

During the initial stages of the movement a number of local committees had been set up to help propagate the ideas of Bhoodan and the Movement had to rely on financial assistance from Gandhi Nidhi. In view of the progress made and the wide popular response to the



ideals of Bhoodan, the Sarva Seva Sangh decided to dissolve the organisational set-up which had so long been carrying on the Movement from January 1, 1957. The Movement would henceforth be carried on individually by devoted workers in their own locality. There would no more be any financial assistance from the Gandhi Nidhi but financial assistance might be asked from State and Central Governments.

### *The New American Ambassador*

President Eisenhower announced on November 28 the appointment of the new American Ambassador to India. The President named the Democratic statesman, Mr. Ellsworth Bunker to succeed Mr. John Sherman Cooper as America's diplomatic leader to this country.

### *(The Draft Manifesto of the Congress)*

We reproduce below the summary of the draft manifesto of the Congress, as given in the *Statesman* of December 30:

"New Delhi, December 29.—In its draft manifesto for the general elections, the Congress Party has reiterated its objective of establishing a 'fully Socialist order of society' through democratic and peaceful means, and has pledged itself to work for building the 'noble edifice of a new India' on this basis.

"Appealing for a 'renewal from the people of that faith and confidence which they have given the Congress in such abundant measure in the past,' the manifesto expresses the party's determination to labour for the advancement of the people and for world peace.

"The draft, drawn up by Mr. Nehru prior to his departure for the U.S.A., was released to the Press today. It will be presented to the Indore session of the Congress next week for ratification.

"It claims that both in the field of international affairs and domestic problems, 'India's star has grown brighter and her achievements have been notable.'

"Drawing a perspective of the changes in India, the draft says: 'The revolution in India can only be completed when the political revolution is followed by an economic as well as a social revolution. These two latter are gradually taking shape. But, according to India's own genius and method, they take place peace-

fully and co-operatively. Considerable progress has been made and changes will continue, so that ultimately we can establish a full Socialist order of society, giving freedom, welfare and equality of opportunity to all.'

"Nine of the draft's 55 paragraphs deal with foreign policy. The objectives of this policy, it says, are avoidance of war and maintenance of friendly relations with all countries.

"On Goa, it declares that it is impossible for India 'to tolerate a colonial enclave in any part of its territory.' Nevertheless, 'attempts to solve this problem have been peaceful and will continue to be peaceful. These attempts must and will succeed.'

"The Congress will continue to seek peaceful solutions of the problems between India and Pakistan. 'Even though Pakistan committed aggression on Indian territory in Kashmir, India has pursued peaceful methods and will continue to adhere to them.'

"The manifesto says that world peace can be assured only on the basis of Panch Shila. It hails the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries and warns that no attempt should be made to deal with these countries in the old colonial way. 'We have seen recently that such attempts are doomed to failure, just as we have seen that any imposition of foreign authority or ideology cannot succeed,' it adds.

"Pointing out that avoidance of military pacts and alliances is another aspect of India's foreign policy, the manifesto notes that India has sought and obtained the 'friendship and co-operation of nations which are often hostile to each other and has been of some service to the cause of peace in Korea and Indo-China.'

"The 6,000-word draft indicates the Congress line of action in regard to economic planning and says that in economic relations there should be 'no exploitation and no monopolies, and disparities in income should be progressively lessened.' It sets the aim of a 'national minimum in the general standard of living so that everyone has the necessities of life, and the opportunity for education, for maintaining his health and for productive work.'

"The manifesto says that while help from any friendly source must be welcomed, 'the principal burden of finding resources must inevitably fall on the people of the country. But it should be spread out in such a way as to fall

on those who are in a better position to shoulder it. The structure of taxation is being reconstructed with this object in view.'

'In regard to agriculture, the draft manifesto advocates progressive introduction of ceilings on land holdings and stresses the desirability of encouraging intensified methods of cultivation on a co-operative basis. It underlines the need of fulfilling the new target of a 35 to 40 per cent increase in food production by the end of the Second Plan period and points to the role of community projects and national extension blocks in bringing about a revolutionary change in the countryside and developing a 'spirit of self-reliance and joint endeavour in our village people.'

'The co-operative principle, it says, led to industrial democracy, with the progressive participation of workers in industry. Progressive lessening of unemployment and its final elimination is also envisaged. It emphasizes the necessity of maintaining industrial peace as well as peace in educational establishments and says: 'Where any problems or controversies arise, they should be solved by peaceful and co-operative methods without stopping or slowing down the great machine of production which is so essential to the march of the nation to the next stage in its journey to a Socialist commonwealth.'

'Referring to the conflicts that preceded the reorganization of States, the manifesto says: 'In spite of the strong feelings which these changes had aroused, the people of India showed their basic resilience and vitality and their capacity for peaceful adjustment, even when they disagreed. The feeling of provincial separateness is still strong and has to be combated. At the same time, minorities, whether religious or linguistic, must have assurance and the feeling of playing their full part in the varied activities of the country.'

'Elaborating the Socialist concept, the draft says: 'Socialism does not merely signify changes in the economic relations of human beings. It involves fundamental changes in the social structure, in ways of thinking and in ways of living. Caste and class have no place in the Socialist order that is envisaged by the Congress. It is important, therefore, that these new ways of thinking and of living should be encouraged, and old ideas about privilege on

the basis of birth or caste or class or money or the hierarchy of office, should be discarded, men should be judged by their labour, their productive and creative efforts and their services to society and humanity. The dignity of labour should be recognized.'

"On the Second Plan, the draft manifesto says: 'It represents the combined wisdom of the country and has to be given effect to by the joint effort of all our people. This Plan represents broadly the approach to the problems of India in the various fields of national activity. It is a flexible plan and will have to be adjusted from time to time as circumstances demand and as the resources of the country permit. Already certain important changes are being made in regard to resources and the target for food production as well as other matters. The experience of other countries has shown how difficult it is to keep a proper balance between industry and agriculture and between heavy, light and small-scale industries. We have to profit by this experience and aim at a balanced, and at the same time, rapid growth. The growth of heavy industry is essential if we are to industrialize our country and not be dependent on others. But this has to be balanced by small-scale and cottage industries.'

"In conclusion, the draft manifesto says: 'For three generations, it has been the privilege of the Congress to serve and identify itself with the people of India. For over 60 years, it was the standard-bearer in India's struggle for freedom and, under the inspired leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, it achieved success and opened a new chapter in India's long history. For 10 years, it has been responsible for the governance of this great country. The work it has done in Government, or among the people, during these 10 years is before the country for the people to judge. The great adventure still beckons to every person in India and to the success of that adventure the Congress has dedicated itself. It seeks again, therefore, a renewal from the people of India, of that faith and confidence which they have given it in such abundant measure in the past. With renewed strength, firmly based on the goodwill of the people, it is determined to labour for the advance of the Indian people and for world peace."

# GANDHI : MAN OF THE PAST OR OF THE FUTURE ?

By DR. ATINDRANATH BOSE, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D.

"GANDHI's teachings cannot be squared with the belief that man is the measure of all things and that our job is to make life worth living on this earth." So wrote George Orwell in 1949 in an essay because Gandhi had condemned alcohol, meat and sex-indulgence; and he goes on, "One must choose between God and Man, and all 'radicals' and 'progressives' from the mildest liberal to the most extreme anarchist, have in effect chosen man."

The Western critic would not have been worth quoting unless we too were making the same choice of Man against God, i.e., for alcohol, meat and sex against the humanitarian urge and restraint of the soul. Only the Indian epicure wears a false face and pays homage to Gandhi while the Western makes no difference between doctrine and deed. Gandhi is lost to India. He has been rejected by the elite and forgotten by the masses.

It is time to probe into this enigma. Gandhi lives in our history as the architect of freedom but Free India has abjured his ideals. He guided the nation's destiny for twenty-five years. For him the struggle was a part of his experiments with a higher philosophy and idealism. It was expected that India fighting under Gandhian leadership should be a testing ground of Gandhian philosophy. This has not happened in spite of full-throated professions to the contrary. New India is not being built after his vision.

## HIS REALISM AND STATESMANSHIP

The bedrock of Gandhi's leadership was not his philosophy of truth and non-violence but his astute sense of realism. His technique of *satyagraha* or non-violent resistance was eminently suited to a disarmed nation at a backward state of self-consciousness. This technique and the economic programme of *charkha* gave the nation its much-needed unity and spirit of resistance. As the movement gathered momentum and extremist forces reared their head urging for a more radical programme, he met them half-way and moved with time. He accepted the resolution for complete independence and stole the Leftist thunder. He reconciled himself to the programme of non-co-operation through the legislatures and

appeased the Swarajists. After 1935 the national movement began to stagnate under the pressure of the constitutionalists who were willing to backslide from struggle into reforms. But in the fateful year of 1942 Gandhi again rose equal to the occasion and gave the spur to the national struggle through the historic August resolution of the Congress.

Gandhi undertook a fast unto death at Poona to resist the political dissociation of the *harijans* from Hindu society. It is likely that he would have gone to the same length to stop the partition of India had not his lieutenants, all in a body, signed the deed and offered him a *fait accompli*. Unlike many of his disciples, he hardly allowed his political judgment to be clouded either by opportunistic interests or by idealistic utopia.

## TRUTH ABOVE INDEPENDENCE

His realism was different from political opportunism. Throughout the struggle he placed his philosophical principles at the top of national interest. Non-violence was higher than independence. He would better be in eternal slavery than in freedom through violence. For, such freedom will only relapse into a new and worse bondage. On this crucial issue critics of the Left chafed against his leadership and doubted his sense of realism. They accused Gandhi of mixing religious and moral issues with politics and thereby retarding political progress. But Gandhi's ideas were clear on this point. National interest is not confined to the scoring of an immediate gain. Freedom is to be attained; but it is also to be preserved and spread among the masses. National interest lies in the stabilisation of freedom and in its distribution among the largest number. Fraud and violence do not lead to this goal. The human material must be moulded so as to receive the prize of liberty. This is the task of *satyagraha* performed through struggle and service under hard spiritual discipline. The alchemist is to turn base metal into gold, to revive the spiritual values in man and make them the fibre of the social organism and a safe guarantee of freedom. Anything which militates with these values is anti-national whatever proximate political purpose it may serve.

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## LOGIC OF THE MASSES

Yet Gandhi did not underrate the value of the immediate and the temporary. When Ratinindranath raised his voice against the ban on foreign cloth "before the very eyes of our Motherland shivering and ashamed in her nakedness," and against the confusion of moral laws with economic science Gandhi politely refused to draw a distinction between economics and ethics. It is immoral and sinful to buy things which perpetuate the misery of others. "I must consign the foreign garments to the flames and thus purify myself, and thenceforth rest content with the rough *khadi* made by my neighbours." The need of feeding the hungry millions transcends all other standards of value and judgment. Before this supreme task ethics and economics meet and lose their distinction. And food cannot be given. It can only be earned by labour. So the problem of economics as well as of ethics is to find productive occupation for all. Whatever stands on the way is fit to be destroyed. Even God, said Gandhi, cannot face the hungry except in the form of food. This is how he chose between God and man.

Thus Gandhi recast the immediate material issues into the mould of his spiritual philosophy. He had no qualms to pass the earthquake of Bihar as the curse of God against the sin of untouchability. Rational minds like those of Subhas and Rabindranath could not stand such magical formulation of social issues. With Gandhi, God, ethics, food and politics were all identified. This was true to the logic of the masses and so his appeals went straight into their hearts. This was the secret of Gandhi's realism and of his leadership.

## PHILOSOPHY vs. REALITY

Gandhi's philosophy is an indivisible piece. But it was cut across by the inexorable *milieu* of contending forces. His countrymen dissociated his *satyagraha* from his ideology. It was reduced to non-violent resistance and accepted as a useful technique of struggle. It became a means separated from Gandhian ends and broke down completely when the national struggle reached its peak. This could be so because his methodology had a pragmatic and an idealistic aspect while his philosophy was purely idealistic. The latter went far ahead of time and

reality. It was an attack upon the two pillars of modern civilization, viz., the State and technology. With Gandhi the State is "violence in a concentrated and organised form." His Ramarajya is a society of anarchy where man, spiritually regenerated, lives under self-made rules of morality free from the coercion of the State. As the State is an instrument of violence and tyranny, so the mechanised industry is a vehicle of exploitation and greed. Man must get rid of the two soulless machines of State and mechanised production so as to be master of his own self. As a necessary step he advocated compulsory bread labour for all. Physical labour is the corner-stone of *sarvodaya*, i.e., liberty, equality and peoples' rule devoted to the welfare of all.

This philosophy is the very negation of modern Western civilization which has also revitalised the East. The two outstanding contributions of the West to modern progress are the democratic state and scientific production. The only hope of moribund East of rising to its feet again is supposed to lie in the acceptance of these ideals. Europe owes her vitality to these; India must not lag behind. So argued the Leftists and decried Gandhian philosophy as opposed to science and progress.

Time was with them and not with Gandhi. The stateless and classless society presumes a spiritual maturity and moral consciousness which are still a distant mirage. Everywhere the State is centralizing power and running headlong for machines of production and weapons of destruction. The capitalist and the socialist have no difference on this issue. The difference is only over control. The spirit of man and his moral being are stifled by this mad craze for power and wealth. Such a philosophy deserves lip service but is to be silently passed by. Hence, Gandhi had to cry in the wilderness and "plough a lonely furrow." And so after the fighter had led the struggle, the dreamer had to retire and leave the field for his lieutenants who claimed a better sense of reality and agreed not to march ahead of time.

It is no wonder that Gandhian philosophy was thrown overboard and buried seven fathoms deep. The wonder is the currency given to the lie that Free India is progressing along the path shown by Gandhi.

## THE FUTURE?

Gandhi was an anarchist; man has enslaved himself to the State. Gandhi wanted to go back to the moral nature; man is a prisoner of artificiality. Gandhi sought for a life enriched by the spirit; man is absorbed in the worship of mammon. So Gandhi remained a visionary far away from his time. But history moves on. The forms of today fade into the darkness of the past, while the shadows of today assume forms of reality with a new dawn. The State and the productive machine have come on the

stage of history with their lease of life. They have no seal of immortality. Gandhi brought the advance message of the future when their life will terminate. And he remained an enigma to those who live in the present.

Gandhi, the father of the Indian nation, was the true representative of an age of rebirth. Gandhi, the philosopher of the spirit, was a misfit in the age which is groping within a maze of violence and greed. This is the reason why Gandhi is deadened into a god who needs to be worshipped without fear and regard.

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## SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

## (X) Fundamental Rights : Right to Freedom (Continued)

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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## I

We propose to deal in this article with certain aspects of Article 22 of our Constitution as interpreted by our Supreme Court.

## II

Article 22 which has provided for "protection against arrest and detention in certain cases" and thus found a place in the Part of our Constitution dealing with our Fundamental Rights, has laid down as follows:

✓22.(1) No person who is arrested shall be detained in custody without being informed, as soon as may be, of the grounds for such arrest nor shall he be denied the right to consult, and to be defended by, a legal practitioner of his choice.

✓(2) Every person who is arrested and detained in custody shall be produced before the nearest Magistrate within a period of twenty-four hours of such arrest excluding the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to the court of the Magistrate and no such person shall be detained in custody beyond the said period without the authority of a Magistrate.

✓(3) Nothing in Clauses (1) and (2) shall apply—

✓(a) to any person who for the time being is an enemy alien; or

✓(b) to any person who is arrested or detained under any law providing for preventive detention.

✓(4) No law providing for preventive detention shall authorise the detention of a person for a longer period than three months unless—

✓(a) an Advisory Board, consisting of persons who are, or have been, or are qualified to be

appointed as Judges of a High Court, has reported before the expiration of the said period of three months that there is in its opinion sufficient cause for such detention:

Provided that nothing in this sub-clause shall authorise the detention of any person beyond the maximum period prescribed by any law made by Parliament under sub-clause (b) of clause (7); or

✓(b) such person is detained in accordance with the provisions of any law made by Parliament under sub-clauses (a) and (b) of clause (7).

✓(5) When any person is detained in pursuance of an order made under any law providing for preventive detention, the authority making the order shall, as soon as may be, communicate to such person the grounds on which the order has been made and shall afford him the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the order.

✓(6) Nothing in Clause (5) shall require the authority making any such order as is referred to in that clause to disclose facts which such authority considers to be against the public interest to disclose.

✓(7) Parliament may by law prescribe—

(a) the circumstances under which, and the class or classes of cases in which, a person may be detained for a period longer than three months under any law providing for preventive detention without obtaining the opinion of an Advisory Board in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (a) of clause (4);

(b) the maximum period for which any person may in any class or classes of cases be detained under any law providing for preventive detention; and

- (c) the procedure to be followed by an Advisory Board in an inquiry under sub-clause (a) of clause (4)."

It may be noted in this connexion that, so far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, the expression "the Legislature of the State" is to be substituted for the word "Parliament" in clauses (4) and (7) of Article 22 as quoted above.

Let us now see how Article 22 has been interpreted by our Supreme Court. (As Das J. of the Supreme Court pointed out in the course of his judgment in *A. K. Gopalan vs. The State of Madras*, Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 22 "lay down the procedure that has to be followed when a man is arrested. They ensure four things: (a) right to be informed regarding grounds of arrest, (b) right to consult, and to be defended by, a legal practitioner of his choice, (c) right to be produced before a Magistrate within 24 hours and (d) freedom from detention beyond the said period except by order of the Magistrate." "These four procedural requirements," he added, "are very much similar to the requirements of the procedural due process of law as enumerated by Willis." Some of these statutory protections are also to be found in our Code of Criminal Procedure." Thus Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 22 "provide safeguards," to quote the words of Kania C.J., "in respect of arrest and detention," and constitute, as observed by Mukherjea J., "the fundamental rights relating to arrest and detention." These safeguards or fundamental rights "are excluded," as we shall shortly see, "in the case of preventive detention by Article 22(3)," although safeguards of another character in connexion with such detention have been "provided by Clauses (4) to (7) of the same Article.")

With regard to the meaning of the expression "as soon as may be" in Clause (1) of Article 22, we may state here that we shall deal

with it later on in connexion with Clause (5) of the Article.

Before, however, we leave Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 22, we should like to refer to an interesting point of constitutional law: What exactly is meant by "arrest and detention" in these Clauses? Does "the recovery of a person as an abducted person and the delivery of such person," under the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act, 1949, into "the custody of the officer-in-charge of the nearest camp for the reception and detention of abducted persons" constitute "arrest and detention" as contemplated by Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 22? This question arose in connexion with the case known as "*The State of Punjab vs. Ajaib Singh and Another*." The Supreme Court of India held<sup>7</sup> in this case on November 10th, 1952:

(a) that "the physical restraint put upon an abducted person in the process of recovering and taking that person into custody without any allegation or accusation of any actual or suspected or apprehended commission by that person of any offence of a criminal or quasi-criminal nature or of any act prejudicial to the State or the public interest, and delivery of that person to the custody of the officer-in-charge of the nearest camp under Section 4 of the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act (LXV of 1949) is not arrest and detention within the meaning of Article 22(1) and (2) of the Constitution";

(b) that "the fundamental right conferred by Article 22 gives protection against such arrests as are effected otherwise than under a warrant issued by a Court on the allegation or accusation that the arrested person has, or is suspected to have, committed, or is about or likely to commit, an act of a criminal or quasi-criminal nature or some activity prejudicial to the public or the State interest"; and

(c) that "there is indication in the language of Article 22(1) and (2) that it was designed to give protection against the act of the executive or other non-judicial authority."

7. The expression "abducted person" was defined by Section 2(1)(a) of this Act as "a male child under the age of sixteen years or a female of whatever age who is, or immediately before the 1st day of March, 1947, was a Muslim and who, on or after that day and before the 1st day of January, 1919, has become separated from his or her family, and in the latter case includes a child born to any such female after the said date."—See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1953, Vol. IV, Part III, March, 1953, p. 261.

8. Criminal Appeal No. 82 of 1952. See *ibid*, pp. 254-72.

9. See *ibid*, pp. 254-55.

1. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, p. 325.

2. Of course, as shown before, "excluding the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to the court of the magistrate."

3. See in this connexion my preceding article in *The Modern Review* for July, 1956, pp. 31-32.

4. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, referred to in foot-note 1 above, p. 116.

5. See *ibid*, p. 251.

6. See *ibid*, pp. 116 and 325.

We are not concerned here with the facts<sup>10</sup> of the case. We may, however, refer to one or two matters in this connexion for a proper appreciation of the constitutional position. Section 4 of the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act, 1949, which had come into force on December 28th, 1949, provided that "if any police officer, not below the rank of an Assistant Sub-Inspector or any other police officer specially authorised by the State Government in that behalf, has reason to believe that an abducted person resides or is to be found in any place, he may, after recording the reasons for his belief, without warrant, enter and take into custody any person found therein who, in his opinion, is an abducted person, and deliver or cause such persons to be delivered to the custody of the officer-in-charge of the nearest camp with the least possible delay." Now it had been argued that this provision violated Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 22 of the Constitution and was, therefore, *ultra vires* the Constitution. A Full Bench of the Punjab High Court unanimously agreed with this view. Delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court, Das J., however, stated,<sup>11</sup> among other things:

"Broadly speaking, arrests may be classified into two categories, namely, arrests under warrants issued by a Court and arrests otherwise than under such warrants . . . Turning now to Article 22(1) and (2), we have to ascertain whether its protection extends to both categories of arrests mentioned above, and, if not, then which one of them comes within its protection. There can be no manner of doubt that arrests without warrants issued by a court call for greater protection than do arrests under such warrants. The provision that the arrested person should within 24 hours be produced before the nearest Magistrate is particularly desirable in the case of arrest otherwise than under a warrant issued by the Court, for it ensures the immediate application of a judicial mind to the legal authority of the person making the arrest and the regularity of the procedure adopted by him. In the case of arrest under a warrant issued by a Court, the judicial mind had already been applied to the case when the warrant was issued and, therefore, there is less reason for making such production in that case a matter of a substantive fundamental right. It is also perfectly plain that the language of Article 22(2) has been practically copied from Sections 60 and 61 of the Code of Criminal Procedure which

admittedly prescribe the procedure to be followed after a person has been arrested without a warrant. The requirement of Article 22(1) that no person who is arrested shall be detained in custody without being informed, as soon as may be, of the grounds for such arrest indicates that the clause really contemplates an arrest without a warrant of court, for, as already noted,<sup>12</sup> a person arrested under a court's warrant is made acquainted with the grounds of his arrest before the arrest is actually effected. There can be no doubt that the right to consult a legal practitioner of his choice is to enable the arrested person to be advised about the legality or sufficiency of the grounds for his arrest. The right of the arrested person to be defended by a legal practitioner of his choice postulates that there is an accusation against him against which he has to be defended. The language of Article 22(1) and (2) indicates that the fundamental right conferred by it gives protection against such arrests as are effected otherwise than under a warrant issued by a Court on the allegation or accusation that the arrested person has or is suspected to have committed, or is about or likely to commit, an act of a criminal or quasi-criminal nature or some activity prejudicial to the public or State interest. In other words, there is indication in the language of Article 22(1) and (2) that it was designed to give protection against the act of the executive or other non-judicial authority. The *Blitz* case (Petition No. 75 of 1952) . . . proceeds on this very view, for there the arrest was made on a warrant issued, not by a court, but, by the Speaker of a State Legislature and the arrest was made on

12. Section 60. "A police-officer making an arrest without warrant shall, without unnecessary delay and subject to the provisions herein contained as to bail, take or send the person arrested before a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the case, or before the officer-in-charge of a police station."

Section 61. "No police-officer shall detain in custody a person arrested without warrant for a longer period than under all the circumstances of the case is reasonable, and such period shall not, in the absence of a special order of a Magistrate under Section 167, exceed twenty-four hours, exclusive of the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to the Magistrate's Court."—*Ibid*, p. 267.

13. Das J. had earlier stated: "The point to be noted is that . . . the warrant (issued by a Court) *ex facie* sets out the reason for the arrest, namely, that the person to be arrested has committed or is suspected to have committed or is likely to commit some offence. In short, the warrant contains a clear accusation against the person to be arrested. Section 80 (of the Code of Criminal Procedure) requires that the police-officer or other person executing a warrant must notify the substance thereof to the person to be arrested, and, if so required, shall show him the warrant. It is thus abundantly clear that the person to be arrested is informed of the grounds for his arrest before he is actually arrested."—*Ibid*, pp. 264-65.

10. For details see *ibid*, pp. 254-72.

11. See *ibid*, pp. 264-71.



the distinct accusation of the arrested person being guilty of contempt of the Legislature. It is not, however, our purpose, nor do we consider it desirable, to attempt a precise and meticulous enunciation of the scope and ambit of this fundamental right or to enumerate exhaustively the cases that come within its protection. Whatever else may come within the purview of Article 22(1) and (2), suffice it to say for the purpose of this case, that we are satisfied that the physical restraint put upon an abducted person in the process of recovering and taking that person into custody without any allegation or accusation of any actual or suspected or apprehended commission by that person of any offence of a criminal or quasi-criminal nature or of any act prejudicial to the State or the public interest, and delivery of that person to the custody of the officer-in-charge of the nearest camp under Section 4 of the impugned Act<sup>14</sup> cannot be regarded as arrest and detention within the meaning of Article 22(1) and (2)."

Das J. added :

"The taking into custody of an abducted person under the impugned Act<sup>15</sup> is not an arrest within the meaning of Article 22(1) and (2). Before the Constitution came into force it was entirely for the Legislature to consider whether the recovered person should be produced before a Magistrate as is provided by Sections 100 and 552 of the Criminal Procedure Code in the case of persons wrongfully confined or abducted. By this Act,<sup>16</sup> the Legislature provided that the recovered Muslim abducted person should be taken straight to the officer-in-charge of the camp, and the Court could not question the wisdom of the policy of the Legislature. . . . After the Constitution, Article 22 being out of the way, the position in this behalf remains the same . . . The (Punjab) High Court erred on the construction they put upon Article 22."

The Supreme Court also declared<sup>17</sup> in connexion with the case under our consideration:

"If the language of an Article is plain and unambiguous and admits of only one meaning, then the duty of the Court is to adopt that meaning irrespective of the inconvenience that such a construction may produce. If, however, two constructions are possible, then the Court must adopt that which will ensure smooth and harmonious working of the Constitution and eschew the other which will lead to absurdity or give rise to practical inconvenience or make well-established provisions of existing law nugatory."

14. I.e., the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act, 1949.

15. See foot-note 14.

16. See foot-note 14.

17. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1953, Vol. IV, Part III, March, 1953, p. 255.

### III

Let us now pass on to Clauses (3), (4), (5), (6) and (7) of Article 22. As will appear from Clause (3) of the Article, as quoted before, the safeguards provided in Clauses (1) and (2) thereof, as explained above, are not to apply to an enemy alien, or to any person who is arrested or detained under any law providing for preventive detention. A detainee, therefore, need not, as Das J. has observed,<sup>18</sup> be produced before a Magistrate and "he is not to have the assistance of any lawyer for consultation or for defending him." Now the question is: What is meant by preventive detention? ("There is no authoritative definition," says Mukherjea J.,<sup>19</sup> "of the term 'Preventive Definition' in Indian law . . . The word 'preventive' is used in contradistinction to the word 'punitive.' To quote the words of Lord Finlay in *Rex vs. Halliday*,<sup>20</sup> 'it is not a punitive but a precautionary measure.' The object is not to punish a man for having done something but to intercept him before he does it and to prevent him from doing it. No offence is proved, nor any charge formulated; and the justification of such detention is suspicion or reasonable probability and not criminal conviction which can only be warranted by legal evidence." Thus for preventive detention "action must be taken," to quote Kania C. J.,<sup>21</sup> "on good suspicion. It is a subjective test based on the cumulative effect of different actions, perhaps spread over a considerable period," and the purpose of such detention is to prevent an individual "not merely from acting in a particular way but . . . from achieving a particular object." But "a person is punitively detained," says Fazl Ali J.,<sup>22</sup> "only after a trial for committing a crime and after his guilt has been established in a competent court of justice." It may also be noted here that under Article 246 of our Constitution, taken along with Item 9 in the Union List in the Seventh Schedule thereto, our Parliament has an exclusive power to make laws in respect of preventive detention "for reasons connected with Defence, Foreign Affairs, or the Security of

18. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, pp. 325-26.

19. *Ibid.* pp. 249-50.

20. "(1917) A.C. 260 at p. 269."—*Ibid.* p. 249, foot-note.

21. *Ibid.* pp. 121-22.

22. *Ibid.* pp. 146.



India" as well as for "persons subjected to such detention." And it has also, under the same Article, taken along with Item 3 in List III in the same Schedule, a concurrent power of legislation, along with some States, in respect of preventive detention "for reasons connected with the security of a State, the maintenance of public order, or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community" as well as for "persons subjected to such detention."

Let us now analyse Clauses (4), (5), (6) and (7) of Article 22 and see their implications. We shall first deal with Clauses (4) and (7) in this connexion. As shown before, under Sub-clause (a) of Clause (4) no law providing for preventive detention can "authorise the detention of a person for a longer period than three months unless an Advisory Board consisting of persons who are, or have been, or are qualified to be appointed as, Judges of a High Court, has reported before the expiration of the said period of three months that there is in its opinion sufficient cause for such detention." This provision, however, is subject to the limitation that nothing in it can "authorise the detention of any person beyond the maximum period prescribed by any law made by Parliament under Sub-clause (b) of Clause (7)" of Article 22. Secondly, under Sub-clause (b) of Clause (4) no law providing for preventive detention can authorise the detention of a person for a longer period than three months unless "such person is detained in accordance with the provisions of any law made by Parliament under Sub-clauses (a) and (b) of Clause (7)" of the Article. And, as shown before, Clause (7) has laid down that Parliament may by law prescribe—

"(a) the circumstances under which, and the class or classes of cases in which, a person may be detained for a period longer than three months" under a law providing for preventive detention without obtaining the opinion of any Advisory Board referred to above;

"(b) the maximum period for which any person may in any class or classes of cases be detained under any law providing for preventive detention; and

"(c) the procedure to be followed" by the Advisory Board referred to above.

On a careful perusal of Clauses (4) and (7) of Article 22 together, it appears, in the first place, that preventive detention up to three months<sup>23</sup> and without any reference to an Advisory Board, is permitted under our Consti-

tution, provided that the law which permits this has been duly enacted; that, secondly, Article 22 contemplates, as Fazl Ali J., has observed,<sup>24</sup> "three classes of preventive detention":

"(1) Preventive detention for three months";

"(2) preventive detention for more than three months on the report" of an Advisory Board; and

"(3) preventive detention for more than three months" without any reference to any Advisory Board; and that

thirdly, preventive detention is also permissible for any length of time, subject, of course, to the requirements or the duration of any validly enacted law providing for such detention.<sup>25</sup> As Kania C.J. has pointed out,<sup>26</sup> Clause (4) of Article 22 "opens with a double negative." Put in a positive form it means, he says, that a law which provides for preventive detention for a period longer than three months must contain a provision establishing an Advisory Board as required by the Constitution, and that the Board "has to report before the expiration of three months if in its opinion there was sufficient cause for such detention."<sup>27</sup> The proviso to Sub-clause (a) of Clause (4) "further enjoins that even though the Advisory Board may be of the opinion that there was sufficient cause for such detention, i.e., detention beyond the period of three months," yet the detention is not to be permitted beyond the maximum period prescribed by any law made by Parliament under Sub-clause (b) of Clause (7) of Article 22.<sup>28</sup> Further, the whole of Sub-clause (a) of Clause (4) has been made "inoperative by Article 22(4)(b) in respect of an Act of preventive detention passed by Parliament under Clause (7)(a) and (b)."<sup>29</sup>

There is another subtle point to be noted in this connexion. What is the exact meaning of the words "such detention" occurring at the end of Sub-clause (a) of Clause (4)? Do they

23. And not "for less than three months" as Kania C.J. seems to think.—See *ibid*, p. 118.

24. *Ibid*, p. 180.

"If one," Fazl Ali J. has also observed, "has to find some kind of label for these classes for a clear understanding of the subject, one may label them as 'dangerous,' 'more dangerous,' and 'most dangerous'."—*Ibid*, p. 180.

25. Also see Basu, *A Commentary on the Constitution of India*, 1951, p. 184.

26. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, p. 117.

27. *Ibid*, p. 117.

28. *Ibid*, p. 117.

29. *Ibid*, p. 117.

mean simply "preventive detention," or preventive "detention for a longer period than three months"? Judges of our Supreme Court have differed in regard to their interpretation.

"If the first interpretation is correct," rightly says Fazl Ali J.,<sup>30</sup> "then the function of the Advisory Board would be to go into the merits of the case of each person and simply to report whether there was sufficient cause for his detention. According to the other interpretation, the function of the Advisory Board will be to report to the Government whether there is sufficient cause for the person being detained for more than three months."

Waile Kania C.J.<sup>31</sup> and Fazl Ali and Mukherjea JJ.<sup>32</sup> appear to agree with the second interpretation, Patanjali Sastri J. is "inclined to think"<sup>33</sup> that the words 'such detention' in Sub-clause (a) refer back to the preventive detention mentioned in Clause (4) and not to detention for a longer period than three months."

"An Advisory Board," he has argued,<sup>34</sup> "composed as it has to be of Judges or lawyers, would hardly be in a position to judge how long a person under preventive detention, say, for reasons connected with defence, should be detained. That must be a matter for the executive authorities, the Department of Defence, to determine, as they alone are responsible for the defence of the country and have the necessary data for taking a decision on the point. All that an Advisory Board can reasonably be asked to do, as a safeguard against the misuse of the power, is to judge whether the detention is justified and not arbitrary or *malà fide*."

Although there is some force in what Patanjali Sastri J. has stated, we feel, on the whole, inclined to agree with the interpretation which Kania C.J. and Fazl Ali and Mukherjea JJ. have put on the words "such detention" in Clause (4)(a). At any rate, the language of this Clause is not free from difficulties.

So far as Clause (7) of Article 22 is concerned, we may first note what Kania C.J. and Mahajan J. have observed in the course of their judgments in *A. K. Gopalan vs. The State of Madras*.

"Article 22(4) and (7) permit," says Kania C.J.,<sup>35</sup> "the non-establishment of an Advisory Board expressly in a Parliamentary legislation providing for preventive detention beyond three months . . . The important

Clause to be considered is Article 22(7). Sub-clause (a) is important for this case.<sup>36</sup> In the case of an Act of preventive detention passed by the Parliament this clause contained in the Chapter on Fundamental Rights, thus permits detention beyond a period of three months and excludes the necessity of consulting an Advisory Board, if the opening words of the Sub-clause (a) are complied with. Sub-clause (b) is permissive. It is not obligatory on the Parliament to prescribe any maximum period. It was argued that this gives the Parliament a right to allow a person to be detained indefinitely. If that construction is correct, it springs out of the words of Sub-clause (Clause?) 7 itself and the Court cannot help in the matter. Sub-clause (c) permits the Parliament to lay down the procedure to be followed by the Advisory Board in an inquiry under Sub-clause (a) of Clause (4). I am unable to accept the contention that Article 22(4)(a) is the rule and Article 22(7) the exception. I read them as two alternatives provided by the Constitution for making laws on preventive detention."

And Mahajan J. has stated<sup>37</sup>:

"The question for consideration . . . is what object was sought to be accomplished when the Constitution included Clause (7) in Article 22. It seems clear that the real purpose of Clause (7) was to provide for a contingency where compulsory requirement of an Advisory Board may defeat the object of the law of preventive detention. In my opinion, it was incorporated in the Constitution to meet abnormal and exceptional cases, the cases being of a kind where an Advisory Board could not be taken into confidence. The authority to make such drastic legislation was entrusted to the Supreme Legislature but with the further safeguard that it can only enact a law of such a drastic nature provided it prescribed the circumstances under which such power had to be used or in the alternative it prescribed the classes of cases or stated a determinable group of cases in which this could be done. The intention was to lay down some objective standard for the guidance of the detaining authority on the basis of which without consultation of an Advisory Board detention could be ordered beyond the period of three months. In this connexion it has to be remembered that the Constitution must have thought of really some abnormal situation and of some dangerous groups of persons when it found it necessary to dispense with a tribunal like an Advisory Board which functions *in camera* and which is not bound even to give a personal hearing to the detainee and whose proceedings are privileged. The law on the subject of preventive detention in order to avoid even such an

30 *Ibid*, pp. 170-71.

31 *Ibid*, p. 117.

32 *Ibid*, pp. 171 and 281.

33 *Ibid*, p. 210.

34 *Ibid*, pp. 210-11.

35 *Ibid*, pp. 118-19.

36 *I.e.*, *A. K. Gopalan vs. The State of Madras*.

37 *Ibid*, pp. 234-35.

innocuous institution could only be justified on the basis of peculiar circumstances and peculiar situations which had to be objectively laid down and that was what in my opinion was intended by Clause (7). If the peculiarity lies in a situation outside the control or view of a detained person, then it may be said that the description of such a situation would amount to a prescription of the circumstances justifying the detention for a longer period than three months by a law without the intervention of an Advisory Board. If, however, the abnormality relates to the conduct and character of the activities of a certain determinable group of persons, then that would amount to a class of cases which has contemplated to be dealt with under Clause (7). In such cases alone arbitrary detention could be held justifiable by law beyond a period of three months."

(The next point to be considered is: What are the exact implications of the opening words, "the circumstances under which, and the class or classes of cases in which," in Sub-clause (a) of Clause (7) of Article 22? In the *A. K. Gopalan* case, the majority<sup>38</sup> of the Supreme Court have held that Article 22(7)(a) "means that Parliament may prescribe *either* the circumstances under which, *or* the class or classes of cases in which, a person may be detained for a period longer than three months without reference to an Advisory Board," and that "it is not necessary that the Parliament should prescribe both."<sup>39</sup> Their arguments are as follows.)

("It is argued," says Kania C.J.<sup>40</sup> "that Article 22(7) permits preventive detention beyond three months, when the Parliament prescribes 'the circumstances in which, and the class or classes in which,' a person may be detained. It was argued that both these conditions must be fulfilled. In my opinion, this argument is unsound, because the words used in Article 22(7) themselves are against such interpretation. The use of the word 'which' twice in the first part of the Sub-clause," read with the comma put after each, shows that the legislature wanted these to be read as disjunctive and not conjunctive. Such argument might have been possible (though not necessarily accepted) if the Article in the Constitution

was 'the circumstances and the class or classes of cases in which . . . ' I have no doubt that by the Clause,<sup>41</sup> as worded, the legislature intended that the power of preventive detention beyond three months may be exercised *either* if the circumstances in which, or the class or classes of cases in which, a person is suspected or apprehended to be doing the objectionable things mentioned in the Section.<sup>42</sup> This contention therefore fails."

"As I read Article 22(7)," remarks<sup>43</sup> Patanjali Sastri J., "it means that Parliament may prescribe either the circumstances or the classes of cases or both."

Mukherjea J. has said:<sup>44</sup>

"I am also unable to hold that both 'circumstances' as well as (*sic*) 'classes' have to be prescribed in order to comply with the requirement of Sub-clause (a) of Article 22(7). The Sub-clause (a) of the Article lays down a purely enabling provision and Parliament, if it so chooses, may pass any legislation in terms of the same. Where an optional power is conferred on certain authority to perform two separate acts, ordinarily it would not be obligatory upon it to perform both; it may do either if it so likes . . . I am of opinion that it is not obligatory on Parliament to prescribe both the circumstances and the classes of cases."

And Das J. has stated:<sup>45</sup>

"Clause (7)(a) . . . is an enabling provision empowering Parliament to prescribe two things. Parliament may prescribe either or both. If a father tells his delicate child that he may play table tennis and badminton but not the strenuous game of football, it obviously does not mean that the child, if he chooses to play at all, must play both table tennis and badminton. It is an option given to the child. Likewise, the Constitution gives to Parliament the power of prescribing two things. Parliament is not obliged to prescribe at all but if it chooses to prescribe it may prescribe either or both. Clause (7)(a), in my opinion, has to be read distributively as follows: The Parliament may prescribe the circumstance under which a person may be detained for a period longer than three months and Parliament may prescribe the class or classes of cases in which a person may be detained for a period longer than three months. That appears to me to be consonant with

38. Consisting of Kania C.J., Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjea, and Das JJ.—*Ibid*, p. 92.

39. Fazl Ali and Mahajan JJ. have, however, held that Article 22(7)(a) "means that both the circumstances and the class or classes of cases (which are two different expressions with different meanings and connotations) should be prescribed," and that "the prescription of one without the other will not be enough."—*Ibid*, p. 92.

40. *Ibid*, pp. 126-27.

41. *I.e.*, Sub-clause (a) of Clause (7) of Art. 22.

42. *I.e.*, Clause (7)(a) of Article 22.

43. Reference here is to Section 12 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.

The objectionable things mentioned in the Section are "acting in any manner prejudicial to—

(a) the defence of India, relations of India with foreign powers or the security of India; or  
(b) the security of a State or the maintenance of public order."—*The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, pp. 93-94.

44. *Ibid*, p. 216.

45. *Ibid*, pp. 280-82.

46. *Ibid*, pp. 330-31.

sound rules of construction. Further, the circumstances and the class or classes of cases may conceivably coalesce."

It may also be noted here that in the course of his judgment in a later case<sup>47</sup> Patanjali Sastri J. reiterated on May 7th, 1951, the interpretation which the majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court had put on the opening words of Clause (7)(a) in connexion with the *Gopalan's* case. "According to the majority view in *Gopalan's* case," he observed,<sup>48</sup> "Sub-clause (a) of Clause (7) being an enabling provision, the word 'and' should be understood in a disjunctive sense." Kania C.J. also appears to have agreed with this view.<sup>49</sup>

Another legal point was clarified by a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court in connexion with the later case referred to above. The Preventive Detention (Amendment) Act, 1951, which had "extended the operation of the Preventive Detention Act of 1950 for a period of one more year, that is, up to 1st April, 1952," had been "attacked on the ground that it did not fix any maximum period for detention."<sup>50</sup> By a majority the Supreme Court held<sup>51</sup> that "the Preventive Detention (Amendment) Act, 1951, was not invalid on the ground that it did not fix a maximum period for detention, inasmuch as the Act itself was to be in force only for a period of one year and no detention under the Act could be continued after the expiry of the Act."<sup>52</sup>

"Although the new Act," said Patanjali Sastri J.<sup>53</sup> one of the Judges in majority, "does not in express terms prescribe in a separate provision any maximum period as such for which any person may in any class or classes of cases be detained, it fixes, by extending the duration of the old Act till the 1st April, 1952, an over-all time-limit beyond which preventive detention under the Act cannot be continued. The general rule in regard to a temporary statute is that, in the absence of special provision to the contrary, proceedings which are being taken against a person under it will *ipso facto* terminate as soon as the statute expires

(*Craies on Statutes*, 4th Edition, p. 347). Preventive detention which would, but for the Act authorising it, be a continuing wrong, cannot, therefore, be continued beyond the expiry of the Act itself. The new Act thus in substance prescribes a maximum period of detention under it by providing that it shall cease to have effect on a specified date."

(It may, however, be remembered in this connexion that Sub-clause (b) of Clause (7) is, as shown before, "permissive," and that "it is not obligatory on the Parliament to prescribe any maximum period" for detention.)

We shall now deal with Clauses (5) and (6) of Article 22 as quoted before. Fortunately, there have been several decisions in our Supreme Court involving these clauses. As Mahajan J.<sup>54</sup> has observed in the course of his judgment in the *Gopalan* case, "certain procedural rights have been expressly safeguarded by Clause (5) of Article 22." Under it, "a person detained under a law of preventive detention has," says he,<sup>55</sup> "a right to obtain information as to the grounds of his detention and has also the right to make a representation protesting against an order of preventive detention. This right has been guaranteed independently of the duration of the period of detention and irrespective of the existence or non-existence of an Advisory Board. No machinery, however, has been provided or expressly mentioned for dealing with this representation." Thus the Constitution is, as Kania C.J. has also rightly pointed out,<sup>56</sup> "silent as to the person to whom" the representation "has to be made, or how it has to be dealt with." "But," he further observes,<sup>57</sup> "that is the procedure laid down by the Constitution. It does not, therefore, mean that if a law made by the Parliament in respect of preventive detention does not make provision on these two points it is invalid."<sup>58</sup> Another

47. *S. Krishnan and Others vs. The State of Madras (and other Petitions)*.—See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part VI, June, 1951, pp. 621-29.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 628.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 623.

Base J., however, does not appear to have agreed with the view.—*Ibid.*, pp. 643-44.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 621.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 622.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 623.

53. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, p. 223; also see *ibid.*, pp. 326-27.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

57. It may, however, be noted here as a matter of fact that under Section 7 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, a representation could be made by a detainee against a detention order, in a case where such order had been made by the Central Government, to that Government, and in a case where it had been made by a State Government or an officer subordinate thereto, to the State Government; and that under the Preventive Detention (Amendment) Act, 1951, such

point to be noted in this connexion is that "right to an oral hearing and right to give evidence are not necessarily implied," according to Kania C.J., and Mahajan and Das JJ.,<sup>58</sup> "in the right to make a representation given by Article 22."<sup>59</sup> In elucidation of this point Kania C.J. has stated in the course of his judgment in the *Gopalan* case:<sup>60</sup>

Clause (5) of Article 22, "which prescribes what procedure has to be followed as a matter of fundamental right, is silent about the person detained having a right to be heard orally or by a lawyer. The Constituent Assembly had before them the provisions of Clause (1) of the same Article. The Assembly having dealt with the requirements of receiving grounds and giving an opportunity to make a representation has deliberately refrained from providing a right to be heard orally. If so, I do not read the Clause as guaranteeing such right under Article 22(5) . . . It was contended that the right to make a representation in Article 22(5) must carry with it a right to be heard by an independent tribunal; otherwise the making of a representation has no substance because it is not an effective remedy. I am unable to read Clause (5) of Article 22, as giving a fundamental right to be heard by an independent tribunal. The Constitution deliberately stops at giving the right of representation. This is natural because under Article 22(7), in terms, the Constitution permits the making of a law by Parliament in which a reference to an Advisory Board may be omitted. To consider the right to make a representation as necessarily including a right to be heard by an independent judicial, administrative or advisory tribunal will thus be directly in conflict with the express words of Article 22(7)."

And Das J. has stated:<sup>61</sup>

The learned Counsel<sup>62</sup> for the petitioner<sup>63</sup> "insists

representation was to be made "to the appropriate Government."

58. *Ibid*, p. 91.

59. It may, however, be noted here that Section 9 of the Preventive Detention (Second Amendment) Act, 1952, made, as will appear from what follows, some improvement in this respect:

"The Advisory Board shall, after considering the materials placed before it and, after calling for such further information as it may deem necessary from the appropriate Government or from any person called for the purpose through the appropriate Government or from the person concerned, and if in any particular case it considers it essential so to do or if the person concerned desires to be heard, after hearing him in person, submit its report to the appropriate Government within ten weeks from the date of detention."—(The italics are ours).

60. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & and III, April and May, 1950, pp. 122-23.

61. *Ibid*, pp. 327-28.

62. Mr. M. K. Nambiar.

on what he calls an effective opportunity of being heard in person before an impartial tribunal which will be free to examine the grounds of his detention and whose decision should be binding alike on the detenu and the executive authority which detains. The claim may be reasonable but the question before the Court is not reasonableness or otherwise of the provisions of Article 22(4) to (7). Those provisions are not justiciable, for they are the provisions of the Constitution itself which is supreme over everybody. The Court can only seek to find out, on a proper construction, what protection has, in fact, been provided. The Constitution has provided for the giving of the grounds of detention although facts as distinguished from grounds may be withheld under Clause (6), and the right of representation against the order of detention. It has provided for the duration of the detention. There the guaranteed fundamental procedural rights end. There is no provision for any trial before any tribunal. One cannot import the condition of a trial by any tribunal from the fact that a right of representation has been given. The right to make representation is nothing more than the right to 'lodge objections' . . . The representations made will no doubt be considered by the Government . . . Clause (5) does not imperatively provide for any oral representation which a hearing will entail. Indeed, the exclusion of the provisions of Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 22 negatives any idea of trial or oral defence. The Court may not, by temperament and training, like this at all but it cannot question the wisdom or the policy of the Constitution. In my judgment as regards preventive detention laws, the only limitation put upon the legislative power is that it must provide some procedure and at least incorporate the minimum requirements laid down in Article 22(4) to (7). There is no limitation as regards the substantive law. Therefore, a preventive detention law which provides some procedure and complies with the requirements of Article 22(4) to (7) must be held to be a good law, however odious it may appear to the Court to be."

And

"It is now settled by the decision of the majority (of the Supreme Court) in *Gopalan's* case," says Patanjali Sastri J.<sup>64</sup> in the course of his judgment in *The State of Bombay vs. Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya*, "that Article 21<sup>65</sup> (of the Constitution) is applicable to preventive detention except in so far as the provisions of Article 22(4) to (7) either expressly or by necessary implication exclude its application, with the result that a person cannot be deprived of his personal liberty even for preventive purposes, 'except according

63. Mr. A. K. Gopalan.

64. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part II, February, 1951, pp. 189-90.

65. We have dealt in detail with this Article in our articles in this series in *The Modern Review* for April and July, 1956.

to procedure established by law.' Part of such procedure is provided by the Constitution itself in Clauses (5) and (6) of Article 22 . . . If this procedure is not complied with, detention under the (Preventive Detention) Act (of 1950) may well be held to be unlawful, as it would then be deprivation of personal liberty which is not in accordance with the procedure established by law."

Thus the Supreme Court has practically held by a majority, in connexion with *Gopalan* case, that "Article 22 does not form a complete code of constitutional safeguards relating to preventive detention;" that "to the extent that provision is made in Article 22 it cannot be controlled by Article 21"; but that "on points of procedure which expressly or by necessary implication are not dealt with by Article 22, Article 21 (of the Constitution) will apply."<sup>66</sup> Again, what Kania C.J. has observed in this connexion in the course of his judgment in the *Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya* case is also worthy of note here.

"In order," he has said,<sup>67</sup> "that a legislation permitting preventive detention may not be contended to be an infringement of the Fundamental Rights provided in Part III of the Constitution, Article 22 lays down the permissible limits of legislation empowering permitting preventive detention and as and when such law procedure that must be included in any law permitting preventive detention and as and when such requirements are not observed the detention, even if valid *ab initio*, ceases to be 'in accordance with procedure established by law' and infringes the fundamental right of the detainee guaranteed under Articles 21 and 22(5) of the Constitution. In that way the subject of preventive detention has been brought into the Chapter on Fundamental Rights."

"The true meaning and effect" of Clauses (5) and (6) of Article 22 also came in for a detailed consideration by the Supreme Court in connexion with the case referred to above, *The State of Bombay vs. Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya*. Space does not permit us to go into the details of this case or to quote at length the remarkably lucid judgment of the majority of the Court as delivered by Kania C.J. on 25th January, 1951. We shall only refer here to some of the 'principles' which the Supreme Court laid down in connexion with this case—principles which have since materially influenced

the decisions of this Court in several later cases.

(Briefly speaking, the facts of the case are as follows.<sup>68</sup> The respondent, Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya, had been arrested on 21st April, 1950, under Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.<sup>69</sup> On 29th April, 1950, he was "supplied with the ground for his detention which was as follows: 'That you are engaged and are likely to be engaged in promoting acts of sabotage on railway and railway property in Greater Bombay'." Thereupon the respondent filed a *habeas corpus* petition on 31st July, 1950, contending that the ground supplied was "delightfully vague" as it "did not mention the time, place or nature of the sabotage or how" he had promoted it, and that, as "the ground gave no particulars" as required by the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, his detention was illegal and *mala fide*. Pending the disposal of the petition, the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, sent a communication to the respondent on 26th August, 1950, giving further particulars "in connection with the grounds on which a detention order" had been made against him under Sub-section (1) of Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950. When the matter came up before the High Court of Bombay, "the respondent's petition was granted." The High Court held that if these further "particulars had been furnished at the time when the grounds were furnished on the 29th of April, 1950, very likely" it "would have come to the conclusion that the grounds were such as would have led the detainee to know exactly what he was charged with and to make a proper representation." As this had not been done, "the only grounds" which the Court had to consider and which were "furnished in the purported

68. See *ibid*, pp. 167-212: Criminal Appellate Jurisdiction, Case No. 22 of 1950.

69. Section 3(1) of this Act laid down:

(1): "The Central Government or the State Government may—

(a) if satisfied with respect to any person that with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to—  
 (i) the defence of India, the relations of India with foreign powers, or the security of India, or  
 (ii) the security of the State or the maintenance of public order, or  
 (iii) the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community, . . .

it is necessary so to do, make an order directing that such person be detained."

66. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, p. 90.

67. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part II, February, 1951, p. 174.

compliance of Article 22(5) were the grounds furnished" to the detainee on 29th April, 1950. And "as these grounds were not such as to enable the detainee to make a proper representation, there was a violation of" a fundamental right and a contravention of a statutory provision. "That violation and that contravention" could not be "set right by the detaining authority by amplifying or improving the grounds already given." The High Court added: "As we said before, the point of time at which we have to decide whether there was a compliance or not with the provisions of Article 22(5) is the 29th of April, 1950, when the grounds were furnished, and not when further and better particulars were given on the 26th of August, 1950." As we shall shortly see, the Supreme Court did not agree with this line of approach.

The Supreme Court first held<sup>70</sup> in this case unanimously:

"Under Section 3<sup>71</sup> of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, it is the satisfaction of the Central or the State Government, as the case may be, that is necessary, and if the grounds on which it is stated that the Central Government or the State Government are satisfied have a rational connection with the objects which were to be prevented from being attained, the question of satisfaction cannot be challenged in a court of law except on the ground of *mala fides*."

In elucidation of this point Kania C.J. stated,<sup>72</sup> among other things:

"The wording of the Section<sup>73</sup> . . . clearly shows that it is the satisfaction of the Central Government or the State Government on the point<sup>74</sup> which alone is necessary to be established . . . The satisfaction of the Government, however, must be based on some grounds. There can be no satisfaction if there are no grounds for the same. There may be a divergence of opinion as to whether certain grounds are sufficient to bring about the satisfaction required by the Section. One person may think one way, another the other way . . . Whether in a particular case the grounds are sufficient or not, according to the opinion of any person or body other than the Central Government or the State Government, is ruled out by the wording of the Section. It is not for the Court to sit in the place of the Central Government or the State Govern-

ment and try to determine if it would have come to the same conclusion as the Central or the State Government. As has been generally observed, this is a matter for the subjective decision of the Government and that cannot be substituted by an objective test in a court of law. Such detention orders are passed on information and materials which may not be strictly admissible as evidence under the Evidence Act in a court, but which the law, taking into consideration the needs and exigencies of administration, has allowed to be considered sufficient for the subjective decision of the Government."

The Supreme Court also held<sup>75</sup> by a majority in the *Atma Ram Vaidya* case:

"Clause (5) of Article 22 confers two rights on the detainee, namely, first, a right to be informed of the grounds on which the order of detention has been made, and secondly, (a right) to be afforded the earliest opportunity to make a representation against the order; and though these rights are linked together, they are two distinct rights. If grounds which have a rational connection with the objects mentioned in Section 3 (of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950) are supplied, the first condition is complied with. But the right to make a representation implies that the detainee should have information so as to enable him to make a representation, and if the grounds supplied are not sufficient to enable the detainee to make a representation, he can rely on the second right. He may if he likes ask for further particulars which will enable him to make a representation. On an infringement of either of these two rights the detained person has a right to approach the court (of law) and complain that there has been an infringement of his fundamental right, and even if an infringement of the second right under Article 22(5) is alone established he is entitled to be released by the Court."

Further<sup>76</sup>—

"The 'grounds' for making the order which have to be communicated to the person detained as soon as may be are conclusions of facts and not a complete (detailed) recital of all the facts. These grounds must be in existence when the order is made. No part of the grounds can be held back, and after they have been once conveyed there can be no addition to the grounds. All facts leading to the conclusion constituting the ground need not, however, be conveyed at the same time. If a second communication contains no further conclusion of fact but only furnishes some of the facts on which the first-mentioned conclusion was founded, it does not amount to a fresh ground."

70. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, February, 1951, p. 168.

71. See foot-note 69 above.

72. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, February, 1951, pp. 175-76.

73. I.e., Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950. See foot-note 69 above.

74. See foot-note 69 above.

75. *The Supreme Court Reports*, February, 1951, pp. 168-70 and p. 184.

76. *Ibid*, pp. 169-70 and 178-80.

77. As regards the contents of the second communication, therefore, says Kania C.J., "the test appears to be whether what is conveyed in the second communication is a statement of facts or events,



The test, therefore, is whether what is conveyed in the second communication is a statement of facts or events, which facts or events were already taken into consideration in arriving at the conclusion constituting the ground already supplied. So long as the later communications do not make out a new ground, their contents are no infringement of the two procedural rights of the detainee mentioned in Article 22, Clause (5). They may consist of a narration of facts or particulars relating to the grounds already supplied. But in doing so the time factor in respect of the second duty, viz., to give the detained person the earliest opportunity to make a representation, cannot be overlooked."

With regard to the question of vagueness of the ground supplied, the Supreme Court declared:<sup>78</sup>

"What is meant by 'vague'? (Vague can be considered as the antonym of 'definite.' If the ground which is supplied is incapable of being understood or defined with sufficient certainty, it can be called vague. It is not possible to state affirmatively more on the question of what is vague. It must vary according to the circumstances of each case . . . If on reading the ground furnished it is capable of being intelligently understood and is sufficiently definite to furnish materials to enable the detained person to make a representation against the order of detention it cannot be called vague . . . It cannot be disputed that the representation mentioned in the second part of Article 22(5) must be one which on being considered may give relief to the detained person."

The Supreme Court, therefore, further declared:<sup>79</sup>

"The question whether the vagueness or indefinite nature of the statement furnished to the detained person is such that he was not given the earliest opportunity to make a representation is a matter *within the jurisdiction of the court's inquiry and subject to the court's decision.*"<sup>80</sup> )

The Supreme Court added:<sup>81</sup>

"The conferment of the right to make a representation necessarily carries with it the obligation on

which facts or events were already taken into consideration in arriving at the conclusion included in the ground already supplied. If the later communication contains facts leading to a conclusion which is outside the ground first supplied, the same cannot be looked into as supporting the order of detention and therefore these grounds are 'new' grounds . . . it must not create a new ground on which satisfaction of the Government could be suggested to have been arrived at." *Ibid.*, pp. 180-82.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 170 and pp. 184-85.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 170 and p. 183.

80. The italics are ours.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 183-84.

the part of the detaining authority to furnish the grounds, i.e., (the) materials on which the detention order was made. In our opinion, it is therefore clear that while there is a connection between the obligation on the part of the detaining authority to furnish grounds and the right given to the detained person to have an earliest opportunity to make the representation, the test to be applied in respect of the contents of the grounds for the two purposes is quite different. . . . For the first, the test is whether it is sufficient to satisfy the authority. For the second, the test is, whether it is sufficient to enable the detained person to make the representation at the earliest opportunity."

So far as the time-factor was concerned, the Supreme Court held:<sup>82</sup>

"Clause 22(5) lays down two time-factors. The first is that the grounds should be supplied 'as soon as may be.' This allows the authorities reasonable time to formulate the grounds on the materials in their possession. (The time element is necessarily left indeterminate because activities of individuals tending to bring about a certain result may be spread over a long or a short period, or a larger or a smaller area, or may be in connection with a few or numerous individuals. The time required to formulate the proper grounds of detention, on information received, is bound to vary in individual cases.) There is no doubt that no express words are used to suggest a second communication from the authority to the detained person. But having regard to the structure of the Clause dealing with the two rights connected by the word 'and,' and the use of the words 'as soon as may be' and 'earliest opportunity' separately, indicating two distinct time-factors, one in respect of the furnishing of grounds and the other in respect of the making of the representation, the contingency of a second communication after the grounds are furnished, is not excluded. However, the second communication should not be liable to be charged as not being within the measure 'as soon as may be.' Secondly, it must not create a new ground on which satisfaction of the Government could be suggested to have been arrived at. In our opinion, if these two conditions are fulfilled, the objection against a later communication of details or facts is not sufficient to cause an infringement of the provision made in Article 22(5)." *Id.*

Finally, so far as the case of *The State of Bombay vs. Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya* was concerned, the Supreme Court held<sup>83</sup> unanimously that "on the facts of the case there was no infringement of any fundamental right of the respondent or contravention of any constitutional provision as he had been supplied with suffi-

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-81.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 169.



cient particulars as soon as he raised the objection that the grounds supplied were vague and the respondent was not, therefore, entitled to be released.") The Supreme Court also declared<sup>84</sup>:

"The summary rejection by the High Court (Bombay) of the later communication solely on the ground that all materials in all circumstances must be furnished to the detenué when the grounds are first communicated, is not sound . . . The Court set the respondent free only because of its view that after 29th April no further communication was permissible. In our opinion, this view is erroneous . . . We, therefore, allow the appeal" (against the judgment and order of the Bombay High Court).

As we have stated before, the principles laid down by the Supreme Court in the *Atma Ram Vaidya* case were followed by it in some later cases. For instances, we may refer here to the case of *Tarapada De and Others vs. The State of West Bengal*. Briefly speaking, the facts of this case were as follows.<sup>85</sup> The Preventive Detention Act, 1950, "was passed on 26th February, 1950, and on the same date detention order under this Act were" served on a large number of persons<sup>86</sup> who had been previously detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930. The grounds of detention were first served on these persons on 14th March, 1950, and on 16th July, 1950, the Government served on them "supplementary grounds" in continuation of the grounds already furnished on the 14th of March. A second set of grounds were also communicated to them on the 22nd or the 23rd of July, 1950. They applied to the High Court of Calcutta "for writs of *habeas corpus* contending that the orders of detention" served on them "were invalid on various grounds." The High Court rejected their applications. Thereupon they appealed to the Supreme Court under Article 132(1) of the Constitution of India.

The Supreme Court held<sup>87</sup> in this case:

(i) "that in the particular circumstances of the case, especially in view of the fact that a large number of cases had to be dealt with (on one day) on the

passing of the Preventive Detention Act in February, 1950, it cannot be said that the grounds were not communicated to the appellants 'as soon as may be' within the meaning of Article 22(5)";

(ii) that "it cannot be held that the appellants were not given the 'earliest opportunity' to make a representation, as required by Article 22(5), merely because further details and facts were communicated to the appellants on the 16th July and 22nd (or 23rd) July as these later communications did not contain any new or additional grounds though they were described as 'supplementary grounds,' but only furnished details of the heads of grounds furnished on the 14th March";<sup>88</sup> and

(iii) that "merely because a ground is vague it cannot be considered that it is no ground at all and therefore cannot be sufficient to 'satisfy' the authorities; a 'vague' ground does not stand on the same footing as an irrelevant ground, which can have no connection at all with the satisfaction of the Government."<sup>89</sup>

Finally, the Supreme Court declared,<sup>90</sup> for the reasons stated in its judgment in the *Atma Ram Vaidya* case:

"We are . . . unable to accept the contention that if the grounds are vague and no representation is possible there can be no satisfaction of the authority as required under Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act (1950).<sup>91</sup> This argument mixes up two objects. The sufficiency of the grounds, which gives rise to the satisfaction of the Provincial Government, is not a matter for examination by the court. The

88. Kania C. J.: "A description of the contents of the second communication as 'supplementary grounds' does not necessarily make them additional or new grounds. One has to look at the contents to find out whether they are new grounds . . . Examining the contents of the later communication in that way we find that they only furnish details of the second heads of the grounds furnished to the appropriate appellant on 14th March, 1950, in respect of his activities. We are unable to treat them as new grounds and we agree with the High Court (Calcutta) in its conclusion that these are not fresh or new grounds. We do not think it proper to consider the true effect of the communication only by reading its opening words. The whole of it must be read and considered together."—*Ibid*, p. 217.

89. Kania C.J.: "It was . . . argued that the grounds being vague, they could not be considered as grounds at all and therefore they could not be sufficient to 'satisfy' the authorities. On this point we have nothing to add to what we have stated in our judgment in Case No. 22 of 1950 (*i.e.*, the *Atma Ram Vaidya* case). We are unable to accept the contention that 'vague grounds' stand on the same footing as 'irrelevant grounds.' An irrelevant ground has no connection at all with the satisfaction of the Provincial Government which makes the order of detention."—*Ibid*, p. 218.

90. *Ibid*, pp. 213 and 218-19.

91. See foot-note 69 above.

84. *Ibid*, pp. 188-89.

85. See *Ibid*, pp. 212-20.

86. One hundred in number, according to Das J. —See *ibid*, p. 219.

To be very accurate, the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, received the assent of the President on 25th February, 1950, and was published in the *Gazette of India* on 26th February, 1950.

87. *Ibid*, pp. 212-20.

sufficiency of the grounds to give the detained person the earliest opportunity to make a representation can be examined by the court, but only from that point of view. We are, therefore, unable to accept the contention that the quality and characteristic of the grounds should be the same for both tests. On the question of satisfaction, as has been often stated, one person may be, but another may not be, satisfied on the same grounds. That aspect, however, is not for the determination of the court, having regard to the words used in the Act.<sup>92</sup> The second part of the enquiry is clearly open to the court under Article

92. I.e., the Preventive Detention Act, 1950. See footnote 69 above.

22(5). We are, therefore, unable to accept the argument that if the grounds are not sufficient or adequate for making the representation the grounds cannot be sufficient for the subjective satisfaction of the authority."

The subtle point of distinction between the requirements of two tests referred to above, should not be missed by the reader.

Considerations of space do not permit us to refer to certain other important aspects of Article 22 of our Constitution in this article. We propose to do it in our next article in this series.

—:O:—

## THE BRIDE OF THE DESERT

BY PROF. K. R. QANUNGO, M.A., Ph.D.

ONE day, so goes the legend, the unlettered Emperor Akbar seated in his circle of literary satellites, greeted his favourite princely poet Prithviraj Rathor of Bikanir with a smile of banter and said:

"Kunwarji, your *beli* has been made a morsel of by the camel of Dhola."

This is in allusion to the fact that Prithviraj had written a love poem, *Kisan-Rukmani ri beli* (the creeper bower of Lord Krishna and Rukmiri), which the Emperor used to hear with delight and admiration. Envious of the poetic fame of the Rathor, Rawal Har Rai Bhati of Jaisalmer had the popular ballad of *Dhola-Maru ra Duha* collected and compiled by a Jain poet, Kuthalram, and sent it on to Akbar. This unadorned tale of love, breathing genuine airs of the wind-swept Desert, fascinated the Emperor so much as to bring forth this candid remark on his own favourite masterpiece of Prithviraj. And the remark was not perhaps unfair. The *beli* (creeper) of the palace balcony of Delhi was a luxuriant product of imperial patronage trimmed delicately by the poetic genius of scholarly Prithviraj and forced to blossom voluptuously with a fragrance of artistic artificiality; whereas *Laola-Maru ra Duha* was verily the wild *bela* (jasmine) bush of the Thal (Desert) of Rajputana springing to life in the rainy season, and flowering sweet and scanty in the midst of wide fields of prosaic *bajra* that clothe the grey sands with a gar-

ment of green for a short span of time. How the *chameli* (a variety of Jasmine) of the imperial gardener could possibly emulate the fragrance of the hardy *bela* of the desert nursed by the hand of Nature?

However, this story is not serious history except for the fact that long before the Age of Akbar this folk-song of the Desert had assumed the form of a connected love poem, the origin and authorship of which lie buried in obscurity. This ballad is in spoken Dingal or Rajasthani Hindi as distinguished from the imitative literary Dingal of later times. Competent critics hold the tale as very old (*ghana purana*),—older than the Muslim conquest of Delhi. In origin it was perhaps a folk-tale of Maru, later on versified by a number of unknown hands with variations and amplifications though the essentials have been left intact. In popularity even in its countryside abridged penny-print, *Dhola-Maru ra Duha* is a hot favourite with the half-literates of Rajputana and Central India.

We have it on the authority of the Old Man of Ajmer, M. M. Gaurishankar Ojah, that even now in Ajmer a procession of Dhola-Maru is taken out on the occasion of the Holi festival. Its chief feature is the frolicsome beating of the male-folk by merry women with their shoes;—a fit retribution of the man with divided love as Dhola, the hero of the tale had been.



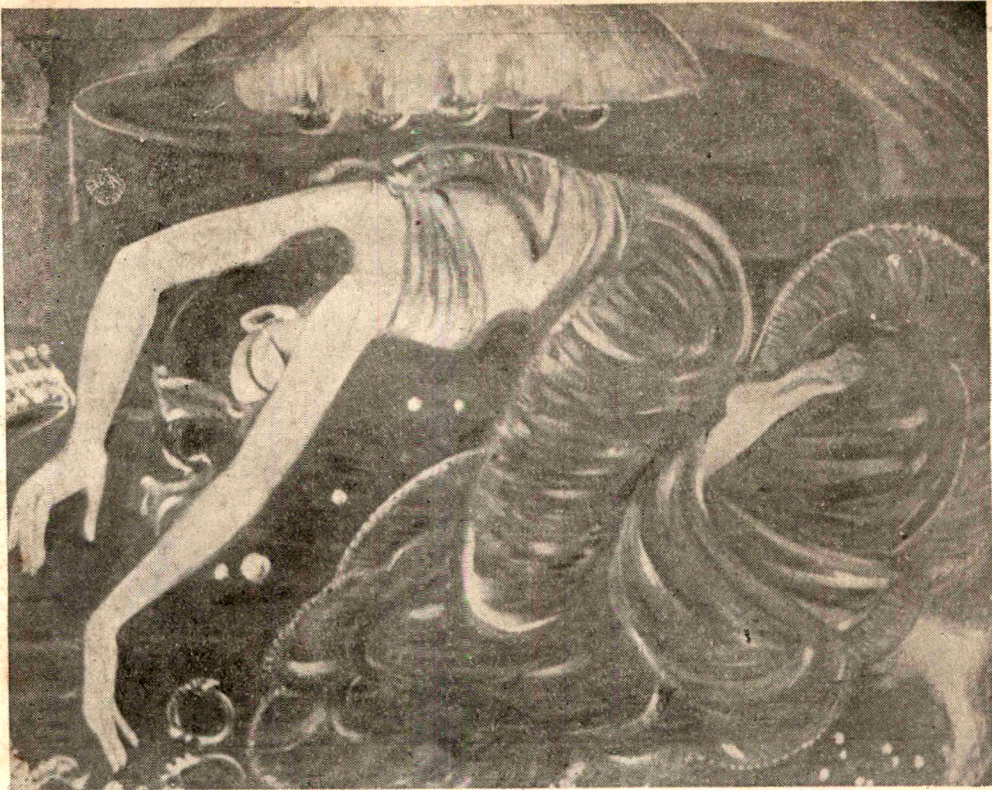


H. E. Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister and H. E. Mr. Ho Lung, Vice-Premier of the People's Republic of China with Sm. Padmaja Naidu, Governor of West Bengal



His Holiness Dalai Lama at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona





"Nati-ki-Puja"—Death of a devotee dancer (oils), 1948



Broken string



(2)

Who was Dhola, the hero of the ballad? Later versions of this ballad (with two variants) give us that "Marabani was a Bhati lady, her lover Dhola a Chauhan." One variant adds, "Dhola was born in Maru (the Desert), and another makes Dhola a Kachhwah prince."\*

Tod has a long story to tell about Dhola, whom he identifies with Dulah Rai, the legendary founder of the Kachhwah dynasty in the Dhundhar country identical with the modern Jaipur territory. In the fourth century A.D. there was a king named Nala, who established the Kachhawaha Kingdom of Narwar in the modern Gwalior region. Thirty-third in descent from Nala was Sodadev, whose son was Dhola Rai. Dhola Rai was an infant when his father died. His mother went away westward, and sought shelter with the Minas of Khol situated a few miles from the city of Jaipur. When Dhola Rai grew up he treacherously killed the friendly Minas and founded a kingdom there. One day when Dhola Rai with his pregnant wife Marabani was returning after a visit to the temple of the Devi, the Minas surprised and killed him, and his wife Marabani somehow escaped. She gave birth to a son named, Kakil, who afterwards recovered his father's kingdom.

Tod has made here a mess of the early history of the Kachhwahs only to connect Nala with Dhola of the legend, whose father he is said to have been. At any rate Tod has murdered fine poetry and given us indifferent history.

Similarly, there is confusion about the parentage and tribe of Marabani. In the poem itself she is simply described the daughter of Pingal Rai, the ruler of Pugal, lying 25 kos w.w. north of Bikanir on the border of Jaisalmir, and the scene of many a bloody conflict between the Bhatias and Rathors. Kushalram, who made the first collection and compilation of *Dhola-Maru ra Duha* introduces the heroine of the poem as the daughter of Pingal Rai Parmar, a grandchild of Samant Singh on the side of her mother, Umadevi (Umadevi). So Marabani's paternal clan is given as Parmar by some and Bhati by others. And herein lies the key of internal evidence to the approximate age of the ballad. In the earlier centuries of Rajput history the Panwar or Paramara tribe held ascendancy over the whole land

from the northern bank of the Chambal and right across Rajputana and Sindh as far as the Indus, and hence the saying: "*Sara bhun Pamar ka*." The Bhatias at this time had their principalities scattered in the Panjab and Afghanistan long before Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. The Bhatias under the pressure of Muslim conquest gradually moved towards the desert of Rajputana and dislodged the Paramaras. So this ballad must have been composed at a time when the modern region of Jaisalmir was ruled by the Paramaras, and the Sumrahs were in possession of Sindh with a sprinkling of the Parihars in between. When the fame and memory of the once powerful Paramaras faded away in the Desert of Rajputana, and the Bhatias came to rule in Jaisalmir, of which Pugal was a portion Marabani was given a Bhati parentage; because, Bhati women of Jaisalmir had the reputation for intelligence and beauty. Even to this day they say in Rajputana:

*Marwar nar nipje, nari Jaisalmir;  
Sindh turahi santra, karhal Bikanir.*

[I.e., man of Marwar, woman of Jaisalmir, the horse of Sindh and the camel of Bikanir are the best of their species.]

Bhati brides were sought for by every ruling house of Rajputana, and the ascendancy of Bhati queens over their husbands very often created political troubles. Pratap was set aside in favour of his younger brother, Jagmal, born of a Bhati queen; Maharajah Gaj Singh Rathor of Marwar disinherited his fiery eldest son, Rao Amar Singh, for the sake of Jaswan's Bhati mother, and there are similar instances in lesser households. So the later minstrels made Marabani a Bhati. This was appropriate if not accurate; because, the Bhati beauty is par excellence the pride of Maru (Desert).

Marabani's rival and co-wife is named Malavani (Sans. Malavika). Kushalram makes her the daughter of a fictitious king Bhim. This raises a strong suspicion that these kings, queens and princesses are only fictitious characters in regal setting in conformity with the psychology and tradition of a monarchical age. Literary critics have nevertheless a weakness to seek history where there is none or very little. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century love epics were woven around such stories with similar regal setting in Bengal, Avadh, and the Mughal

\* *Dhola-Maru ra Duha*; Introduction, p. 20; Nagri-pracharini Sabha edition.

court.\* It is un-literary to run after shadows of history in such stories. Marabani and Malavani are mere poetic types, and they stand for all that is waterless Maru and the well-watered Malwa respectively. Marabani is a creation of the minstrel's fancy, no more and no less historical than the ladies of Scottish ballads.

### (3)

To give a substance of the story of Dhola-Maru in translation is as cruel as de-hydrating a Bussorah rose for export. However, our interest in the poem is not literary but historical, and as such rather prosaic. History itself can have no appeal if the historian fails to discover the spirit of history that permeates contemporary literature, from which we have to pick up also the flesh and blood of history. So with due apology we venture to reproduce the story abridged from the historian's angle of vision :

There was a king named Nala in Narwar. He had no male issue for a long time, and so he made a vow to make a pilgrimage to the holy lake of Pushkar (6 miles from Ajmer). Soon after, a son was born to the Rajah. Salla Kumar by name, but better known by his pet name, Dhola. When the boy grew three years old, Rajah Nala with his wife and child started on his pilgrimage from Narwar via Chanderi and Bundi. It happened to be a lean year of scanty rainfall (*dukhal*) in the Rajputana Desert. Prince Pingal of Pugal was forced to leave Pugal with his people and move on to Pushkar for temporary sojourn,—as the people of the desert have to do the same *uchal* (migration with family, tenants and cattle) in years of food and water famine. Rajah Pingal also came with his wife and a little daughter, one and a half year old Marabani. The Rani of Pugal insisted on getting her little daughter married to Dhola.

There was nothing unusual about such a marriage in a country where betrothals take place between children in their mothers' wombs, and they become eligible for marriage as soon as born—a fact that anybody can learn moving intimately in remote countryside unaffected by modern legislation.

However, "This *padmini* (girl of beauty and auspicious signs) of Pugal was married to Dhola, the future lord of Narwar. Rajah Pingal returned to Pugal when *sukal* (plenty) came and brought back with him Marabani as she was yet a child."

Youth comes upon Marabani and makes her restless for her beloved. She dreams, she raves and gets irritated at the voice of the *papiha* crying for its mate, "*Pee ava*" ("Come, my dear"), when clouds darken the sky in the month of *Asad* (July). The month of Shraavan brings heavy downpour; peacocks dance in glee on distant hills; frogs fill the space with their deep and sonorous croaking in tune with the joyous voice (*keha*) of the peacock; and the lightning flashes making unhappy Marabani cling to her solitary bed. Alas! clouds have their season; but the eyes of Marabani are doomed to shed tears for ever. Oh god of wind, blow in the direction where my beloved lives, and after touching his body return hither to touch mine; and that will be like the gift of *lakh-pasav* (Sans. *laksha-prasad*, extravagant charity to a Charan). From the bush of leafless *karir*, the *kurari* bird (female heron; Sans. *Chakravaki*) moans plaintively which alone shares Marabani's pangs of separation.

Rajah Pingal sends messenger after messenger on swift camels to fetch Dhola from Narwar, but none ever returns to Pugal. In the meantime Dhola in his youth was married to Malavani, a very devoted, very charming but exceptionally jealous and resourceful daughter of Rajah Bhim of Malavgarh. Once a very rich horse merchant halted at Pugal on his way back from Narwar. He told the Rajah that Dhola was very much entangled in the snares of love and beauty of Malavani, and that she had arranged things in such a way that all messengers from Pugal meet their doom on the way. So Rajah Pingal at last thought of sending his *purohit* (family priest) to invite Dhola; but his cleverer queen advised sending *Dhadhis*, a wandering tribe of low class musicians clever at disguise.

The *Dhadhis* managed to reach Narwar and by bribing the palace-guards secured a place for their halt beneath the window of the palace where Dhola used to sleep. Whole night the wandering musicians sang of the beauty of Marabani and of her pangs of separation from Dhola who was in Narwar. The volume of their music in *Malhar Rag* raised for four *prahars* a veritable

\* Cf. *Mrigavati* of Kutuban Shaikh written in the time of Sayyid Husain Shah of Bengal; half a dozen *prem-guthas* mentioned by Jaisi, which were written before his own work, *Padmavat*; *Chitravati* of Uman of Ghazipur in the reign of Jahangir; *Indravati* of Muhammad in the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah, etc.

love-stirring storm of the rainy season when lowering clouds roar in the sky. Dhola woke up in the morning, learnt of his Bride of the Desert from the disguised strangers, and became a changed man.

(4)

Dhola now solicits the permission of Malavani to start on a travel abroad, keeping the secret to himself. Malavani says :

*Tamtri-nad, tambol-ras, surahi sugandh-au jahan;*

*Asan turi ghari gauradi, kasa-u disa-aur liyan?*

[How does a man think of going abroad, having the music of *vina*, and juice of betel, rich scents, a mare to ride, and a fair wife in his own house?]

Dhola takes to subterfuges. He says he will go to Idar to procure ornaments for her ; but Malavani retorts that she would rather buy such ornaments at a heavier price at home. He asks for permission to go to Multan where good horses can be had very cheap. She says that lakhs of horses for him will come over here, and he could have his choice of a fine and spirited horse. Dhola says that he will go to Cutch where large-humped camels that can travel a *jojana* (four miles) in a *ghari* are abundant. Malavani objects, saying that alluring black-eyed damsels also abound there. A sea voyage to procure unbornd pearls is also turned down by Malavani as too risky. Next he seeks her permission to go to Gujarat promising to bring for her fine clothes of the Deccan that would become her body. Malavani is not to be deceived; she says she will procure thousand such clothes, and wear silk *pat-tola* to please her beloved.

When all her attempts to dissuade Dhola from his project failed, she bound Dhola by a promise that he would not leave her while awake. She gives up sleep and Dhola gets no opportunity. Dhola's mind travels to the land of his bride of the desert, and becomes disconsolate when the rainy season sets in after waiting for two long months of summer. Dhola dreams of Pugal and the charms of the desert in the rainy season :

*Bajriyan hariakiyan bichi bichi belan phul;*

*Jau bhari buta-au bhadrav-au Maru-des annul.*

*Dhar neeli dhan oundri, shari gah-gah-i gamar;*

*Maru-des suhaman-u sanvani sanji var.*

[Green is the land with *bajra*, and *bela* creepers are in flower here and there in their midst. If it rains in the month of Bhadra the Maru country beats other climes in beauty.

The earth is blue (dark green), but pale white is the beloved; homes of villagers re-sound with the noise of joyous activity; the evening of Shravan must be very charming.]

(5)

Dhola keeps his camel ready in harness for departure, but Malavani keeps her vigil. She approaches the camel and tries to tempt the beast with a good feed and tender care if it pretend to be lame, and thus delay the departure of Dhola. The camel, high-spirited and true to salt like a Rajput, gives her at first a rebuff saying, "I myself have left just now my mate in tears and loneliness. If I do not carry out the errand of my *malik* I shall be visited with the Creator's curse." However, the tears of a lady in distress melted the heart of the beast and shook his loyalty. The camel pretended to be lame by dragging one leg behind ; but its trick was exposed by Dhola's mother. Malavani overhears Dhola's words, and tears wash down the collyrium of her eyelids. She sighs and says to herself in bitter mortification :

*Dungar-kera vahala, arunchha kera neha;*

*Vahata vaha-i ulamla, jhalak dikhav-i chulch.*

[The mountain torrent and the affection of a faithless lover that flow in mad impetuosity at the start, snap off too soon.]

One night Malavani fell dead asleep, and Dhola put his feet on the stirrup. The camel neighs to give a warning to Malavani, and the kettle-drum of departure roars at the gate. Malavani hurries disconsolate to the window, and sees only the back of Dhola urging the camel to speed. Malavani's mind pursues the truant lover through hills and desert, and enquires of *jal* tree in green verdure :

"Without water in the desert how is that thou keepest so green? Is there untimely rains, or did my beloved water thee on his way?"

The *jal* replies, "There has been neither untimely shower, nor has your lover sprinkled me. Dhola passed beneath my shade, and tied his camel to my branch."

From her lonesome palace Malavani lets loose her *sugga* (parrot) to carry a false news of her death to turn back Dhola. The parrot sighted him while he was crushing the twig of a tree to make a tooth-brush for cleansing mouth in the morning near a tank between Chandri and Bundi. Dhola hears the news numbed, and tells the parrot to do him a service; namely, to go back and have the funeral ceremony of Mala-

vani performed with nine maunds of sandal wood and one maund of *agaru*! The parrot gives him blessing to attain his object, and returns to Narwar. When the parrot came back with a sample of Dhola's concern for her, she fell to lamentation:

She pours forth her heart thus:

"Oh God! Why didst thou not make me a *babul* of the desert so that my beloved might cut a branch of it to make a whip for his camel, and thereby I might feel his touch? . . .

"Oh God! Why didst thou not make me a dark cloud so that I might from above protect Salha Kumar (Dhola) in his journey from the rays of the sun? . . .

"Farewell! Oh beloved of a strange clime (*pardesi*) like the *surahi* (earthen bottle) of wine in the hands of a drunkard in intoxication, you have drunk out of me to the lees and broken out the bottle to pieces."

(6)

Meanwhile Dhola reaches the bank of the Pushkar, and beyond it lay the vast expanse of sands, where the camel alone is to stand by him not only as his mount but also his friend, philosopher and guide. Those who know the Desert know full well that the camel and the camel-rider have their own language to talk, and so none should be surprised when Dhola and his camel on their way speak in poetic Dingal!

Dhola urges the camel to drink deep, as he would have to go without water ahead, saying:

"Thou wilt not drink out of small hollows of scanty water. Where shall I find for thee another large and brimful tank?"

The camel retorts:

"Verily this is an ill-favoured land where camels get no grass but only thorny brambles."

Dhola cajoles his camel to make a *kalewa* (breakfast) with the founder of the *karil*. The camel is adamant, and says he would not eat wretched *karil* even if he has to make fifty fasts. Dhola remonstrates:

"*E-raha, des suhaman-ai je moo-n sasar badi; A-ma sari-khai ak gini, jali kariran jhadi.*"

[Oh camel! Blessed is this land where lies my father-in-law's house. Consider the *ak* (Sans. *cicnda*, a poisonous herb eaten only by goats and camels) of this country as *am* (mango fruit), and the *karil* as the flowering *kadamba* (a favourite of lovers).]

On the way from Pushkar to Pugal Dhola meets a lonely goatherd (*gadaria*) tending his flock in frolicsome mood.

"Ho! Youngman of shining white teeth, whither dost thou hie on camel's back braving the biting cold wind of the desert? Have you a sweet wife (*mugdha*) to meet?"

Wrapped in poetic reverie and bereft of common sense, Dhola was startled and poetry oozed out of his lips:

"The tree of Maru cast off its bark out of a piece of which God created the moon, and put it too high in sky (as luck would have it!)."

Unfortunately the simple rustic could make out "Maru" only from Dhola's graceful metaphor, and he said in exultation.

"Now you have to hear something unpleasant from me. Maru is my companion, Maru is the sharer of my affection."

At this Dhola became un-nerved and crest-fallen thinking that Maru was a lost game. The more sensible camel rebukes him sharply: "This Maru must be another woman; the *gadaria* tells a lie." Dhola with a heavy heart moved forward, and fell in with a Charan sent by Umra (of Sindh), who had an evil eye on the Bride of the Desert. The Charan deceitfully says to Dhola.

"Alas! Maru for whom you, over head and ears in love, are hurrying is now an old hag with white hairs."

Dhola felt depressed and unable to decide for himself, he says to the camel,

"What shall I tell the people of Narwar now after returning?"

The camel's patience reaches its limit, and snubs his master again for listening to the words of wicked men and rustics and falling into their trap. But the mind of Dhola yet wavers like the leaf of a *pepul* tree and he pulls back the reins of his camel homeward. At this critical moment Bishu Charan appeared to reassure Dhola about Marabani. He thus argues with Dhola and extols the beauty and virtues of women of the Maru country:

"Marabani was one and a half years old when her husband was of three. If her youth is gone, how is it that you are still in full bloom of youth?"

"(Marabani) is pure in character like the tide of the Ganges; in intelligence (*mati*) she is Saraswati; and in conduct (*sila*) a Sita. There is no woman to compare with her. . . . Her large eyes are like those of a *khanjan* bird, whose restless movements captivate the on-looker. One woman of Maru is worth giving one hundred thousand Iraqi horses in exchange."



But Dhola is not convinced. He says to the Charan :

"Don't say misleading words only to please the mind of another (*para-mana-ranjan karan-i*). Tell me exactly what you have seen of her."

The Charan continues :

*"Thal bhura, ban jhankhora, nahi su champau ja-i  
Guno sugandhi Marabi, mahaki sahu banara-i."*

*Maru see dekhi nahin, an mukh doy nayananha  
Thori so bhole pada-i, dinayar ugantanha*

*Maru-des upanniyan, sar jayau paddhriyanha  
Kadua bol na janahi, meetha bolaniyanha."*

[*"Thal is grey; its heath is barren and no champa flower blooms there; yet the virtues of Maru women make its wilderness fragrant . . . I have not seen the face of a second woman like hers. Yes, when the god of Light appears in early dawn, it has an illusory vision resembling somewhat the beauty of Marabani. . . . Women born in Maru country have tall and straight stature like arrows. Harsh speech they know not, speaking always soft and sweet . . ."*]

Dhola rewards Bishu Charan with a *muhar* and sends him forward to break the news of his arrival at Pugal before sun-set. He becomes impatient, and pressing the poor camel between his thighs, deals ten strokes at a time on its back in his anxiety to reach Pugal before the bride of the desert retires to sleep. He cajoles the camel when strokes fail :

*Karaha, Vaman rup kari, chinhu chalno pag puri;  
Tun thakau, hun usanaui, bhuin bhari, ghar duri.*

[*i.e.*, "Oh camel, be like Vamana (Vishnu) and cover the distance with the four legs. Thou art fatigued, and I too am tired; whereas distance is long, and the destination a far cry."]

The camel tells him to be patient, tie his own turban tight and let loose the reins.

(7)

When rolling clouds gathered thick on the evening sky, Dhola at last reached the outskirts of Pugal. He gets a rebuff from a man at the well in return for his words of sympathy for the sweating wretch who retorts ;

"Go your own way. You need not have any headache for me. I work at the well till midnight to fill the reservoir."

On the sixteenth day after Dhola's arrival, Rajah Pingal gave him leave to depart with Marabani. On the second day of their departure

Dhola with his party halted in a place where at night the *pihuna* serpent attracted by the scent of musk from Marabani's mouth, drank off by its breath the life of the sleeping lady. Dhola prepares to burn himself with the corpse of Marabani. At this time a Jogi with his female counterpart appears and rebukes him :

*"Nar narisun kyaun jala-i, narsuin nari jalunta  
Salha Kumar, Jogi kaha-i ahalau kema maranta."*

[With man a woman burns herself; why should a man burn himself with a woman? Oh, Prince, why should you die in vain?]

At this Dhola gets angry and tells the Jogi to go his own way, and not interfere with other men's affairs. However, at the entreaty of the Jogin, the Jogi restores Marabani to life.

Dhola now decided to travel unencumbered with only Marabani on his own camel. Some of his retinue were given leave to go back to Pugal, the rest were asked to come up with baggages in the rear. Spies of wicked Umra took this news to their master. Umra pursued Dhola and Maru with a large cavalcade. Marabani, a child of the desert, scented danger as she could understand from dust that some horsemen must be coming behind them.

In the meantime Umra overtakes the camel of Dhola and shouts from his halting place, "Thakur, why travel alone? Come and let us have *ammal*." Dhola makes his camel kneel down to rest, ties its two hind legs—and handing over the reins and whip to Marabani to stand watch at a distance, joins Umra's party. Umra cordially treats him to opium, wine and music. A *dommi* (female musician) of Marabani's *peehar* (father's place) happened to be with the party of Umra. She communicates by the tunes of her *tantri* (*vinā*) a warning to the lonely lady exposed to danger by Dhola's indiscretions :

"The *tantri* is playing *ghan ghan* merrily; husband is drinking wine with Umra, and the camel lying to rest . . . This a desolate place in the *Thal*. Now the wife is to be snatched away, and husband killed, What foolery is this? Shun the stranger. Oh Marabani, you were once a very clever girl. If you care for your husband, strike the camel with the *chhri*."

Marabani becomes agitated and whips the camel, which at once dashes forward with tied legs. Surprised at it Dhola leaves the company in a hurry to catch his camel, and learns of Umra's treachery from Marabani. They mounted the camel without remembering that its two legs

were tied. Umra also leapt on the back of his horse and with a straight Khurasani sword galloped after the fleeing couple. But Dhola's camel was no ordinary animal. On two legs the camel outstripped the horse of Umra and fortunately, a Charan who was passing that way shouted out to Dhola,

"What is your business here? How is it that you two are on the camel's back, and yet its legs are tied?"

Dhola gives a knife to the friendly bard, who cut the strap and went his own way with an errand from Dhola to tell Umra as he had seen them. Next day when the sun was above the horizon, the Charan met Umra and on being questioned tells him that he saw the camel of Dhola with its hind-legs tied cross the slope of the Aravala mountain, and that he with his own hand cut the strap at Dhola's request. "Have pity on your horses. Dhola is nearing Narwar," says the Charan to Umra.

(8)

Dhola at last reached Narwar in safety; but his lot must have been anything but enviable as the target of emulating attentions of Malavani and Marabani. One day the volcano of "eminine vituperative became active with helpless Dhola as a reluctant listener. Malavani was the first to burst forth thus:

My God! May I burn such a country where water can be had only from deep wells, and where at midnight moaning voices *kuhakkara* (fatigue-relieving cry of men working at wells), are heard as if somebody is dead . . . where for the sake of drawing water husband leaves wife at the dead of night . . . where water does not feel (at the *ghat* of tanks and *baolis* as in Malwa), the soft touch of fair damsels of *kunkum* (bright red) complexion.

Baba! Do not give me in marriage to Maruan—(equivalent of Calcutta *Mero*, applied to all up-country people, particularly from Marwar)—, who are rustic simpletons preoccupied with their flocks, with whom I shall have to live in the *Thal*, and go about with a *kujurda* (hatchet to cut brambles for fuel) on my shoulders, a *ghada* (water-vessel of earth) on my head, and in my hand a *kachaula* (a saucer to collect water for filling the pot). I should rather remain a *kunwari* than be thrown to die of drudgery in carrying water in such a country, where *piyana* serpents abound, where the *karil* and *unt-kantra* (thorny camel-shrub) pass for trees; where *ak* and *phog* (shrubs of dwarfish wild berry) only provide shade; where the bread of *bhurat*\* (eaten even now) satisfies hunger!

\* *Baurat* or *Bhurat* is called in derision as *mal* of Marwar (revenue to the Mughal court). It is a

Oh Maru! your country is a land of unrelieved calamities, having either a *uchala* (a temporary migration bag and baggage in years of scarcity) or scanty rains (*abcrasan*), or a visitation locusts (*tiddi*); a country where blankets are only available to serve as upper and lower garments (*pahiran-audan*); where water lies in a depth of sixty *puris*†; where people are nomads knowing no other delicacies except the milk of sheep and goats.‡

Marabani listens and frets, and vents her spleen in a comparatively feeble reply:

"All tracts are pleasant except the ill-favoured Malwa.

I burn the face of the country, where water-moss (*sevar*) covers water; where troupes of young women out for fetching water (*paniharin*) do not move to and fro, and one does not hear the cheering refrain of music of the well.

I burn the face of the country where men are dull and ill-humoured (*phikriya*); where not a *gauri* (woman of very fair complexion) is to be found; and where every house seems to be always in the mourning black."

Marabani deals a capital stroke of superiority complex of the North by concluding with:

*Maru kanmini Dikhari ghar Hari diya-i tau hoyi*

[It is only by the grace of Hari that any man of the southern country\* is favoured with a lady of the Desert (*Maru*) in his household.]

Dhola tries to be fair, though leaning decisively in favour of Maru: He says:

*Dest surangau, bhuin nijal, na diyan dosa Thanlah;*  
*Ghari ghari chand-badanniyen, neer chada-i kamalanah.*

[The country is charming though land is dry. Don't blame the Thal; because like blooming lotuses on water moon-faced damsels grace every household there.]

weed growing about 2 feet tall in the rainy season. It bears small fruits in bunches with thorny rinds. The kernel of this fruit is eaten by making flour of it.

† *Puris* (Sans. *Purush*) is a term of measurement for depth or height used in Rajputana and U.P. The word *Pursa* is used in some parts of U.P. to denote height from the toe of a standing person to the tip of the middle finger of his hand lifted upward, i.e., about five cubits.

‡ *Dhola-Marua ra Duha*, text, pp. 258-60.

\* The word *dikhini* is not used here in the sense of a Deccani. It means all regions of south of the Thal (Jaisalmir region). It is a weakness of the people of the North to associate ugliness, dull wit and bad manners always with the South. A Delhi shop-keeper once gave me the compliment of *Lakhini* when I proved too tough for him 36 years back, though as regards manners, Delhi people are only *ganwars* (churls) in the estimation of courtly Lucknow!

The picture of the landscape and the hard life of the Thal as depicted in this poem remains unsurpassed in Hindi literature. And the picture is as realistic in this century as it was several centuries ago.

If any one cares to descry a mystic strain in this poem he may take Dhola as the symbol of a restless Lover, the camel as guide and Superior Intelligence, Marabani as the Beloved whose abode is in the Thal of human heart, an oasis in the lonely desolation of life. Is there a traveller on the path of Love, human or divine, who does not lose his commonsense, commits mistakes, become impatient of himself and of every thing in the world when he is too near the bourne of his journey? There is pathos in Dhola's cry, "*Bhuin bhari, ghar duri*", that finds an echo in the heart

of man when urging the camel of the caravan of life desperately forward to its destined goal, real or illusory

Historians of Rajputana shall have to look for life and light of history in the hitherto neglected bardic literature and folk-songs if he care to make History humane with human touches.†

† A considerable volume of this literature has been published in Rajputana and Gujarat. We are heavily indebted to the Nagri-pracharini Sabha, Banaras, for publishing historical and poetic work in Dingal with translation in modern Hindi. I have used throughout the text of *Dhola-Marura Duha*, published by the Sabha. It appears to be a model of industry, learning and intellectual honesty, giving us a wide range of variants in MSS. My translation conforms to the Hindi version of the editors except that it is free here and there for keeping closer to the spirit of the original.

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## GANDHIJI AND THE NEW WORLD

By BIJOYLAL CHATTERJEE

THERE is a remarkable line in the Gita wherein it is written that the soul in man, is, as it were, made of faith, and whatever is that faith, he is that and that is he: *Saddhamayo 'yam purusho yo ych-chraddha'* *sa eva sah*. Men live in accordance with their philosophy of life. Aldous Huxley has rightly remarked that if we think wrongly our being and our actions will be unsatisfactory.

It is, therefore, necessary that we should have a conception of what good life means. His uniform experience had convinced Gandhiji that there is no other God than Truth and that the only means for the realisation of Truth is the ability to love the meanest of creation as oneself. In the final chapter of his autobiography, Gandhiji wrote:

"To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself."

Truth and non-violence are the two great principles the observance of which even in our smallest actions constitutes good life. This is the ideal that Gandhiji set before his countrymen to be followed by them in all fields of life. The India of his dream was a Free India where it is the individual who is the unit and the independence of every unit, be it the humblest of the nation, would be a living reality. Walt Whitman, the great American poet, wrote in his *Leaves of Grass*:

Underneath all, individuals,

I swear nothing is good to me now that ignores individuals . . .

This is in perfect harmony with Gandhiji's thought. Gandhiji did not believe in the doctrine of utilitarianism which means the greatest good of the greatest number. His words are:

'The well-being of everyone'—Sarvodaya—and 'the weak first' are the rules for man. We call ourselves bipeds and human, but have not yet been able to give up the nature of quadrupeds and the brute.

The independence that Gandhiji fought for was never exclusive. 'If individual ceases to count what is left of society?' This is the burden of his songs which occurs again and again in all his sayings and in all his writings.

All that Gandhiji wrote and did was inspired by love—the love for the lowliest of his fellow-beings. It is the great historian Toynbee who writes:

"We may also conclude that individuality is a pearl of great moral price, when we observe the moral enormities that occur when this pearl is trampled in the mire."

Gandhiji looked at the daily destruction of property, life and truth in the last war and naturally concluded that only a new respect for the humblest individual and his rights could create an organic society based on the principles of liberty and justice.

But the existing institutions based on tradition and authority had to be so fundamentally changed as to embody an all-embracing reverence for life if a better society was to grow up. So Gandhiji in his effort to reconstruct the new society based on

reverence for human personality put before us his Constructive Programme. The first item in this programme is Communal Unity which implies that every Indian should have the same regard for other faiths as he has for his own. The second item—the Removal of Untouchability—calls on every Hindu to befriend the Harijans in their 'awful isolation.' The third item, Prohibition, takes into consideration the fates of lakhs of men and women who are labouring under the curse of poisons and narcotics. The revenue collected from excise is condemned by Gandhiji as 'tainted money'—because alcoholism involves the physical and moral degeneration of our fellow-brethren. The only value on earth is the value of lives of men and if alcoholism causes degeneration of body and soul in the lives of our brethren then Prohibition is a categorical imperative. In the words of Alexis Carrel:

"After all, the purpose of civilisation is not the progress of science and machines, but the progress of man."

The fourth item in the Constructive Programme is *khadi*. The inclusion of *khadi* is again inspired by the generous impulse to see Indian humanity free from crushing poverty. Gandhiji writes in his Constructive Programme:

"*Khadi* to me is the symbol of unity of Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality and, therefore, ultimately, in the poetic expression of Jawaharlal Nehru, 'the livery of India's freedom'."

The ninth item 'Women' proclaims that 'wives should not be dolls and objects of indulgence, but should be treated as honoured comrades in common service.'

The thirteenth item Economic Equality means, in the words of Gandhiji:

"The levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the one hand, and the levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other."

Thus, we find that every item in the Constructive Programme of Gandhiji was inspired by his impulse to identify himself with the least of his countrymen and his respect for the individual and his rights which, in the words of Bertrand Russell, 'modern feeling demands.' But creation involves destruction. The old values must give place to new. Institutions based on authority and tradition has to be replaced by institutions based on liberty and justice.

And so Gandhiji had to be an iconoclast. It was his fearless freedom of thought that made him merciless to privileged established institutions and comfortable habits. His immense respect for human personality made his thoughts revolutionary, destructive and terrible. In the political field he taught us to take the path of Civil Disobedience if the State in arrogance tries to impose its will on the judgment of the

people. For, Gandhiji wrote: 'Parliaments have no power or even existence independently of the people.' In the economic field, he taught us that machines that would displace human labour and that would concentrate power in a few hands should have no room in a Free India. Against the authority of husbands and fathers to deal with their wives and children in an arbitrary way he taught us to rebel. A young man of fifteen who was forced to marry a girl of seventeen against his wish by his father asked for Gandhiji's advice as to what he should do. And Gandhiji in the article "The Tragedy of a Young Couple" wrote:

"My advice to this young man is that, if he has the courage, he should repudiate the marriage."

Again he says:

"If I was born a woman, I would rise in rebellion against any pretension on the part of man that woman is born to be his plaything."

Thus if we examine Gandhiji's thoughts minutely we arrive at the conclusion that he deemed two virtues as major virtues. These are understanding and compassion. Like Socrates he insisted without modification and compromise that a man must order his life by the guidance of his own intellect without any regard for mandates of external authority. We quote the following words from his article, "The Purdah," published in *Young India* about thirty years ago:

"It seems to me that we must test on the anvil of reason everything that is capable of being tested by it, and reject that which does not satisfy it even though it may appear in an ancient garb."

Thus Gandhiji was indifferent to authority and careless of the well-tryed wisdom of ages if they did not satisfy his intellect. Of course, there are truths which cannot be proved by reason and can be realised only by faith. Gandhiji had a living faith in God whose existence can neither be proved nor disproved by intellect. That he rejected neither reason nor faith only proves that he had no dogma, that he could unhesitatingly go where truth led him and that his mind was not imprisoned within the walls of cast-iron theories. It was because his life was guided by his intellect that he could be so merciless to authority as such.

Thus Gandhiji believed with Bertrand Russell and Aldous Huxley—two of his greatest contemporaries—that good life is that life which is guided by knowledge and inspired by love. Mere intellect will lead us nowhere. In the field of intellect man has been a dazzling success and the world is threatened by the third war. Mere love unless accompanied by intelligence is abortive. As Huxley says, 'We must be intelligently virtuous.' Understanding and compassion were so remarkably blended in Gandhiji's dynamic personality!



# LADAKH: THE LAND WHERE THE ALPS AND THE SAHARA MEET

By MRS. SAROJINI SINHA

DAWN was just breaking over the beautiful valley of Kashmir, as our plane took off. The weekly flight from Srinagar to Ladakh takes place at six in the morning, as the weather conditions then, are most favourable for flying over the high mountain chain of the Western Himalayas. Soon the green fertile plains were left behind and we were in the midst of bleak, towering mountains. They rose below us, bare, rugged and grim. To the left was the mighty snow-covered Nanga Parbat (26,620 ft.), the Naked Mountain, so called because nothing can grow on it and it is quite bare. It dwarfed the other peaks even though many of these were over 17,000 ft. high. This range of mountains cuts off Ladakh from the rest of India and once we cross it, we are in a totally different country.

## THE LAND

Ladakh, with Tibet, can boast of being the highest inhabited country in the world. Grain is cultivated in places at a height of 15,000 ft. above sea-level. The highlands of Tibet are continued into Ladakh and the same rivers flow through both the countries. Hence, the scenery, climate and physical features of the two countries have much in common.

Ladakh forms part of the State of Kashmir, but the contrast between the two is remarkable. Kashmir has a regular rainfall and the heavy winter snow-fall provides the water necessary to make it a green country of woods and pastures. But the rain clouds from the South are intercepted by the range of high mountains, and on crossing them one enters a land of bleak wastes where there is practically no rainfall. Ladakh is a vast arid plateau, consisting of a desert of bare crags and granite dust. The landscape often appears bizarre, with plains of glaring, hot, yellow sand, against a background of cool, white snow-covered mountains. In this country the Sahara and the Alps often are in incongruous proximity with each other.

In this arid desert area, there are no forests or pastures and over vast stretches not even a blade of grass grows. There being no natural growth of forests, trees have to be artificially planted and carefully tended. Even wood for fuel and for building purposes has to be very carefully grown in walled gardens called *baghs*. Without care no trees could attain to maturity as they would be either devoured by the ever-hungry sheep and goats or would dry up in the hot pitiless sun.

The atmosphere of this table-land is very thin, as it is almost devoid of moisture and dust particles. The air is unbelievably clear and far-off objects appear quite near. There is no atmospheric effect to give any idea of distance and all places seem equally far. A

strangely unreal effect is produced by this lack of perspective. The skies are cloudless and of a brilliant, vivid blue. Due to the thinness of the atmosphere the variations in temperature are very great. Rocks exposed to the sun's rays may be too hot to lay the hand on, while in the shade it may be freezing. During the course of the day one is in danger of suffering from either heat stroke or frost bite.



Ladakhi women

By means of irrigation, a little water from the glacier and melting snows is brought down and the land is carefully cultivated. These tiny green oases are so sharply defined from the surrounding country that one traveller wrote, "They look like little bits of some other country cut out with a pair of scissors and dropped into the desert!" Agriculture is a difficult operation in this barren land and a great deal of patient, laborious work is needed to construct the irrigation canals, which alone make cultivation possible. The glacier-fed streams often have to be tapped high up, before they are swallowed and lost in the thirsty sands. Some of the cliffs along which these canals are carried appear at first glance to be inaccessible and it is only unremitting toil and perseverance which makes irrigation works of this nature possible.

The area of Ladakh is 37,000 square miles and the population 80,000 which means that the density of population is only 2 per square mile. Many of the peaks are over 18,000 ft. high and this makes communication between different parts of the country very difficult. There are hardly any motorable roads and as in the past, the horse and the yak provide the only means of transport. The latter is a kind of buffalo, covered with a thick fur and very sure-footed on ice, hence, useful when crossing the higher passes and mountain slopes. The difficult terrain and lack of good means of communications have contributed



in a large measure to the isolation of Ladakh from the rest of the world.

### THE PEOPLE

In happy contrast to the grim, forbidding mountains which form their native land, the Ladakhis, as the people of Ladakh are called, are a happy and good-natured people. Even a stranger is greeted with a heart-joyous, the Tibetan equivalent of *salaam*, and a cheerful smile. The people are Mongolians and belong to the same racial stock as their neighbours, the Tibetans. Buddhism is the predominant religion in the west while in the east there are a large number of Mohammedans. But, in Ladakh, the dress, language and way of life of the Buddhists and Muslims is very much the same and it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other.



A Ladakhi woman wearing *perak*

The dresses of the men and women greatly resemble each other, and from a distance it is difficult to make out the sex of persons. The men wear a sort of robe reaching up to the ankles and covering the arms up to the wrists. This is called a *ghuncha*. The women wear a shapeless gown, also covering the whole body and reaching up to the ankles. In addition pyjamas and heavy shapeless boots are worn by both men and women. The same dress is worn in winter and summer. In addition most women have a fur wrap draped over their shoulders. The garments are made of home-spun woolens. The prevailing colours are black and shades of red, extending all the way

from fiery red to maroon. Both men and women wear little cloth caps, resembling felt hats, but with two turned-up ear-flaps on both sides. Contrary to what one may expect, these caps suit the women and give their cheerful faces a piquant charm. On ceremonial occasions, as on festivals, instead of the cap, Buddhist women wear on their heads the ornament known as the *perak*. It consists of a piece of red leather or cloth, studded with flat, green turquoises; it is almost two feet in length and about 8 ins. broad at the top and tapers down to a few inches at the bottom. No married woman is without her *perak*. The older men keep pigtails though this is no longer much in vogue.

Ladakh is one of the few areas in the world where polyandry was widely practised till very recently. The basis of this kind of marriage was the system of inheritance by which the eldest son inherited the family estate and was obliged to support the two sons next to himself in age. These two were not allowed to contract independent marriages but shared the wife of their eldest brother and were her minor husbands. If there were more than two younger brothers, they did not share the family wife or property, but had to leave the family house and seek their fortunes elsewhere. The two younger brothers were always in an inferior position and often little better than servants of the elder brother who was looked upon as the sole owner of the family property. The children of these marriages recognised all the husbands of their mother as their father, but paid more respect to the eldest as the head of the family. The system of polyandrous marriages will appear strange to most people, but has the merit of keeping the population within reasonable limits in an unfertile region. This custom is no longer popular and very few marriages of this nature are now contracted. Also with the passing of a new law of inheritance recently, the family estate is divided among all the brothers and the unmarried sisters in a fixed proportion. Hence, the younger brothers are free to have their own wives and families.

The chief Ladakhi food consists of roasted and pounded flour mixed in Tibetan tea and drunk hot. The chief grains used are wheat, barley and *grim*, a kind of quick-ripening barley. Tibetan tea is made with butter and salt, instead of milk and sugar. This mixture tastes like hot soup and is quite palatable. *Chung*, a liquor made from fermented *grim* and tasting like cider, is also used as a drink.

### THE MONKS AND MONASTERIES

Ladakh is a very religious country and no village is without its monks and monastery. The monasteries, known locally as *gumpas*, are often built on the summits of high and isolated peaks, and command extensive views over stony desolation. They have



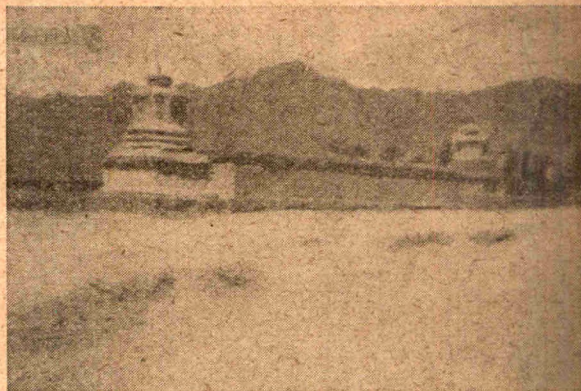
inleaning walls and overhanging open galleries which are characteristic of Tibetan architecture. Prayer flags, that is, flags with 'prayers' written on them, flutter from the roof tops. In the inner sanctum are images of Gautama Buddha and of other gods and goddesses, many of which are plated with gold and silver. The paintings and images of Buddha have beautiful, calm features and sublime expressions. The silk hangings and banners are of wonderful workmanship and rich material. Portraits of Buddha are painted on them also. The wooden altars and other articles are finely carved or have birds, flowers and animals, executed on them in brilliant colours. Every *gumpa* has a collection of Buddhist manuscripts, some of which are of great antiquity. Also there are a number of musical instruments like the drum, trumpet and bell which are used during prayers. In addition to these there are sacred vessels, in which holy water coloured with sweet-smelling saffron is placed as an offering before the idols and images.

We were fortunate enough to be present at an important prayer and saw the service conducted with solemn rites by the abbot, who sat on a raised dais with two rows of monks on either side of him. There were little raised tables in front of all for the holy books, bells and other religious articles. The prayers were intoned in solemn unison and at intervals *galengs*, the Tibetan trumpets, were blown. The air was fragrant with burning incense. The prayers were very long and Tibetan tea was served to all in small bowls by the little boy monks who sat whispering at the back. In spite of this mundane touch, the calm duskiness of the temple was solemn with prayer and worship. The exalted faces of the monks and abbots had a remote detached look, as if their minds were in communion with God.

It is said that a sixth of the population of Ladakh is in the Church as almost every family, whether wealthy or poor, contributes at least one of its members to the priesthood. The priests are known as *lamas* and recognize the Dalai Lama, at Lhasa in Tibet, as their spiritual head. Every *lama* has to undergo training in Lhasa, which may last for anything from three to fifteen years, depending on the aptitude for assimilating the instructions given. There are two classes of monks in each lamasery. There are in the first place the working monks who attend to the temporal interests of the monastery. They cultivate the monastery lands, collect the rent of the monastery tenants, engage in trade on behalf of the lamasery and attend to such other activities. The second and higher class is composed of spiritual monks who devote themselves to religious contemplation. The *gumpas* are very well endowed, as the church is a popular institution and receives an annual donation from every family, either in cash or in kind.

In some cases the *gumpas* have as their heads

very holy persons, known as *kushaks* or incarnations. It is believed that after a man has attained a high pitch of virtue, he may either attain *Nirvana*—absorption into the Supreme Spirit as the Buddhist highest good; or return to earth as a *kushak* in order to do good to his fellow-men. In all Ladakh there are only nine *kushaks*. When one of them is about to die, he calls around him disciples and tells them where he will be reborn and the sacred signs by which they may know him. After his death, his disciples go to the place pointed out by him and search for a newly-born child who is likely to be the most probable incarnation of the departed saint. Having found him



Maantang or wall of praying stones

they leave him with his family till he is four years old. Then they come back and bring with them prayer books, rosaries, bells and other sacred articles among which are those that belonged to the late *kushak*. The child has to identify the property which was his in the last existence, and also relate anecdotes from his past. If he is successful he is acknowledged as the *kushak* and taken away to the *gumpa* of which he is to be the head. There he is educated in the doctrines and tenets of Buddhism and later this education is completed in the sacred city of Lhasa.

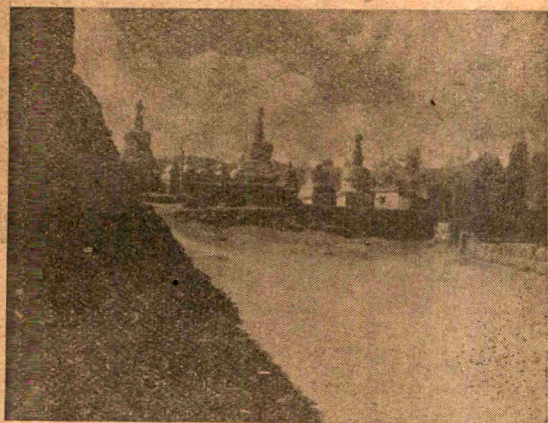
Very many people will find this belief to be a quaint and superstitious hang-over from an unenlightened age; but the *kushak* whom we met impressed us with his saintliness and the calm, serene expression of face which one associates with images of Buddha. He may or may not be an incarnation, but he is certainly a saint. Few who have come in contact with *Kushak Bakula* will fail to recognize in him a true follower of Buddha, 'The Enlightened One.' He is not only a *kushak* but is also the Deputy Minister for Ladakh in the Kashmir Government. He is the undisputed leader of the people of Ladakh, by whom he is loved and revered as no political leader is usually loved or revered. He is a great social reformer and it is due to his efforts that polyandry has been abolished, the law of inheritance changed and other



progressive measures instituted. He is an impressive, but familiar figure in the flowing red robes of a *lama* and the yellow pointed hat of a *kushak*. He visits even the most remote villages of his country on horse-back, and works hard in an effort to improve the life of the people.

#### MAANTANG, CHORTEM AND PRAYER-WHEEL

Manifestations of the Ladakhi's zeal for religion can be seen everywhere in the countryside. Outside each village, but sometimes in areas remote from habitation, one comes across walls of praying stones. They are known as *maantangs* and are massive stone walls, sometimes as much as a mile in length. The top of the wall slopes from the centre on either side like the roof of a house. Each one of the flat stones, which forms this roof, are elaborately carved and contain the Tibetan prayer, *Om mani padme om*.



A group of chortems

These words are very holy to the Buddhists and are repeated by them many times a day. Walking or riding by a *maantang*, containing these sacred words brings the same benefits in after-life as repeating them would bring. The road always divides on approaching a *maantang*, so as to accommodate the travellers from either direction. The carved stones are known as *mani* stones, and vary in size from a few inches to two or three feet in length. At either end of the *mani* wall is a raised turret-like structure, which also contains the same prayer and images of Buddha or other deities. This is known as a *mani*.

Another structure seen quite often in Ladakh is, what is known as a *chortem*. After the corpse of a *lama* or a holy man has been burnt, the ashes of the deceased are buried and a *chortem* constructed over it. It consists of a raised platform with a tapering cone-shaped structure at the top. This is painted orange or red and may be as high as 15 feet from base to top. The top is decorated with bells and prayer flags. Some of the *chortems* of saints, found

in monasteries, are plated with gold and in-laid with jewels.

The prayer-wheel is a device which was much used formerly. It consists of a little cylinder, containing rolls of prayers, and with a handle attached to it. It is held in the hand and turned by the action of the wrist. Each revolution brings the same merit to the user, as uttering the prayer the number of times that it is written inside the cylinder would bring. These prayer wheels though at one time very popular, are now not a very common sight in Ladakh. There are some giant prayer-wheels turned by water power, existing in some of the monasteries.

#### LEH

The capital, Leh, stands at a height of 11,500 feet above sea-level and is surrounded by lofty peaks on all sides. The town itself stands in a narrow valley and is watered by the streams flowing down from the encircling hills. The cultivated green fields and groves of willow and poplar form a welcome oasis in the surrounding desert. Towering above the city, stands the old palace of the deposed kings of Ladakh. It is a massive building with inleaning walls and having many storeys. At one time it must have been quite imposing but is now in a state of ruin. Higher up on the crags is a *gumpa*, and behind it all is a mighty snow-covered range, across which leads the route to Central Asia.

At one time Leh was an important city as it was conveniently situated half way between the markets of India and those of Central Asia. In the summer, traders arrived at Leh from every part of India, Turkestan, Tibet and remote areas of Central Asia. Here the goods and products of the South were exchanged for those of the North. Very seldom did caravans from India proceed North or those from Central Asia go South of Leh. The merchants who had performed the difficult and hazardous journey from Central Asia, disposed of their goods to Indian merchants, mostly by barter, and after resting for a month or two started on the weary homeward journey. Lovely carpets and jewels from Yarkand and Khotan, porcelain and tea from China, and wool from Tibet were exchanged for Indian tea, spices and cloth. In those days Leh was a busy mart and a cosmopolitan city. A babel of tongues could be heard and people from diverse countries rubbed shoulders in its bazaars. But with the passing of time, and the taking over of Sinkiang by the Communists, this trade has come to an end. Leh is now a languishing, mud-coloured, village with a population of 3,000.

#### THE FUTURE

The people of Ladakh are socially well-adjusted. There is hardly any crime and very little destitution. This is all the more remarkable as Ladakh is a poor country and without large natural resources. There



are no organized social welfare services, yet in Ladakh one never comes across a blind, old or helpless person begging for alms. The village community has surprising vitality and manages multifarious activities. There are no lawyers and very few doctors. The first is due to the fact that most disputes are settled internally by the villagers themselves, and the second due to the people belonging to a hardy stock and being relatively free from diseases. The complicated and difficult system of irrigation is constructed, maintained and administered by the villagers themselves. There is no population problem, as the system of marriage had effectively restricted the number of births.

But all systems have their drawbacks and outlive their usefulness, and in Ladakh as everywhere else, the old order is changing and a new one coming into being. No longer are the people content with the old way of life, which in terms of material prosperity and modern amenities had very little to offer. The taking over of Tibet by the Chinese Communists and the consequent changes are bound to have repercussions in Ladakh also. Hence, this remote border area, at one time much neglected, has attained to a certain degree of political importance. In keeping with the prevailing progressive trends, the Government of India is opening schools and hospitals, building



roads and irrigation works and is spending money in the village on Community Development works. But, it is to be hoped that modern civilization with its attendant benefits will not totally disrupt the old social order which was the basis of a healthy, enduring and stable way of life.

—:O:—

## KHASTAGIR'S ART

By LARI DATT BHATT, M.A.,

*Doon School, Dehradun*

(EXPRESSION is the main trait of art. Art lies in giving visible form to the feelings in the recesses of the human heart. Only that art survives in the world which possesses such qualities, the rest is washed away by the tides of time.

In the world of today a man's worth may be reckoned in terms of money. It is without substance and ephemeral. In the golden leaves of history progeny will come across only the names of those who dived deep into the heart of man and fathomed his weal and woe. Today our outlook may attach importance to outward glamour but it is devoid of true life. It is for this reason that there has come to be a stage of stagnation in literature, art, and other walks of human life.)

Today there do exist artists who echo the heart of man. Khastgir is such a one. He has wielded his brush, chisel and pen with a great success in the

representation of all phases of the innermost mind. His pieces bubble with life. Khastgir rescued the Indian art from the grip of traditionalism and developed it with his unending devotion and wonderful grasp. He has imparted melody and life to it through his multilateral genius and varied hues of imagination.

Khastgir's art is unique. He has successfully depicted all aspects of life. His pictures smile and dance and resound ups and downs of man. They have movements; and movements constitute life. We find this in his art. There is scarcely a side of Indian society the experience of which he lacks. The sight of a tattered beggar woman on the road could not but inspire him to rush up to brush and colours. His heart was stirred to rebel by the drooping Indian widow. His heart vibrates in harmony with the Mazdoors' and Kisans' struggle for life in rags and





Siva and Parvati (*oils*), 1954  
By S. Khastgir



Ecstasy (*bronze*)  
By S. Khastgir



Human cocoons (*oils*), 1954  
By S. Khastgir



From the tank (1955)  
By S. Khastgir





Dancer  
By S. Khastgir

through sweat and blood. His spontaneous response to the cry of the heart of man is abundantly evident in his art. He has done it in every form of medium—line, drawing, oil-painting, sculpture and so on.

Khastgir's art has roots in the Indian soil. It is undiluted unlike good many others. We find that the art of today has taken to distortion of figures. It becomes too difficult to make head and tail out of it. Such artists term it as their latest experiment. This is not so. When an artist falls short of originality and expression he takes cover under such distortion. Khastgir has not yet set out in this direction.

Some critics perceive a dual personality in Khastgir—the Man and the Artist—that he is haughty as a person and humble as an artist. But it is not easy to assess him.

Khastgir's art is spontaneous; it does not take him time to study and brood over his themes. Quickly he produces a picture. To it he adds further life with colours. Khastgir is a successful artist and a close observer of life. Each line of his art tells a tale of life. Herein lies his originality. His advance in the domain of Art is native. His art is boundless and generous and has Indian soul and traditions for its background. India manifests herself in his Art.



Sudhir Khastgir in his studio





## INTERNATIONAL HOUSE—INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Friday nights are always International Nights on the campus of Indiana University, with the center of activities in a white frame family-type dwelling on the edge of the campus known as "International House."

of another is just across the Hoosier State Line in Illinois. Brazil, in this case, is a small town in western Indiana.

All of this is important, because the informal organization to which these students belong—known



Engaged in lively conversation are students from Puerto Rico, Finland, Dominican Republic and Iran



Students take time out for refreshments. Among them are Iraqi, Indian, Iranian and American students

Here, on Friday nights, Indiana University students from foreign lands all over the world gather for a weekly social occasion. The scene is a cosmopolitan one. In animated conversation at one side of a room will be a young lady from Sweden with a youth from the Philippines and another from India. A British boy visits with several Thais. A Pakistani and a Paraguayan exchange ideas. In another room where a portable recorder is playing American music, dancing couples include persons from Malaya, Mexico, Poland, Syria, Burma.

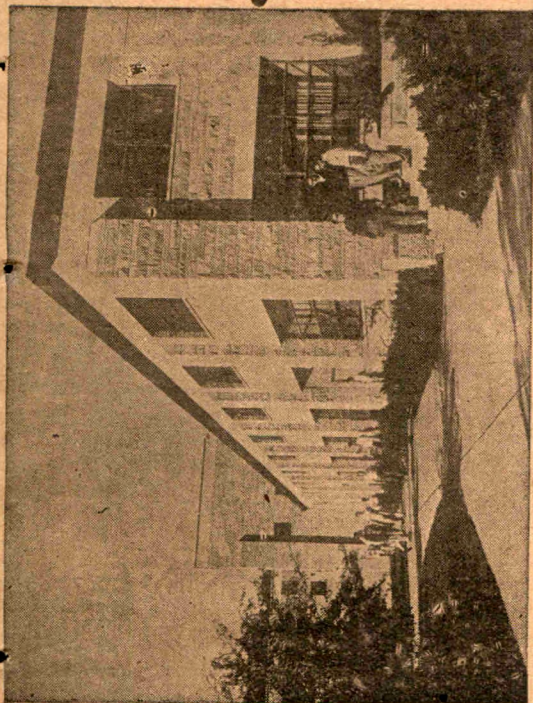
But not all the participants in the evening of entertainment come from far distant lands. Hometowns of some are Chicago, Indianapolis, Louisville, Wabash, Connersville, Seymour. The Peru that one student claims as hometown is in northern Indiana. The Paris

since 1918 as the Cosmopolitan Club—has as one of its aims the creation of better understanding among foreign students and their American counterparts. A large part of the club membership is American.

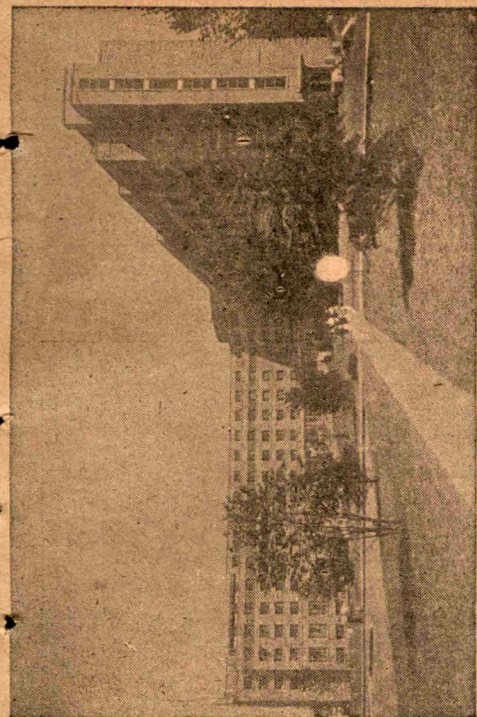
International House at Indiana University is not a residential center. The only tenants are a young American couple. This is in line with the University's long-standing principle that students from abroad will learn more about the country in which they are studying by living as individuals in the community rather than as a colony.

Indiana's foreign students live in the many residence centers and in rooming houses on the edge of the campus. In their daily lives they mingle with American students just as they do in classes. There are more than 350 representatives of 62 foreign countries now attending Indiana University.





Students gather before one of the Men's Residence Centres at Indiana University



Smithwood Hall is a new residence hall for women at Indiana University



Chatting informally are students of different nationalities



Officers of the Cosmopolitan Club hold a meeting. There are students from the United States, Thailand, India and Turkey there



On a typical Friday evening at International House recently, the evening program opened with Ratra Sudershanam of India, recording secretary of Cosmopolitan Club, reading the new club constitution, then under consideration.

Then Mahmut Esat Ozan of Turkey showed color slides taken in his country.

Afterward, Aurelio O. Elevazo of the Philippines turned on a portable record player and some of the club members danced to American music. In another large room students from many lands visited in informal groups, talking about campus events.



Roberta Fox (left) of Bloomington, Indiana, chats with Ernest Hernandez of the Philippines

Meanwhile, in another part of the house the officers of Cosmopolitan Club gathered around a table for a business session. In this group were Nick Contopoulos of Greece, president; Ray Maesaka of Hawaii, vice-president; Sakol Nilvan of Thailand, publicity chairman; Nuran Baydan of Turkey, social chairman; Pierre Boule of France, treasurer; Ratra Sudershanam of India, recording secretary; and Alice Atkinson of Chicago, U.S.A., corresponding secretary.

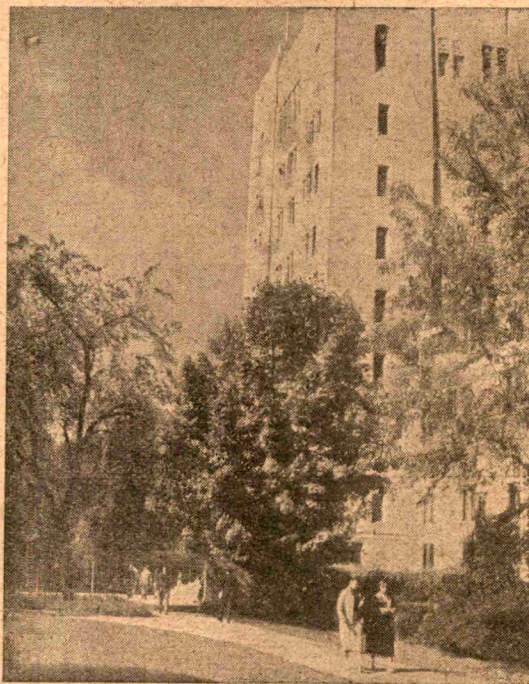
In the kitchen, Shankar Kumar Datta of India started preparations for the evening's refreshments—coffee, tea and cookies.

A visitor at the meeting familiar to all was Walter Burnham, counsellor for foreign students in the Dean of Students office. A doctor of education, Burnham knows most of the foreign students by first name, and

along with Assistant Dean Leo Dowling guides them in whatever problems they face.

Burnham explained that International House is a recent addition to the campus. Before it was established, Cosmopolitan Club meetings were held in the Student Building, one of the main buildings on the campus. While the meeting rooms there are larger, the building contains no cooking or dining facilities.

"The good thing about International House," Burnham said, "is that it is open at all times to our students from foreign lands and they have a



Students stroll past the Union Building at Indiana University, where "International Light" and international dinners are held

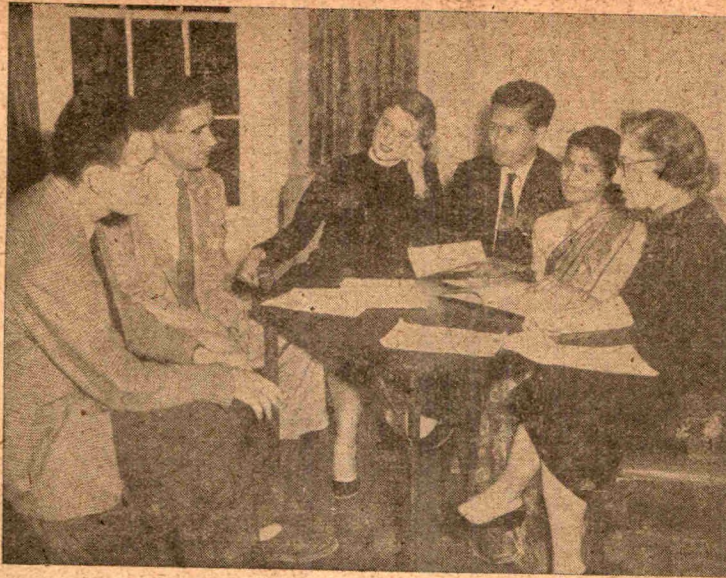
place not only for general meetings but for small groups."

He pointed out that International House is equipped with table service for 60 persons. Using the kitchen facilities, foreign students can prepare their own national dishes.

From time to time the students hold regional affairs, such as Latin American night, a Far Eastern Dinner, or Middle Eastern social occasion. Groups from Thailand and the Philippines have held recent dinners. A separate organization, known as the Foreign Students' Wives Club, uses the facilities of International House for social occasions.

Foreign students have been such an integral part of Indiana University for so many years, they attract





A meeting of the officers of the Cosmopolitan Club. Students from France, Greece, U.S., Thailand, India and Turkey are present there

little attention on the campus and in the city of Bloomington where the University is located.

But to make it possible for the American to learn more about the visitors from abroad and for the foreign students to broaden their education there are several programs of "two-way" education in operation.

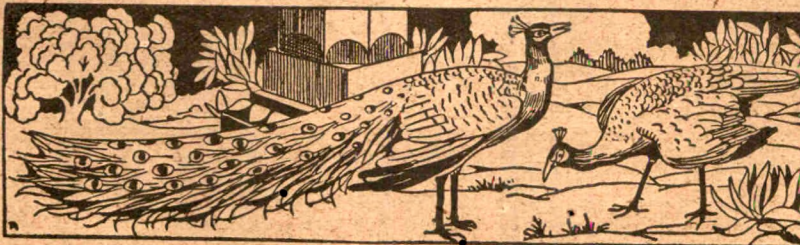
At an "International dinner" held in the fall, faculty members, fellow students and residents of the city are invited. At the most recent one, students from ten countries outside the U.S. staged entertainment. Also held during the school year is an "International Night" open to the public at which the visiting students put on entertainment and display objects of art and utility they have brought from

their home countries. These affairs are held in the Union Building, the center of all student activities.

Another program is arranged through the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. In this program the foreign students are invited to spend week-ends or longer periods visiting in homes in communities around Bloomington.

Foreign students frequently go out as speakers before clubs and organizations in nearby Indiana cities.

While International House on the Indiana University campus is an important feature for foreign students, it is only a facet of a many-sided program designed to make them feel at home far away from home.—*Indiana University News Bureau.*





# SOME ASPECTS OF THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

## II

### H. ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

CHINA, according to official Chinese view, is now in a state of transition<sup>34</sup>—the transition period would end with the establishment of socialism where every man would have work and would get return in proportion to the work done by him. "The People's Republic of China," reads Article 4 of the Constitution, "by relying on the organs of State and the social forces, and by means of socialist industrialization and socialist transformation, ensures the gradual abolition of the systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society." The economic transformation has to take place in a well-planned manner; therefore, planning of the national economy has been made a fundamental obligation of the State.<sup>35</sup> As a matter of fact, the Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of China came into operation in the beginning of 1953 (though the text of the Plan was not made public until 1955 when it was formally adopted by the nation's parliament). Even with planning the task of socialist

transformation of the economy would take "a fairly long time" . . . approximately fifteen years, or three Five-Year Plans, in addition to the three years of rehabilitation (1949-1952)."<sup>36</sup>

What state of national economy is registered by the Constitution which is to undergo socialist transformation? The new Constitution registering the legislative embodiment of the gains of the anti-feudal revolution has no room for the feudal ownership. The Constitution lists four "basic" forms of ownership: they are: (a) State ownership (ownership by the whole people); (b) Co-operative ownership, that is, collective ownership by the working masses; (c) Individual ownership; and (d) Capitalist ownership.<sup>37</sup> The Constitution guarantees State protection to the capitalists but lays down at the same time that "The policy of the State towards capitalist industry and commerce is to use, restrict and transform them. The State makes use of the positive sides of capitalist industry and commerce which are beneficial to national welfare and the people's livelihood, encourages and guides their transformation into various forms of State capitalist economy, gradually replacing capitalist ownership with ownership by the whole people; and this it does by means of the control exercised by administrative organs of the State, the leadership given by the State sector of the economy and supervision by the workers."<sup>38</sup>

34. See Preamble to the Constitution. Also Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution*, p. 57.

35. Art. 15 of the Constitution. An important characteristic feature of the plans in the Communist countries is the mutual linking of their Five-Year Plans. The mouthpiece of the now defunct *Cominform* editorially wrote on April 6, 1956: "Of vast importance for the continued strengthening of the economic might of the socialist camp is the fact that the new Five-Year Plans on which the Soviet Union and most of the countries of people's democracy have started this year, are drawn up on the basis of close co-operation. This takes into account the division of labour within the socialist camp, the specific peculiarities of each country, its national potentialities and economic objectives."—See the editorial article entitled "Co-operation Between Socialist Countries is Expanding and Growing Stronger" in the weekly *For a Lasting Peace For a People's Democracy*, Bucharest, April 6, 1956. See also Vylko Chervenkov's article on the general relationships between socialist countries in April 22, 1955 issue of the same weekly. He also refers to "a new international division of labour . . . differing radically from the division of labour under capitalism." See also the weekly *New Times*, Moscow, No. 29, 1949, article by M. Peromov, pp. 11-12; editorial article in April 15, 1953 issue and article by I. Medvedev on "Fraternal Co-operation of Free Nations" in November 7, 1953 issue of the *New Times*, Moscow. On the role of planning in underdeveloped economies, see *The Future of Underdeveloped Countries* by Eugene Stanley, New York, 1954, p. 235.

\* *Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy of the People's Republic of China 1953-1957*, Peking, 1956, p. 21.

36. Art. 6 of the Constitution. State-capitalism was not considered a "basic" form of ownership and was, therefore, excluded.—Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution*, p. 58.

37. Art. 10 of the Constitution. The First Five-Year Plan of China sets out to fulfil this task. See Li Fu-chun (Chairman of the State Planning Commission of China)—*Report on the First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the People's Republic of China* delivered before the second session of the National People's Congress—*News Bulletin* of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India, Issue No. 42, August 8, 1955, New Delhi, p. 5.

The emphasis on the leadership of the State sector in the national plan is no Chinese or Communist peculiarity but is the "prevailing trend in all modern countries," says the leading American economic historian Dr. W. S. Woytinsky—see his article on India's Second Five-Year Plan in the U.S. weekly *The New Leader*, August 20, 1956, p. 19.



Such contradictory provisions in the Constitution are explained by Lin Shao-chi as merely reflecting the contradictions existing in the real life of China. "During the transition period in our country," Mr. Lin says:

"We have not only socialism, but also capitalism. The contradiction between the two different kinds of ownership is a contradiction which exists objectively . . ."<sup>38</sup>

The contradiction would be resolved only with the completion of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and trade, he adds.

#### I. SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF INDUSTRY

At the time of the assumption of power by the Communists in 1949 China's industrial production accounted for only 17 per cent of the total production of the country. Of the total industrial production, the State, co-operative and joint State-private industrial enterprises accounted for 26.7 per cent and the private industrial enterprises claimed the rest. The proportion was radically altered by 1952 when the rehabilitation of the national economy was completed. With the rapid increase in industrial production, the proportion of modern industry, in the total value of output of industry and agriculture (reckoned in constant prices of 1952) rose from 17 per cent in 1949 to 26.7 per cent. While the capitalist production also increased during the period, its share of total industrial production declined from 63.3 per cent in 1949 to 39 per cent in 1952, the share of the State and co-operatives increasing to the extent of its decrease.<sup>39</sup> It should, however, be noted that in spite of practically full legal authority to confiscate private capital the State had not done so.<sup>40</sup>

The Constitution laid down the task of socialist transformation of industry; and one of the main tasks of the First Plan was also "to consolidate and extend the leadership of socialist economy over capitalist economy."<sup>41</sup> Accordingly, a campaign was launched in 1955 for the conversion of capitalist enterprises in China into State undertakings.

The method chiefly employed for converting the capitalist enterprises into socialist (State) enterprises is as

follows: "They are first turned from private into State-capitalist undertakings (first stage), and eventually nationalized, i.e., turned into socialist undertakings (second stage)."<sup>42</sup> The transition from private to State-capitalist undertaking "passes through several successive stages—usually from the lowest (periodical State purchases of their output) through the intermediate (State orders, centralized purchases, guaranteed sales of their output by State agencies and State-supplied raw materials, etc.) to the highest phase of State capitalism (institution of mixed State and capitalist undertaking with both State and private capital)."<sup>43</sup> During the early part of 1955 the intermediate phase of State capitalism was the prevalent stage but after the quickening of the pace of socialist transformation more than half of the big capitalist firms in China were converted into joint State-and-privately owned companies by the end of 1955.<sup>44</sup> By February, 1956, the conversion of industrial and trading establishments to socialist lines was mainly completed in all the zones.<sup>45</sup> During the process of such conversion moderate compensation is paid to the capitalists,<sup>46</sup> and at least until before the quickening of the pace of socialist transformation the initiative for forming a State-capitalist undertaking invariably came from the company concerned.<sup>47</sup> In the joint State-private enterprise capitalists are paid interest ranging from 1 to 6 per cent of his capital annually subject to a maximum of 10,000 yuan (unit of Chinese currency) a month (120,000 yuan annually). "The interest is payable quarterly as long as the enterprise remains a State-private business, irrespective of whether it operates at a profit or a loss."<sup>48</sup> In such undertakings the capitalists retain the management in their hands as agents of the State.

#### J. COLLECTIVISATION OF AGRICULTURE

In agriculture, the Chinese Communists had been following a policy of preserving the rich peasant economy until the adoption of the new Constitution.<sup>49</sup>

42. A. Perevertailo: "The Socialist Industrialization of the Chinese People's Republic" in the monthly *International Affairs*, Moscow, October, 1955, p. 37; L. Delyusin: "Conversion of Private Industry in China" in the *New Times*, No. 12, 1956, pp. 10-11; Chi Chao-ting: "Capitalists Cross Over" in the monthly *China Reconstructs*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1956, Shanghai, pp. 3-4.

43. A. Perevertailo: cited, p. 37.

44. See the article by Li Fu-chun (Chairman of the Chinese Planning Commission) in the *New Times*, Moscow, January 1, 1956, p. 15.

45. See the weekly *New Times*, Moscow, No. 12, 1956, p. 9.

46. L. Delyusin: "Conversion of Private Industry in China" in the *New Times*, No. 12, 1956, p. 9.

47. James Cameron: *Mandarin Red*, p. 193.

48. Delyusin: *Op. cit.*, p. 11. Italics added.

49. Art. 6 of the *Agrarian Reform Law of China*.

38. Lin Shao-chi: *Report* . . . cited, pp. 31-32.

39. China's Five-Year Plan—cited, pp. 14-15.

40. W. W. Rostow, Richard W. Hatch, Frank A. Kierman, Jr. Alexander Eckstein and others: *The Prospect for Communist China*, p. 241, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA, 1954; *The Pacific Affairs*, Quarterly, New York, December, 1953, pp. 321-335. For a different reading, see Walker: *China Under Communism*, p. 109.

For constitutional provisions regarding taking up private property by the State, see Article 13 of the Constitution of China.

41. Five-Year Plan . . . cited, p. 24.

Speaking on the draft agrarian reform law in 1950, Lin Shao-chi indicated that the policy of preserving rich peasant economy would be a long-term one. "Only when conditions are ripe for mechanised farming, for the organisation of collective farms and for the socialist reform of the rural areas, will the need for a rich peasant economy cease, and this will take a somewhat long time to achieve," he said.<sup>50</sup> The new Constitution, however, while recognising the right of peasants lawfully to own land and other means of production, envisaged a gradual elimination of the rich peasant economy.<sup>51</sup>

Explaining the provision in the Constitution, Lin Shao-chi said that the new policy was just fled because rich peasant economy which had never been well-developed in China, had been greatly restricted after the land reform as a result of the development of produce and other types of co-operatives, "as well as by the policy of unified purchase and distribution by the State of grain and other main agricultural products."<sup>52</sup> He further pointed to the gradual decline of rich peasant economy averring that the average holding of a rich peasant had only been twice as big as that of the ordinary peasant.<sup>53</sup> He predicted the punishment of rich peasants guilty of obstructionism but added that "in view of the general, political and economic situation of our country, it will not be necessary to start a special movement, as was the case in the land reform, to eliminate rich peasants. In the future, those rich peasants who have already given up exploitation may be allowed to join co-operatives on certain conditions and continue to reform themselves, provided the agricultural producers' co-operatives have been consolidated, and the agreement of the peasants obtained."<sup>54</sup>

50. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Agrarian Reform Law*, Peking, 1950, p. 93.

51. Art. 8 of the Constitution of China.

52. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, pp. 39-31.

53. The Central Government Decisions of August 4, 1950, says: "A person shall be classified as a rich peasant, who for three consecutive years counting backward from the time of the liberation of the locality had engaged in production himself and had depended for part or the major part of his family's means of livelihood on exploitation, the income from which exceeds 15 per cent of the total annual income of his whole family."

54. Lin Shao-chi: *Report, op. cit.*, p. 31. It is interesting to note that Mao Tse-tung's analysis of the development of rich peasant economy in the post-liberation period widely differs from Mr. Lin Shao-chi's readings. In a report delivered on July 31, 1955, at a meeting of the Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Area Committees of the Communist Party of China, Mao Tse-tung referred to the "spontaneous tendency" in recent years in the countryside "to develop towards capitalism." He said that "new rich peasants are springing up everywhere. Many well-to-do middle peasants are stirring to become rich peasants."

The consequences of the adoption of a policy of restricting rich peasant economy in the countryside coupled with the policy of encouraging peasant co-operatives may be gauged from the following statement: "Agricultural co-operation in China is progressing rapidly. There are altogether some 110 million peasant households in the country. In the spring of 1954 there were 100,000 co-operatives embracing 180,000 of them, in June 1955, the figures were 650,000 and 16,900,000 respectively, towards the end of December there were more than 70 million households in the country's co-operatives, and towards the end of this (1956) January, there were over 2,000,000 co-operatives with 92,810,000 households."<sup>55</sup> In other words about 78 per cent of the rural households were brought under the co-operatives by January, 1956. "Of this number 24,590,000 households have set up co-operatives of the highest type, which are completely socialist in character."<sup>56</sup>

#### K. UNUSUAL FEATURES IN THE CONSTITUTION.<sup>57</sup>

The Constitution contains some very interesting departures from ordinary practice which need some mention. First, the Constitution is explicitly meant for temporary duration to last up to the end of the transition period<sup>58</sup> which presumably will be fifteen years from 1953.<sup>59</sup> Secondly, on the admission of no less an authority than Lin Shao-chi himself, the Constitution contains several provisions of the nature of a programme<sup>60</sup> which are not to be ordinarily found in Constitutional documents. Then, the Preamble to the Constitution not only gives a historical sketch of the victory of the Chinese revolution but also indicates in broad outline the future path to be taken. The Preamble mentions the growing and indestructible friendship between China and the USSR and the "People's Democracies" of Eastern Europe and Asia.

After pointing to the increasing impoverishment of the poor peasants Mao Tse-tung added: "If this tendency (towards the growth of rich peasant economy—S.C.S.) goes unchecked, this separation into two extremes in the countryside will get worse day by day . . ."—Mao Tse-tung: "The Question of Agricultural Co-operation" in the *People's China*, Nov. 1, 1955, p. 13.

55. L. Delyusin: "China's Changing Countryside" in the *New Times*, No. 8, 1956, p. 8.

56. *Ibid.*

57. It is, perhaps, not in order to call any provision of a Constitution unusual inasmuch as, depending on the varying conditions and moods of the different peoples, the Constitutions in the different country may also differ as widely. The South African Constitution, for example, opens with an invocation to Almighty God—a thing not easily reconciled with constitutional law.

58. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution*, p. 57.

59. *Five-Year Plan of China*, Peking, 1956, p. 21.

60. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution*, p. 58.



"Such friendship," the Preamble adds, "will be constantly strengthened and broadened." Further, there is the insistence on the incorporation of provisions stressing the supremacy of the interests of the people over all others: Article 17, for example, reads as follows:

"All organs of State must rely on the masses of the people, constantly maintain close contact with them, heed their opinion and accept their supervision."<sup>61</sup>

#### L. CONCLUSION

The Chinese State, as revealed in the Constitution, is a people's democratic State where sovereignty is expressly stated to lie with the people, and which is led by the workers, (rather Communists) on the alliance between workers and peasants. In fulfilment of the tasks set for the Chinese revolution, feudalism was abolished as also foreign exploitation and capitalist domination. The State is now half-way through a programme of bringing about socialist transformation of industry and agriculture, which has already led to a fundamental change in the property relations of Chinese society—thus underlining the basic truth that the chief function of a revolution consists in transforming the property relations of society.<sup>62</sup>

Yet, would it be in order to say that the new Chinese State represents the fullest realization of the success of the revolution even, as the Chinese leaders themselves conceived it. My submission is that it does not. Mao Tse-tung, the ideological, political and military leader of the Chinese revolution and of the modern Chinese State, wrote back in 1940 in his celebrated *On New Democracy* that "a system of really universal and equal suffrage, irrespective of sex, creed, property or education, must be put into practice so that the organs of government elected can properly represent each revolutionary class according to its status in the State, express the people's will and direct revolutionary struggles, and embody the spirit of 'New Democracy'."<sup>63</sup> As has already been noted China has not yet had even formally equal suffrage (not to speak of really equal suffrage) for all, nor are elections direct except at the lowest level—to that extent, at least, the "spirit of New Democracy" remains unrealized in the new Constitution.

A feature of new China that has failed to receive the attention it deserves in this country merits some mention at this point. Up till the time of Stalinist supremacy in the USSR Communism, in its practical aspect in the countries where Communist parties were in power, implied a more or less uniform system of government as exemplified by the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics and as such all Communist States were guided by and modelled upon the system prevailing in the USSR. The first break in this uniformity was provided by Marshal Tito's Government in Yugoslavia with their refusal to toe the Kremlin dictates in 1948.<sup>64</sup> Tito formulated and put into practice a new system of which the most remarkable part was its intercourse with the world outside the Soviet zone of influence. The next uniformity has taken place in Europe recently of which, however, the full implications are not yet clear. But in between these, in China, there have been some remarkable variations from the Soviet and Eastern European models which call for some attention.

As a matter of fact, the Chinese Communist movement has practically all along been run independent of the control of the Communist International, the Soviet Government or of the Information Bureau of the Communist parties.<sup>65</sup> Such independence did not mean disrespect to Moscow but the Chinese leader's determination to follow the course that appeared best to them. Such independence is reflected even in Chinese Constitutional law and practice.

The Commission for drafting the Constitution expressly drew on the Constitution of USSR and the people's democracies; yet at the same time the Constitution of China "is an epitome of the historical experience of more than a hundred years of hard struggles waged by the Chinese people, it also epitomizes historical experience on the question of Constitutions and the constitutional movement in modern China."<sup>66</sup> The characteristic features of China as a

<sup>64</sup>. For a Yugoslav account of the break with the USSR, see Vladimir Dedijer: *Tito Speaks*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1953, pp. 262-380. According to the Russo-Yugoslav conflict to Soviet expansion Tito said that the "fundamental question which still has failed is the problem of the freedom of the individual in socialism for there can be no socialism without the freedom of the individual." (p. 263, *ibid*).

<sup>65</sup>. See the article "On the 'Originality' of Mao Tse-tung" by Benjamin Schwartz in the quarterly *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October, 1955, pp. 72-73. Said Mao Tse-tung in October, 1928: "Communists are internationalist-Marxists, but Marxism must be integrated with the specific characteristics of our country (China) and given a national form before it can be put into practice (in China)"—Report to the Sixth plenary session of the Central Committee elected by the Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party—*Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 263, Bombay, 1954. Robert Payne, biographer of Mao, also notes Mao's fight against the instruction of Comintern; see Robert Payne: *Mao Tse-tung: Ruler of Red China*, London, 1951, p. 270. See also *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, cited, p. 471.

<sup>66</sup>. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China in the Documents of the First Session of the First National Congress of the People's Republic of China*, Peking, 1956, pp. 27, 13.

<sup>61</sup>. Article 18 reads: "All servants of the State must strive to serve the people."

<sup>62</sup>. Karl Marx: *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Author's Preface, pp. 11-13, Calcutta, Bharati Library, n.d.

<sup>63</sup>. Mao Tse-tung: *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 121. Italics added.

Communist State are to be found in its treatment of the capitalists, the intelligentsia and the national minorities as also in the remarkable absence of violence characteristic of the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union—which show that the Chinese democracy has grown and is still growing on lines that cannot be identified with the systems prevailing in the USSR or even in Yugoslavia.

Except for a brief period at the beginning of its career the Chinese Communist Party has been an exponent of gradualism in every sphere of action.<sup>67</sup> This gradualness and persuasiveness have found expression in practice also. After the take-over in 1949 the Communists were faced with difficult economic tasks with which they coped successfully. In this process while State enterprises and State trading undertakings were encouraged the government also "evinced its readiness to come to the rescue of private enterprises and did, in fact, render substantial help. Even while the industries are being nationalized as now the capitalists are not being liquidated but are allowed to remain where they are—only with this difference that they are no longer owners of their firms. Capitalists are being given some compensation. They are also paid interest on their capital—a thing unimaginable in a Communist country only six years ago. Even the landlords have been accorded full facilities to live as useful citizens in China.

In their great concern for the minority nationalities the authorities of new China excepted these areas inhabited by the minority nationalities from the immediate operation of the programmes of land reform and nationalization of private undertakings.

A "truly startling phenomenon which deserves more than passing consideration"<sup>68</sup> is the fact that the most advanced stratum of the Chinese upper class, including leading intellectuals with Western education,

is now wholly behind the new regime which in turn has accommodated them to their apparent satisfaction. All observers of the contemporary Chinese scene, have likewise pointed to the remarkable absence of inner-party violence.<sup>69</sup>

Emphasizing the unique character Communism has assumed in China, Professor Charles Fitzgerald writes:

"It is clear . . . that in China we are confronted with a new phenomenon, a totalitarian State of the Communist type which has come to power and retains authority with the backing and acting support of very large numbers, probably the big majority, of the peasant, educated and professional classes. The small merchants do not feel any active resentment, the industrialists and large merchants accept the regime as better than they feared and hardly more inimical to their interests than the late (KMT) Government. The loss of freedoms which were theoretically enjoyed by a very limited number of educated people, but which had no practical reality for the vast mass of the nation, has not greatly disturbed any section of society . . ."

China has made vast progress under the new democratic regime. This fact is admitted on all hands. But it is too early to pass any judgment on the new State (the Constitution was promulgated as late as on September 20, 1954). I can best conclude this study with a quotation from a leading authority on Chinese constitutional developments who wrote in a slightly different context: "Judged by purely sociological standards—without reference to long-range political intentions or dogmatic preferences—the Chinese Communist governmental machinery must be considered among the most remarkable of our age."<sup>70</sup>

(Concluded)

57. "Basically, *The New Democracy* (by Mao Tse-ung) remains a Marxist-Leninist text, book written to support the thesis of revolution by gradualness"—writes Robert Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

58. "Private Enterprise in Communist China" by Ronald Hsia in the quarterly *Pacific Affairs*, New York, December, 1953, p. 330. Referring to early 1955 Alexander Eckstein wrote in the *World Politics*, Princeton, April, 1955: ". . . In essence, the Chinese economy—after being more or less stationary for centuries, with only erratic and partial spurts of growth in recent decades—seems to be entering, for better or for worse, a self-sustaining growth process" (p. 434). See also Mary Austin Endicott: *Five Stars Over China*, Toronto, 1953, pp. 151-152.

69. Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz and John K. Fairbank. *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1952, pp. 476-477.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 476; Rostow and others: *The Prospects for Communist China*, pp. 128, 130.

71. C. P. Fitzgerald: *Revolution in China*, London, The Cresset Press, 1952, p. 191. Italics added. For an account of present and future policies of the new government towards the intellectuals—see Chou En-lai's report on the intellectuals; and Lu Ting-yi's speech of May 26, 1956, reproduced in the *People's China*, August 16, 1956. The policy is one "of letting flowers of many kinds blossom, letting schools of diverse thought contend."

72. Paul M. A. Linebarger: "Government in China in *Foreign Governments* edited by Fritz Morstein Marx. New York, Prentice Hall Inc, 1950, p. 617.

\* I am indebted to Sri Kedarnath Chatterjee for his helpful criticisms and suggestions on the original draft of this article. The responsibility for the position taken is mine, of course.

# ✓ DECENTRALIZED TEXTILE INDUSTRY

By PROF. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI, M.Com., LL.B.

## PRESENT POSITION

From an humble beginning about a century ago the Indian cotton mill industry has grown into a mighty economic force embracing nearly all aspects of our national life. Today it stands second only to that of U.S.A. from the point of view of consumption of cotton, while ranking third largest from the view point of spindleage\*. The following table gives the salient features of the quantitative progress of the mill sector in the past 3 years:

	As on 31st August		
	1955	1954	1953
Total number of mills	461	461	457
Number of mills registered and/or in course of erection	34	22	17
Number of mills idle	27	23	20
Paid-up capital (in crores of rupees)	113.96	112.89	109.61
Spindles installed	12,068,544	11,888,165	11,721,139
Spindles working (first shift only)	10,423,075	10,502,832	10,292,112
Looms installed	207,347	207,763	207,250
Looms working (first shift only)	186,094	189,648	188,606
Cotton consumption (in bales of 392 lbs.)	4,797,084	4,688,866	4,518,702
Number of hands employed (first shift only)	423,595	435,421	435,138

\* The following statement shows the changes in the spindleage in the world's leading cotton textile producing countries during the last three years:

	(In millions)		
	For the year ended July		
	1955	1954	1953
U. K.	25.18	26.56	27.26
U. S. A.	22.25	22.71	22.83
India	11.89	11.72	11.43
U. S. S. R.	10.15	10.15	9.90
Japan	7.96	7.85	7.50
China	5.40	4.15	4.10
Pakistan	1.30	0.71	0.68

It will be seen from the above table that there was a sharp set back to cotton spindleage in the U.K. and the U.S., the actual decline in the number of spindles in these countries being 1.38 million and 460,000 respectively. The decline indicates that the spindles which had been worn out were not replaced but scrapped, following slackness in the export demand for cloth and downward trend in prices. On the other hand, China accounted for a marked expansion in spinning capacity, the number of spindles installed rising by 1.25 million to 5.40 million. There was also a rise of 450,000 spindles in Pakistan and 170,000 spindles in India. In Japan, too, 110,000 spindles were added. Although this figure is lower as compared with the previous year when 350,000 spindles were added, it should not be concluded that the pace of expansion in spinning capacity of Japan has been retarded. For the Japanese cotton spinners are reported to be concentrating their attention more on modernisation of equipment designed to improve the technical efficiency and thereby enhance the quality and reduce the price of textile output than on expansion in the size of the industry.

It will be seen from the above figures that, although the installed spinning capacity of the cotton mills expanded during 1954-55 the capacity actually utilised (first shift only) was less, the average number of spindles working being 10,423,075 as against 10,502,832 in 1953-54. Similarly, the average number of looms working (first shift only) declined from 189,648 to 186,094. The extent of the actual utilisation of installed capacity (in the first shift) was smaller as compared with the previous year, being 86.3 per cent for spindles and 89.7 per cent for looms, as against 88.4 per cent and 91.2 per cent. Reflecting this trend and also the increase in the mills remaining idle from 23 to 27, the number of hands employed (first shift only) fell by 11,826 to 423,595. From all this, one should not, however, rush to the conclusion that the manufacturing activity in the cotton mills remained greatly subdued during the year 1954-55. The reduction in the average of the capacity worked was evidently the result of the prolonged strike in the mills at Kanpur. Elsewhere in the country, the industry endeavoured to maximise output by working double shifts and some even worked treble shifts. Proof of this is provided by the rise in the quantity of cotton consumed which during 1954-55 amounted to 4,797,084 bales (of 392 lbs. each) as against 4,688,866 bales in the previous year. The rise in cotton consumption is fully reflected in an all-time peak in the mill output of cloth being 5,094 million yards as against 4,998 million yards in the previous year. The factors responsible for this rise in the output were:

- (1) High level of offtake in cloth for domestic consumption which is reflected in depletion of stock with mills, on 4th February, 1956, the mills were estimated to have held with them a total of 140,000 bales of cloth as against 260,000 bales on 26th March, 1955;
- (2) ready availability of large supplies of raw cotton at much reduced prices;
- (3) abolition of irksome controls on the purchase of cotton by mills;
- (4) better supply of wagons for transport of cotton and cloth;
- (5) improvement in power and fuel supplies;
- (6) absence of a big labour strike, barring the Kanpur mill strike; and
- (7) continuance of the decontrol policy in regard to prices and distribution of cotton textiles.

## DISTRIBUTION

The cotton industry unlike iron and steel industry or sugar industry does not command any decisive

is 23,421. The share of Uttar Pradesh in the aggregate spindleage and loomage of the country thus works out 6.8 per cent and 6.7 per cent respectively. It is interesting to note that U.P. with a lesser number of mills has a far greater number of spindles and looms installed as compared to West Bengal. This shows that the average size of cotton mills in U.P. is larger than that in Bengal and that the mills are well-balanced composite units.

The disadvantage of Uttar Pradesh in being located far off from the coal fields is compensated by the presence of a large local market, cheap and efficient labour and excellent transport facilities. The cotton industry is particularly confined to the Ganga towns. Kanpur is the most important seat of cotton industry in this State. The industry at Kanpur produces mostly coarse goods for the use of poorer classes of people living in the neighbouring areas. Therefore, if wider distribution of cloth is sought for, the inferior stuff cannot bear freight charges for longer distances. Thus both on grounds of evils of concentration and the nature of demand for inferior goods, there does not appear to be much scope for further growth of cotton mill industry at Kanpur.

#### OTHER STATES

Other important centres of cotton manufacture in our country are Madhya Bharat and Bhopal, Rajasthan, Ajmer and Pepsu, Punjab and Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa. Madhya Pradesh comprises the principal cotton belt of India and the mills are located at Nagpur, Akola, etc. Delhi in Northern India specialises in the production of coarse counts and produces considerable quantities of *dhoties* and upholstery and tapestry fabrics. The following table gives figures to show the relative position of these places in the mill sector:

	No. of Mills	Spindles installed	Looms installed	Average No. of hands employed
M. B. & Bhopal	18	454,156	11,323	21,637
Rajasthan, Ajmer and Pepsu	12	175,500	3,897	8,044
Punjab & Delhi	11	230,772	5,053	6,735
M. P.	11	373,869	7,350	17,610
Bihar & Orissa	4	82,196	1,609	2,829
<i>Total</i>	56	1,316,493	29,232	56,856

#### RECENT TRENDS IN LOCALISATION

Recent years have, however, witnessed a relative decline in the predominant position of Bombay and the relative spreading out of industrial activity in more and more interior regions. The States which have relatively gained in importance are Bengal, Madhya Bharat, Delhi, Baroda, Hyderabad, Mysore and Rajasthan. This spreading out is characterised by

the migration of the industry from regions of high to regions of low labour costs like Mysore, Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin and some of the Madras States. Some of the Indian States like Assam, Bihar, Orissa and Punjab have not yet succeeded in attracting the industry. On the whole, the locational trends suggest a broad but unmistakable tendency for the gradual dispersal and decentralisation of productive activity with decline of original locations. This has been brought about by the following factors:

(a) *Development of the means of transport and communications* in the interior regions. For a long time, the industry could not be established in the interior regions, for no transport facilities were available for collection of raw materials and distribution of finished goods. It was only when the country was covered with a network of railways that many new manufacturing centres sprang up. Many of these centres like Coimbatore, Nagpur, Kanpur, Madura, Baroda were more favourably located both in regard to raw materials and consumers' market than places of original locations. They were situated in the heart of the cotton-growing tracts and had access to abundant supply of raw cotton. They had also large consuming markets in the surrounding areas. The cotton mills, therefore, sprang up in many new centres wherever capital and organising ability were available.

(b) *Development of hydro-electric resources of the country.*—Indeed, the extraordinary rapid expansion of the spinning industry in Madras, particularly in the districts of Madura, Coimbatore and Tinnevely was greatly assisted by the completion of the Pykara hydro-electric scheme and the readiness of the local industrialists to take advantage of the new sources of power. Similarly, the expansion of the industry in Mettur and other neighbouring districts was greatly assisted by the construction of the Mettur-Stanley Dam. It need hardly be emphasised that in future the development of hydro-electric power will tend to bring about a wider dispersal of productive activity.

(c) *Operation of deglomeration tendencies in old industrial centres* like Bombay, Ahmedabad and Kanpur has further aided the dispersal of productive activity in the cotton mill industry. These deglomeration tendencies began as a result of (i) increase in land values and rents; (ii) rise in the cost of living; (iii) increase in internal cost of transport and (iv) increase in rates and taxes, town duty, water charges, etc. The operation of deglomeration tendencies has, by increasing the cost of production, considerably weakened the competitive position of these centres. The locational trends in the cotton mill industry of India thus suggest the dispersal of productive activity accompanied by a decline in the importance of original locations.

## SUBSIDIARY INDUSTRIES

Cotton waste, a by-product of the cotton textile industry, is produced at every stage of transformation of cotton to yarn and subsequently from yarn to cloth. This waste is of various qualities with different characteristics ranging from leafy, fluffy, and stapleless lint, clean or dirty or oil-stained to qualities looking identical to cotton itself. Apart from its use for production of various articles cotton waste is also used in spinning coarse counts for production of carpets, blankets and materials made out of very coarse yarn.

Every country, which has a textile industry, has also industries which consume cotton waste. But in India, cotton waste consuming industries have not developed and consumption of cotton waste is, therefore, not considerable. This has been due to the cheaper varieties of cotton available at the door-steps of the rural population. The needs of the rural population are also too small to attract cotton waste to be used in place of cotton although it may be a little cheaper. Some articles like saw-dust, coir, coconut fibre, are consumed in this country in place of the cotton waste used in Western countries for stuffing toys, mattresses, etc. Apart from the use of cotton waste for machinery cleaning, in Western countries it is used in industries making paper, plastics, automobiles, etc. It is possible that when these industries expand in our country, cotton waste consumption will increase.

Wherever it is possible, the use of cotton waste in the country to satisfy the various needs of the population needs to be encouraged. Setting up of the machinery for production of coarse yarn used in the manufacture of blankets, carpets, rough bed-sheets and surgical cotton needs to be encouraged. It is also possible to export any surplus of coarse yarn, blankets, and products made out of waste.

## PROBLEMS OF THE INDUSTRY

1. *Inadequate supply of raw materials*: The partition of the country in 1947 adversely affected the supply of long and medium staple cotton to the mills in the Indian Union. When the Indian Union came into being its cotton acreage and production were only 75 per cent and 60 per cent respectively of those of undivided India just before the partition. On the other hand, India's mill requirements in respect of cotton before and after partition remained practically the same, as out of the total number of mills of undivided India, about 98 per cent were situated in the Indian Union.

But as a result of carrying out of the recommendations of the Indian Central Cotton Committee by the National Government the position today is far more comfortable and it is hoped that in the years to come India would be able to grow enough cotton to meet the requirements of her mill industry.

2. *Rehabilitation of worn-out plant*: A survey of 111 mills conducted by the Working Party for the Cotton Textile Industry reveals that 45,393 looms were installed prior to 1910, 23,375 looms during 1910-25 and 23,130 looms after 1925. This emphasises the need for modernisation of plant and equipment in mills so that the cloth produced by them is flawless and of high quality. Early steps should be taken to implement the recommendations of the Kanungo Committee which has emphasised the importance of converting a half of the existing number of looms in the industry into automatic looms in order to produce suitable cloth for export. The problem needs special attention because of inadequate reserves with the mills to purchase new plants. On rigid estimates about 300 crores of rupees will be required for modernisation of our cotton mill industry. (The only possible solutions for this problem are that Government should either arrange for a loan to the industry at a nominal rate of interest repayable by instalments over a fairly long period or a part of the excise duty at present being realised by the Government should be made available to the mills for the purchase of new machinery and equipment.)

3. *Low efficiency of labour and need for rationalisation*: The productivity of Indian textile workers is very low *vis-a-vis* their counterparts in other textile-producing countries.\* Not only this but the industry is employing more people than are actually needed. At present the industry employs 2½ times the number of workers in U.K. and 3½ times in U.S.A. This stresses the need for rationalisation. The Working Party on Cotton Textile Industry (1952) found that nearly 150 existing cotton mills, i.e., 33.6 per cent of the total number of mills are uneconomic and inefficient units. The Working Party came to the conclusion that mills working automatic looms throughout India have proved satisfactory. This shows the need of equipping the other mills with automatic looms and up-to-date machinery and of rationalising their production. In 1954, the Kanungo Committee recommended that rationalisation of all the sectors of the industry, namely, the mills, power-looms and hand-looms should be completed within 15 years, as against ten years suggested by the Working Party Report.

But there is a reluctance, if not resistance, on the part of labour to accept any scheme of rationalisation on the ground that it will create unemployment, increase the work-load and the resulting gains will accrue

	Number of machines handled by one operative	
	Spindles	Looms
India	380	2 Ordinary
Britain	800	6 Ordinary
Japan	1,600-2,000	30-40 Automatic
		14-15 Ordinary
U. S.	1,500-2,100	60 Automatic

(Source : Commerce Annual Review, 1955).



regarding the scale of the scheme for 1957-58 and the probable scale for 1958-59. An annual review of the progress, the Committee has said, should be undertaken and further prospect of the scheme should be examined with special attention to technical improvements, quality of the product, productivity, workers' earnings, subsidy element and so on. All these recommendations have been accepted by the Government of India.

It has now been decided to secure a total additional production of 1,700 million yards of cloth by making use of all the three sectors of textile production mills, powerlooms and handlooms. The aggregate cloth production is 6,700 million yards at present and if this is raised to 8,400 million yards, it will provide a per capita supply of 18.5 yards of the domestic market, besides leaving 1,000 million yards for exports. The target output of 8,400 million yards, however, is only a provisional target for the Second P.L.N. It will be subject to review in the light of changing circumstances. For the present, the additional production of 1,700 million yards is to be distributed as follows:

- (i) 700 million yards for the handloom industry from mill yarn;
- (ii) 300 million yards for the handloom industry from Ambar Charkha yarn;
- (iii) 200 million yards by the introduction of powerlooms in the handloom sector. Co-operative societies of handloom weavers are to be aided with loans to instal some 35,000 additional powerlooms in the two years 1956-57 and 1957-58;
- (iv) 350 million yards by the expansion of the mill sector for purposes of export. Mills producing for export are to be permitted to instal automatic looms, the number of which will be limited to 14,600, giving an additional output of 350 million yards. The cloth produced on these extra looms would be earmarked for export, but if necessity arises this cloth may be allowed to be sold in the home market subject to a penal excise duty;
- (v) 150 million yards reserved to be allocated to that sector which is capable of producing it.

At present the handloom production is about 1,500 million yards of cloth annually. Under the above scheme, out of the additional demand of 1,700 million

yards, 1,000 million yards have been reserved for production by the handloom industry making thus a total of 2,500 million yards in all. The revised textile policy has, however, not been received with the unanimous approval of the interested sections in the country. For example, it is contended that (1) the introduction of powerlooms in the handloom sector would result in large-scale displacement of the handloom weavers and total paralysation of the handloom industry. The Kanungo Committee had admitted that one powerloom would easily displace 20 handlooms. But this contention overlooks the need for improvement in production techniques in order to enable the handloom weaver to improve his earnings, and raise his standard of living. At the same time, this change-over to power would be so regulated that it would be in relation to the additional demand for cloth, and only after care has been taken to see that full employment has been provided to existing handloom weavers; (2) the additional quota of 14,600 automatic looms "in the name of exports" given to mills is uncalled for. The country has already 28.64 lakhs of handlooms, and even assuming that there are only 22 lakhs, making allowance for idle looms, the production of handloom cloth at the rate of 6 yards per loom per day could be 4,000 million yards. But it is submitted that the figure of 28.64 lakhs was collected in 1951 at a time when there was an acute shortage of yarn and the numbers were inflated in order to secure additional yarn supplies. The Textile Inquiry Committee (The Kanungo Committee) after carrying sample surveys assessed the number of active commercial looms at only 1.24 millions. Except in one or two places the Committee also found that the actual handloom weaver is a whole-time weaver by occupation. Their finding has been borne out in the Census Report for 1951 where the number of full-time handloom weavers has been calculated at 1.28 millions. In order to produce the 2,500 million yards of cloth which has been reserved for the handloom industry, it would require nearly 1.4 million handlooms working full time for 300 days a year at the rate of 6 yards a day per loom. It would be apparent, therefore, that there need be no fear of unemployment.

The recommendations made by the Textile Inquiry Committee (The Kanungo Committee) and the relevant factors were fully taken into account by the Government before arriving at these decisions.



## GLIMPSES OF SOCIAL LIFE IN MAURYA INDIA

By DR. BIMAL KANTI MAJUMDER, M.A., D.Phil.

THE rule of the Imperial Mauryas constitutes one of the most brilliant periods in the annals of ancient India from whatever point of view one may approach it. A picture of the state of society in the period under review will, therefore, be a subject of absorbing interest. Abundant materials bearing on the social life may with advantage be culled from the statements of Graeco-Roman writers like Megasthenes, Arrian, Strabo, Pliny, Diodorus, etc., the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya (supposing that Kautilya or Vishnugupta flourished in the fourth century B.C.), the Code of Manu, the Pali books, Patanjali and also from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. These works vary in date, manner of presentation and wealth of detail, and consequently the materials collected have to be taken with a grain of salt.

### POPULATION: CASTE SYSTEM: SOCIAL DIVISION

The majority of population consisted, as in modern India, of agriculturists. The higher classes in the country served in the capacity of State officials and had no land-owning qualification. They were granted a defined portion of the revenue so that they might meet their normal expenses. According to the Cambridge History (*Ancient India*, Vol. I), this was almost like the *jaigir* system of Muslim times. Persons engaged in cattle-breeding were provided with a share of stock.<sup>1</sup> Megasthenes says that the people were divided into the following seven classes: (1) Philosophers, (2) Husbandmen, (3) Herdsmen and Hunters, (4) Artisans and Traders, (5) Soldiers, (6) Overseers, (7) Councillors. The list does not appear to be exhaustive. There were a large number of crafts; especially persons, dealing in precious metals and textiles, existed. Persons following the professions of the doctor, the actor, the singer, the dancer and the soothsayer formed a large percentage.<sup>2</sup>

The caste system was already an old institution in the Maurya period, although there is no clear reference to Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras as separate castes in the inscriptions of Asoka. The *Arthashastra* has detailed the duties of the four castes.<sup>3</sup> If the duties assigned to each caste were not performed by its members, the society, Kautilya apprehended, would collapse by confusion of castes.

"It is to this period," writes the Cambridge History,<sup>4</sup> "that we must ascribe the great complexity of the caste system, and the beginning of the association of caste with craft. It seems not doubtful that a number of castes did arise, according to the Brahmana theory, by intermixture of the old four divisions which still formed the basis, a process natural in itself, when intermarriage between the different classes were still licit, and certain to be specially noted, while it is evidenced not only by the testimony of the theological works, but also by so wordily a treatise as the *Arthashastra*."

On the basis of Asokan inscriptions and Buddhist Pali works it is not difficult to form an idea of the social structure. It was as follows:

(1) *Brahmanas*, i.e., worldly Brahmanas and not Sramanas who were probably travelling saints and mendicants having their own independent religious views and not adhering to the practices prescribed by the Vedas.

(2) *Grihapatis*, an aristocratic class coming after the Kshatriyas and the Brahmanas.

(3) *Bhritiyakas* and *Dasas*, i.e., hired labour and bondsmen forming the lowest stratum.

The inscriptions of Asoka mention a number of religions, sects and communities. They comprised the Brahmanas, the Buddhists (Sramanas), the Nigranthas and the Ajivikas. Asoka's conception of *dhamma* exercised a wholesome influence on the religious life of the period. The law of piety which he inculcated, 'denotes any act in accord with the established custom which a man of right feeling will naturally do, and which further is the cause of heavenly bliss.'

*Language and writing:* The Asokan edicts throw considerable light upon the vehicles of culture of those days, thus revealing the cultural side of the society. The vehicles of culture were—alphabet and speech or language. There were two scripts: (1) Brahmi and (2) Kharoshthi. The former is supposed to have emanated from God, Brahma. Four different languages or more properly, four modes of speech were recognised by the ancient writers. Prakrita was the common language used in Asokan Lipis, and this, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,<sup>5</sup> was not a different language but only a different mode of speech from Sanskrita, the parent language. According to Strabo, the Indians had no written laws, because they were

1. Cambridge History: *Ancient India*, Vol. I, p. 475.

2. The terms were—*Chikitsaka*, *Kusilava*, *Gayana*, *Nartaka* and also *Vaggyivin*.

3. *Kautilya Arthashastra*: Shyama Sastri's tr., pp. 7-8.

4. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 40.

5. *Asoka*, 3rd Ed.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**INDIA IN THE VEDIC AGE** (Being a history of Aryan expansion in India): By Purushottam Lal Bhargava, M.A., Ph.D., Sastri. The Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Lucknow. 1956. Pp. 202. Price Rs. 22-8.

It was in 1922 that Pargiter published his now famous volume *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* in which he sought for the first time with great critical acumen and industry to utilise the vast genealogical material in the *Puranas* for giving a connected account of the history of our land down to the Bharata War. Pargiter's method which involved a total rejection of the Vedic ("Brahmana") in favour of the Epic and the Puranic ("Kshatriya") tradition was strongly criticised at the time by a number of scholars including the late Professors Keith and Johnston. In recent times a number of Indian scholars—S. N. Pradhan, H. C. Raychaudhuri and A. D. Pusalkar—in attempting to cover more or less completely the same ground have adopted a more balanced view seeking to rectify the defects of the *Purana* historical tradition of the most ancient times in the light of the more authentic Vedic data. The present work which is the latest in the series is distinguished from the rest by its fundamental standpoint which may be stated in the author's word: Discussing the Puranic account of the royal genealogies he observes that the approximately correct version obtained by collation of the epic and the Puranic texts, when shorn of the additions, interpolations and mistakes of the later Puranic editors, fully agrees with the ancient record of the *Sutas*. More clearly he states that the original Puranic layer consisting of the records of the *Sutas*, as distinguished from the later layer comprising the additions and interpolations of the later editors, is in remarkable agreement with the Vedic evidence. The author seeks to prove his case by a number of arguments which deserve the serious attention of all scholars. On some points his views are open to criticism, as when he frames the hypothesis (Chapt. II) of an original *Purana* which formed the basis of the historical narratives in the later Vedic *Samhitas* (although the Vedic references mention the *Puranas* only as a branch of literature dealing with creation-legends and so forth) or when he holds (Chap. III) that the Aryans entered India under the leadership of Manu (clearly an eponymous culture-hero and not a historical figure) and were driven by a great flood from their original home (none of the Vedic legends of the flood or even the parallel Babylonian legends making any reference to such a migration). The author's other conclusions are

important and noteworthy, as when he proceeds to show that the early royal families descended from Manu belonged to the Indus Valley (the location of the Saudyumnas and the Aikshvahas at Pratishthana in the Vatsa territory and at Kosala respectively being due to a mistake of the later Puranic editors in placing them in regions ruled by their descendants), that the titles 'lunar' and 'solar' race applied by the later writers to those families have no warrant in the older texts which know Soma (grandfather of Sudyumna) and Vivasvan (father of Manu) only as proper names, that Pargiter's designation of "the Aila race" is an error arising from transfer of a metonymic used for Pururavas to his descendants, that the Haihayas and the Aikshvahas and others spread to the west and the south in later times. Less thorough and convincing is the author's chronology of the Vedic period (Chap. IX) which is based upon his acceptance of the Puranic interval of 1050 years between Parikshit and Mahapadma Nanda and his calculation of the number of royal generations preceding Parikshit on an average of 20 years for each generation, the result giving the Vedic Age a duration of about 2,000 years from 3,000 B.C. (date of the Aryan migration) to 1,000 B.C. (date of the Bharata War). The author's sketch of Vedic society (Chap. XI) leads him to the sweeping generalisation that the Vedic Indians "had no caste system but were divided into three classes." His equally sketchy account of Vedic religion (Chap. XII) makes him indulge in the equally unsatisfactory generalisation that "the present Hindu religion, though greatly changed in appearance, is in essence the descendant of the old Vedic religion."

On the whole this is a very scholarly work deserving the serious attention of all those interested in the study of Ancient Indian history and culture. The book is written in a clear style and is remarkably free from printing mistakes.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN:** By Kalki Charan Ghosh. Published by K. P. Basu Publishing Co., 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Pp. 486. Price Rs. 20.

This is the revised and enlarged edition of the author's book published several years back and the words "and Pakistan" has been added to the title of the original book. Division of this sub-continent into two sovereign States since 15th August, 1947, has created numerous economic problems for each of these units. The pattern of trades and industries is fast changing in India and as a result of Five-Year Plans, our agricultural economy is being converted into an

industrial one and our exports of raw materials are fast being changed into that of finished or semi-finished manufacture. Our trade with Pakistan comes under the category of 'international.' As India is trying to be independent of Pakistan in raw materials, such as, jute, cotton and cereals, so Pakistan is endeavouring to build up her industries without depending on Indian supply.

The book under review is just the book of reference necessary for students, economists, industrialists and planners. The subject-matter is classified into nineteen chapters, viz., Area and Political Division, Land and Natural Regions, Man-power—Population and Economic Status, Agriculture, Livestock, Forest, Minerals, Raw Materials (Nos. 334 arranged alphabetically), Water—Irrigation, Power Projects, Transport and Communication, Ports, Foreign Trade, Inland Trade, Joint Stock Companies, Industry—Capital Investments, Electrical Power, Banks, Insurance and Co-operatives, Public Finance and National Income. An Appendix gives in short particulars of the Second Five-Year Plan and the Industrial policy of the Government of India. Index at the end of the book will help readers to find the wealth of information contained in the volume. Pakistan figures have been given at the end of each chapter and comparative world figures are illuminating.

The author has spared no pains to furnish up-to-date figures and information from Blue Books of India and Pakistan and also from International Publications of U.N., I.M.F. and World Bank. Recent publications of U.S.A. and U.K. and various reports have been fully utilized to make this publication dependable. As a book of reference this publication shall find its place in our college and public libraries, and men of business and industrialists will benefit by its possession. We congratulate Sri Ghosh for presenting to the public so much information in one volume at a time when it is most needed in the wake of the Second Five-Year Plan.

A. B. DUTTA

**MORNING BLOSSOMS.** *Being a collection of the earliest writings of P. Chakravarti. Chief Justice of West Bengal and for some time Governor. General Printers and Publishers Private Ltd., 119, Dharamkala Street, Calcutta-13. Illustrated.*

It is due to the initiative and enterprise of S. Suresh Chandra Das, a devoted pupil of the author, that the treasures hidden in the pages of a college magazine, have been brought to the public view in a handy book-form after no less than thirty years. Of all the college magazines we have ever seen, the Presidency College Magazine certainly deserves the credit of being a first-class periodical of this type. And it is no little credit for the Magazine that it was once able to obtain these treasures for their first publication. The book under review contains five invaluable articles written as a student and ex-student of the Presidency College of Calcutta, the premier educational institution on this side of India, between the years 1917 and 1926. The articles are: (1) An Evening Talk, (2) A Defence of College Square, (3) Monmohan Ghose, (4) The Calcutta University, and (5) English Written by Indians. These essays are very entertaining. The second one reminds most of us of our college days, when scarcely a single day passed without a stroll round the College Square. We confess, we missed many things which could not escape the penetrating eyes of the author. His narration is very often reflective. The chapter on Monmohan Ghose is excellent.

The students of the mystic poet-professor, no less than the lay readers like ourselves who had not the fortune of hearing him in the class-room, will derive much benefit and get enlightened from the perusal of this highly entertaining pen-picture by the author. The paper on 'The Calcutta University' speaks much of the influence of such an institution on the social life of Bengal, nay India, and in view of the approach of its centenary, should be read and re-read by those engaged in writing its history. We cannot but congratulate S. Das on this timely publication.

JOGESH C. BAGAI

**DIALOGUES WITH THE GURU:** *Compiled by R. Krishna Swami Iyer. Published by Chetana Ltd., 34, Rampart Row, Bombay-1. Pp. 194. Price Rs. 5.*

The author, who has to his credit four more books on the Vedanta, presents in this volume a compilation of talks with His Holiness Sri Chandra Sekhar Bharati Swamini, the late Sankaracharya of Sringeri Math, with an introduction by M. Paul Masson-Oursel, Director of Studies at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, University of Paris.

Sringeri Math is one of the four monasteries founded by Sri Sankaracharya in the ninth century at the four corners of India as fortresses of Hinduism. The venerable abbots of these monasteries are called Sankaracharya as successors of the great founder. Sri Chandrasekhar Bharati, who was the former abbot of Sringeri Math, situated in a beautiful place on the river Tunga, was born on Sunday, October 16, 1892, and passed away on Sunday, September 26, 1954. He was such a versatile Sanskrit scholar and a spiritual giant that President Rajendra Prasad and other celebrities were profited by his illuminating conversations. In 1931, he initiated Sri Abhinava Vidyaratna, the present abbot of Sringeri Math and installed him as his successor and withdrew entirely from the secular affairs of the Math for whole-time study and meditation.

The conversations, recorded in this book, took place between the years 1925 and 1927 about thirty years ago and are held on Hinduism, modern education, marriage reform, religious neutrality, fate and free will, unity of God, true devotion, Advaita and similar other problems of topical interest. About these dialogues rightly does M. Paul Masson-Oursel observe in the introduction as follows: "It is a two-voiced meditation on the attainment of deliverance in accordance with the purest Vedantic orthodoxy. The author has made a faithful and judicious interpreter of the teaching of Sri Sankara's School. In the past as in the present, gurus to comment the venerated texts have assuredly never been wanting. Here is a question of showing how the highest truth can serve us in practical life, and how the concrete and multiple difficulties of the modern man, private and professional alike, are to be overcome by a wisdom which is not only classical but immutable. True in the absolute level, Vedanta is no less so at the temporal level. Resolving all abstract problems it must correspondingly solve all the points of conscience that line the path of man or woman from birth till death. Eternity is contemporary with all ages. And orthodoxy is presented here in terms of an integral eternalism—an adequate presentation of that immutable truth as the condition of salvation, of deliverance for all beings."

"This manual" reiterates the same French savant, "which places the purest traditional knowledge within the grasp of the most modern Hindu should also be a



ma-ter of keen interest to India's Western friends; for, it is dissemination of this kind alone, that can prevent its civilisation with its so rich past and so rich future from foundering in a chaotic humanism."

The book is attractively got-up and adorned with a beautiful portrait of the late Sankaracharya of Sringeri Math whose dialogues are published in it.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

1. SPIRITUAL AWAKENER: Pp. 160. Price Re. 1-8.

2. GOD-REALISATION: Pp. 190. Price Rs. 2.

3. YOGA AND REALISATION: Pp. 250. Price Rs. 3.

These three books are written by Swami Sivananda and published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivananda Nagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The first book is a bouquet of elevating messages of Swami Sivananda, the dynamic Hindu monk of Rishikesh. They are judiciously gleaned from numerous letters and leaflets of the prolific author. These sayings, which are surcharged with deep spiritual fervour, will certainly be instructive to the aspirants and general readers alike.

The second volume contains a careful collection of several interesting articles of the author made by his disciple Swami Keshavananda. Now as the dark cloud of rank materialism is fast enveloping the firmament of India, the book timely sheds a bright light of spirituality. The author explains various practical ways and means of perfecting the heart and realising God, and impressively exhorts the afflicted people to practise them in daily life for the sake of needed peace and bliss.

The last one is a compilation of different articles written by the learned author on Yoga, which is the wonderful fruit of Indian culture and a distinct way of union for the mortals with the Immortal One. These essays are brief, thoughtful and inspiring. Though there is a lamentable lack of scholarly versatility and profundity, yet the book contains the essence of the subject dealt with. The articles under the caption of "Cast Off This Ego," "Philosophy of Bhakti," "Ideal of Yoga," "The Rugged Path" and "Ethics of the Bhagavad Gita" require special mention. The book, it is hoped, will be able to instil in the hearts of the readers an interest in the study and practice of Yoga.

SHIBANI PRASAD MAITRA

ECHOES: By One who has heard and caught them. To be had of M/s. Das Gupta & Co., Ltd., 54/3 College Street, Calcutta-12. Price inland Rs. 2-12, Foreign 6s.

Gri Sri Nripendranath, author of this book, left his mortal coil in 1951. In the form of questions and answers he, in this book, explains clearly and tries to solve in his own way many of our spiritual problems. In the first seven chapters he describes the nature of God and man's relation to Him, the real meaning of religion, the way of self-realisation and the different religious pursuits of knowledge, action and love. The subsequent chapters deal with the significance of the symbol of Siva, the image of Kali and the conception of Krishna and Radhika. Non-communal and lucid, these discussions will be found illuminating.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

#### BENGALI

JALADHAR SEN-ER ATMAJIVANI (Autobiography of Jaladhar Sen): From notes taken down by Narendranath Bose. With a sketch of his literary life by Hemendraprasad Ghose. Prabartak Publishers, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 3.

It was sometime in 1925, when Rai Bahadur Jaladhar Sen, the well-known litterateur of a generation ago, was sixty-five, that Narendranath Bose along with some literary friends told him one evening at the Calcutta Hotel that it would be of great interest to them as well as to the Bengali-reading public if he narrated in detail his life-story and that Bose was ready and willing to write it down *verbatim*, in several sittings, if necessary. They pressed him hard and Jaladhar Sen was agreeable to the proposal on condition that the account should not be published in his life-time. But they could meet only at long intervals. Within a period of four or five years they could sit together only for twenty-one days, and the result was this autobiographical book depicting the early life of this loveable writer.

Jaladhar Sen was a novelist, essayist and writer of short stories but, above all, he was a writer of travel-accounts. As Hemendraprasad Ghose remarks in his sketch that at the time Jaladhar Sen began to write—a book of travel was almost a rarity and Sen continued to work in this field for a long time. *Himalaya, Prabaser Patra, Pathik and Himadri* are still unrivalled in this department of literature. But what endeared him to all is not merely his writings but his genial personality. Though he was a Rai Bahadur, a title conferred on him by the then Government for his literary attainments, people would seldom use this title but everyone, young or old, addressed him as *dada*. Even at the time Jaladhar Sen emerged as a remarkable writer there were literary factions and the groups often stood apart, but this "elder brother" of the literary world was loved and respected by all groups without distinction. He was, so to say, without an enemy. For a long time till his death Jaladhar Sen very ably conducted as Editor the Bengali monthly *Bharatvarsa* founded by the poet Dwijendra Lal Roy. He was in various ways connected with the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and other great literary institutions, and was the permanent President of the Rabi-basar. Narendranath Bose has done well to record this autobiographical account of his early life and of his association with his Master, his friend, philosopher and guide, Kargal Harinath. Had the book been a complete story of his life it would have been a great autobiography, but as it is, it is fascinating.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAHA

#### HINDI

AMIT REKHAEN: Compiled by Satyavati Malik. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 246. Price Rs. 3.

"Not the inventors of the new machinery, but the inventors of new values move the world," so wrote Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in the autograph-book of the compiler when she first met him by a chance but never-to-be forgotten and happy coincidence in New Delhi. The book, under review, seems to be a kind of commentary on this dictum of the learned doctor. For, the five sections into which it is divided, centre, first, round the majesty of the Mother in terms of her integral influence on her offspring as illustrated in the life of Gandhiji. Deenabandhu Andrews (to whom the book is dedicated) and others; secondly, deal with unique individuals like Madame Curie, Kasturba Gandhi, Sarojinalini Dutt; thirdly, describe a few characters who, drawn from the common run of humanity though, yet revealed a rare sublimity and strength of human nature; fourthly, recall golden

memories of persons in whom shone true heroism of the spirit; and, fifthly and finally, recapture moments which were packed with the ecstasy of the Eternal respectively. *Amit Rekhaen* can be employed usefully as a teacher of high ethics in our schools and families.

**EK ADARSHI MAHILA:** By Vinayak Tiwari. *Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.*

This is a life-sketch of the late Shrimati Avantika-bai Gokhale, who was one of our ideal women-servers of the country of the Gandhian pattern—an exemplary helpmate of her husband, a strenuous and selfless social worker, a disciplined devotee and a picture of humility. She will, therefore, continue to be a beacon-light to our women social workers in particular.

### GUJARATI

G. M.

(1) **GUJARATI BHASHA:** Translated by Keshavram K. Shastri. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 2.

(2) **HARSAMENO PAD ANE HARMATA:** By Keshavram K. Shastri. Pp. 230. Price Rs. 3.

(3) **MAHABHARAT: ASHWAMEDHA PARVA:** By Keshavram K. Shastri. Pp. 586. Price Rs. 4.

All three published by the *Forbes Gujarati Sabha*, Bombay. 1951. Paper cover.

(4) **REKHA DARSHANA, Part I:** By Keshavram K. Shastri. Published by *Elite Book Service*, Ahmedabad. 1951. Paper cover. Pp. 209. Price Rs. 3.

Mr. Keshavram, through devotion and enthusiasm for research into old and mediaeval Gujarati literature,

has carved out a niche for himself. The first part of the above books have been published under the auspices of the *Forbes Gujarati Sabha*, which encourages such researches. *Gujarati Bhasha* (1) is a translation of the portion of Sir George Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* which deals with the Gujarati language. It is a second edition and has been touched up by Shri Shastri. *Harmata* (2) is a well-known poem of the old saintly poet, Narsingh Mehta, devotee of Krishna, and describes how Lord Krishna came to his rescue at a critical moment in his life and presented him with a garland, to silence his enemies, who were bent on killing him, unless his Lord performed a miracle. Several MSS. of the verses describing this incident occur, and after going through all of them, he has published this correct edition. The *Sabha* had undertaken to bring out a correct edition of the *Mahabharat* as written in Gujarati verse by old poets. Five volumes have already been published. The present one is the sixth, and contains the *Aswamedha Parva*, written by Kahan, son of Harjivan in Samvat year 1095. Collection of various MSS. has contributed to the publication of this edition. Outlines of Gujarati literature (4) is the result of close study, which Mr. Shastri has to make in the field of research into old Gujarati literature. In Part I, he has come as far as the epoch of *Akhyanas* (eighteenth Samvat century). Suitable extracts from the works of the writers of the different *yugas* (epochs) have been quoted. Here lies its value.

K.M.J.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## The Conflicting Roles of Women

NEW MOTIFS IN THE INDIAN SOCIAL PATTERN

C.V.H. contributes the following suggestive article in *The Aryan Path* on the desirability and possibility of India's conserving her traditional social values while moving with the times, as move she must:

Although Indian social organization has undergone a perpetual process of change, silent and imperceptible in its incidence, one remarkable feature about the revolution which it faces has far-reaching implications for the future. Propelling this revolution are two vital forces—first, the advent of scientific rationalization and technological progress, behind which trials the process of industrialization; and secondly, the dawn of political freedom, as the sequel to a prolonged struggle. The current revolution through which India is passing affects the entire basis of India's life and social organization, and in particular its most important sections, namely, women and children.

Its foundation is social and economic egalitarianism; the main instruments for achieving it are law and education and scientific progress generally; and the superstructure envisaged is a Welfare State. One very important aspect of the situation is that a secular outlook both underlies and dominates the revolution.

The question is: Is the basis of the revolution sound and effective? Can the transition be so managed that changes take place without producing social convulsions, degenerating into social chaos, and without repudiating and destroying some of the traditionally venerated ideals for which India has stood through the centuries?

India has been swept into the stream of world thought and, whether we like it or not, we cannot extricate ourselves from its currents and cross-currents. This makes it all the more imperative to ensure that, while the best in these currents is absorbed by us, we do not permit our indigenous cultural and social stream to be clogged and silted by cultural and social deposits alien to our traditional way of life.

Two ancient Indian institutions facing a furious and deadly challenge from technological and scientific forces are the caste system and the joint family. The challenge is affecting not only the structure of these institutions but also their individual constituents. Its most significant aspect is the demand for equality of opportunity for the individual as an individual.

The increasing tempo of the assault on caste and the joint family is justified to the extent that these institutions have become encrusted with the dust of custom to the corresponding detriment of their inner vitality.

The caste system involved inequalities inci-

dental to division of labour based on caste affiliations, endogamy and sanctity of tradition. The joint family encouraged a false sense of security and the dependence of a number of persons on the earnings of a single individual. These could not survive the impact of scientific and technological changes and the economic stresses of industrialization, in which individual initiative is a requirement for survival. At the same time, it would be doing them an injustice to regard these as institutions which only encouraged or sustained inequality. During long periods of Indian history, the caste and joint-family organizations afforded much-needed economic security and effective protection to the individuals and groups of families which composed them. A detailed defence of these institutions is not possible in this short essay, nor is it necessary in the present context. If modern economic and other developments, like the rapid progress of communications, render them obsolescent, that does not derogate from their original utility.

The vigorous assault that modern scientific progress is making on the citadel of caste has produced—and continues to produce—a tremendous disturbance in the lives of men and women. Increasingly they are constrained to fall back on their own intellectual and physical resources and competence in getting through life's tribulations and in meeting critical situations. From the individual standpoint this should be welcome, because it induces a feeling of self-confidence and self-reliance, and, by and large, any person possessing these qualities has the makings of an efficient, democratic citizen.

On the other hand, the progressive fading out of the caste organization and of the solidarity of the group that it enshrined has deprived and is increasingly depriving the individual of the security he or she previously felt as a member of a corporate organization, the members of which were bound together by natural affection and religious or communal ties. This phenomenon is producing an even more distressing effect on the family organization and family solidarity.

The predilection of the younger generation for freedom to order their lives in their own way is being strengthened by education and the spread of the scientific outlook. And, besides, industrialization promises them greater economic security in separation from large family units.

If something could be substituted for caste and the joint family in the social organization which would serve the same objectives in the current context as those institutions served in the past, the effect of the social revolution would not be so deplorable, deleterious or alarming. As it is, while the joint-family system or smaller family system which is favoured by a few persons is fostering a tendency towards isolation among brothers and sisters, parents and children, and so on. The inevitable sequel to this process is the demand for changes in law, status, individual relations and the social order generally, which would facilitate exogamous marriages, divorce and remarriage on the



one hand and which is encouraging economic competitiveness between the sexes on the other.

It would be foolish, indeed reactionary, to indulge in a *a priori* denunciation of these changes in social relationships. It is equally foolish to oppose them and provoke reactions unfavourable to the prospect of confining the trend to rational and ethically defensible proportions before the position becomes irretrievable.

Modernism exacts its toll and its inexorability cannot be mitigated by sentimental appeals to tradition.

At the same time let us realize that there is no inherent incompatibility between scientific progress and our traditional ideals, and that an adaptation of the latter to science's demand for rationalization is not impracticable. The danger lies, in fact, in permitting the trend to proceed to disastrous lengths, where it dehumanizes social relationships. Every progressive and advanced society should be competent to harmonize the two factors and to facilitate individual progress and the realization of individual ambitions without isolating the individual from the community or loosening the moral, spiritual and other bonds that bind together men and women, individual members of the same family and the different family units which constitute the community. It will be technology's greatest conquest if this harmonization can be successfully effected, while it will be its great defeat if it destroys these human values and relationships.

So far as India is concerned, the progressive disintegration of the caste and joint-family organizations can be effectively arrested without jeopardising social progress, if the ideal of family solidarity and family relationships can be preserved out of the ruins of the old joint-family organization. The family is potentially the most significant and the most powerful unifying factor in most organized civilized societies. It can be so in India too, if, without offence to her traditions, family relationships are rationalized by the recognition of inter-caste and exogamous marriages, and by the acceptance of the double role of women—as members of the community and of society, with a significant contribution to make to their progress, and as wives, mothers and citizens in charge of rearing future generations of citizens. From family solidarity to community and social solidarity for the common benefit is an easy next step. The dissolution of the caste and joint-family systems, which seems inescapable, can be turned to effective advantage. But this calls for enshrining the family, in which individual initiative and self-improvement are adjusted to community and social objectives, and unstintingly acknowledging the important place of women as the most pertinent solution to a situation in which, while the old institutions are disintegrating, individual members thereof are likely to be left in a vacuum.

The adoption by the Indian Parliament in the post-Independence period of a series of measures to regulate inheritance, succession to property, marriage and divorce, guardianship of minors and so on, in response to a growing volume of public opinion in the country, is a phenomenon markedly illustrative of the social revolution. The political rights of Indian women have been safeguarded by giving the franchise to all adult women—something which even some of the advanced Western countries have not done. The cumulative effect of these series of measures is to accord to women a place in society

which satisfies at once their demand for equality and their need for economic security. If law alone can establish equality all round, these laws should do it.

All rights, however, impose corresponding responsibilities and the legal rights acquired by women impose on them the heavy obligation of utilizing, for the general good, the opportunities opened out for them.

The women of India are in this context confronted with a dilemma. They are called upon to decide whether they will utilize for pursuing educational careers, the professional and social service opportunities now open to them or regard their traditional natural function of marrying and bringing up families as sufficiently exciting and important and adopt it. The dilemma is mainly individual; but it is also social. In the case of the individual woman, the answer may be one way or the other. But as a social problem, it has a number of ramifications. The cardinal and paramount question is whether the two roles referred to are in such mutual conflict that they cannot be satisfactorily reconciled by most women. If they can be, how is that possible?

Women, as much as men, need to satisfy their emotional needs, apart from safeguarding their economic security. If the latter induces them to seek employment and careers, either from economic necessity or from ambition, the former induces them to seek matrimony, to rear children and to make happy homes. We have emphasized the vital significance of the family in the social organization of modern times. The same consideration constrains us to emphasize that educated women in India in general will be discharging an important duty if they satisfactorily combine home-making and family rearing with gainful employment in those special lines for which temperamentally and naturally they are especially fitted. The problem for women is how to combine these without sacrificing their emotional fulfilment through marriage and without allowing themselves to stray into dubious devices to achieve a very doubtful economic self-sufficiency.

At the same time, the problem of marriage of educated women in the upper middle classes is not an easy one to solve. In India, many single young women, the number of whom is rapidly on the increase as a result of the legal prohibition of marriages below a specified age, particularly those belonging to families which have not completely discarded the inhibitions of caste restrictions, experience difficulty in making suitable matches. They certainly cannot marry young men below their age or below their own level of education, and the number of eligible young men above these categories is not considerable. It is not improbable too that in many cases the desire of educated girls in middle-class families to marry comes up against the blind wall of the still widely prevalent demand of eligible bridegrooms for enormous dowries. The refusal of a young I.A.S. Officer of South India to consider proposals for marriage made to him on behalf of a number of young, educated girls from respectable families, unless the proposals were accompanied by the offer of a huge dowry, fairly represents the prevailing tendency. Many instances can also be cited of highly educated girls of over twenty-five years preferring to remain unmarried and go in for careers to save their parents' finding huge amounts to be paid as dowry. Moreover, the average educated young

man himself prefers a girl with moderate education and no ambition for a career.

Ideas on this subject are, no doubt, changing rapidly, and the efforts of social reformers are producing strong public opinion against the anti-social dowry system, which has ruined many middle-class families belonging to the upper castes in South India and elsewhere. When the social revolution takes a few more strides, it is bound to sweep away this system. Here again the transitional period is proving a period of widespread disquiet.

The challenges posed by the social revolution in regard to the position of women in society are not insoluble, but the transition has produced certain upsets.

There is no disputing the benefits accruing from higher education for girls. It broadens the mind, increases sensibilities, improves standards of living—all of which are assets in enabling them to play their part as wives and mothers. What is, however, of paramount importance is to decide whether the education of girls only for a career is a social gain or an unmixed social blessing. If the traditional ideal of marriage and playing their role as housewives is the better ideal for Indian women, should they be encouraged to go in for university education in such large numbers? This dilemma Indian society has to resolve in a sympathetic and helpful spirit, realizing that the tide of revolution has advanced too far for it to recede, and that at the same time the tide has not yet advanced so far, or gathered so much strength, that it cannot be harnessed in the interests of the orderly progress of society.

This can be done, if it is realized that educated women should be afforded all opportunities and encouraged to utilize their talents for helping in social progress and for achieving social purposes. Otherwise a sense of frustration would be a provocation to revolt, depriving society of the services of much good human material and talent. Simultaneously the idea has to be put across that the place of women, generally speaking is essentially that of home-making and of bringing up healthy and intelligent children, and that, where the pursuit of a career conflicts with their duty towards society, the decision should in many cases be in favour of the latter.

In the present transitional period the pendulum of progressive social thought reveals a tendency to swing in the direction of wholesale borrowing of ideas from the West and of discarding the indigenous as outmoded and old-fashioned. This swing is still in progress and the efforts of social reformers, social scientists and leaders of public opinion should be directed towards catching up with it at a stage from where it can conveniently be turned back; not completely, but to such an extent as is necessary to direct it most beneficially. From many points of view that stage has been reached. While the need for a new outlook on ancient ideas and institutions is widely felt and accepted and a strong foundation for it has been laid in the law of the land, in the advance of education, in industrialization, in the progress of communications and so on, the stage has come for consolidating the ground covered and moulding developments for the social good.

In recent years Mahatma Gandhi whose services to the cause of social reform, social reconstruction and the removal of social evils are as notable as his contribution to the achievement of national freedom, in-

variably advocated the middle path. His ideas on social progress constitute a bridge between the Eastern and the Western ways of social behaviour and conduct and are in rational conformity with the needs of contemporary times.

Without flouting Indian tradition, Mahatma Gandhi stood for a balanced preservation of the respective roles of men and women in the promotion of the country's socio-economic progress.

The wheel of social revolution in India has not come full circle. When it does so, let us hope that what will emerge from it will be a balanced society, in which everyone will have his allotted place and all will be enabled to make their individual contribution to the common cause. Let us hope that it will be a society in which there will be as full social equality as possible, instead of inequalities based on caste and wealth and position, and a society which will have no place for a double code of morality and conduct—one for men and the other for women.

### Sardar Patel

V. P. Menon writes in *The Indian Review*:

When I first met Sardar in 1946 in the midst of momentous discussions affecting the fate of the country, little did I realise that it was going to be the beginning of a long and intimate association in great enterprises and noble undertakings.

It was during the discussions that followed Lord Mountbatten's arrival in India, I was almost in daily touch with Sardar either personally or on the telephone and his word to me, was equivalent to the pledge of the Congress. It was when the disaster of power being transferred to the provinces was looming large on the horizon, that in April, 1947, I broached to him the idea of division on the basis of two Dominions. He gave me his word in support and thereafter we went ahead and never had to look back. Then came the June 3 plan and the formation of the States Ministry, which gave me the great opportunity directly to serve under him.

It was then that I came to realise what it meant to enjoy his confidence. Throughout the negotiations with the rulers of Indian States leading to the accession of almost all of them it was Sardar's greatness to give, and my privilege to enjoy, such freedom in those negotiations, as it has seldom fallen to the lot of any man, much less a civil servant.

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There was an occasion in August, 1947, when a New Delhi English daily managed to get hold of a copy of the Draft Instrument of Accession and to publish it. This was quite unauthorised and added to our difficulties. When I saw Sardar the next day, to discuss the day's problems, he turned to me and said, "Menon, now that the Draft Instrument of Accession has appeared in the papers, can I have a copy for my own information?" Even then I did not realise what he was driving at. But, suddenly, with a typical burst of laughter he told me that he was only joking.

That freedom (and the confidence which alone could give it) I enjoyed throughout all the delicate negotiations with the Indian Princes. But lest any one should imagine that Sardar allowed himself to be dominated or guided by another, let me say that no master could be so vigilant as he and few could rival him in an insatiable quest for information, or in the control which he exercised over the important policies and decisions of his Ministries.

It was the daily routine for me to seek instructions and guidance from him and his nightly hobby to ring me up before retiring and take from me an account of the day's activities. When I went out on a mission he was generally the last person I saw, and when I returned he was the first person to whom I reported on the results. That is how history was made during those three years before his death, which saw the exorcising of the ghost of the Balkanisation of India and the build-up of that solid structure of India's unity without which what we have achieved since or what we may achieve in future would have been impossible.

I recall a particularly touching incident, when I went to Ahmedabad, along with the rulers of Gwalior, Patiala and Jaipur, to present to Sardar, on the occasion of his birthday a copy of the White Paper on the Indian States.

He received the copy and, looking at me with affectionate emotion, said, "Now, what can I give you in return."

It is six years since the giant that walked like the Colossus in his day was laid to rest; as he wished, amid the common dead. As long as he lived, he was the hope of millions and the saviour of many.

Sardar needs no monument. What he has done for his country is his everlasting monument.

As one who served him for three and a half epoch-making years, let me say that when one entered his room, one felt a smaller and lesser man, but came out of it feeling a braver and a wiser one. That was the Sardar as I knew him, and that is the memory that I shall cherish as long as I live.

### The New Crisis

*National Christian Council Review* writes editorially:

The world which had heaved a sigh of relief when the war in Indo-China ended was again plunged into gloom by a series of conflicts. This time the focal points of the trouble shifted from East Asia to West Asia and Eastern Europe. The military intervention of Britain and France in the Middle-East while negotiations were going on under U.N. auspices for a settlement of the problems connected with the nationalization of the Suez Canal came as a shock to all lovers of peace.

Equally reprehensible was Soviet Russia's intervention in Hungary to re-establish in that country a

regime that was not supported by the people of Hungary but was subservient to Russia. While Russia's action was in keeping with her known philosophy and methods involving the use of force, violence and intimidation of her own citizens, that of Britain was a puzzle to friends of that country. She had always been regarded as having a very strong claim to moral leadership because of her devotion to the ideals and aspirations embodied in the United Nation. Friends throughout the world were perplexed as were a great section of the people of Britain itself. Many elements in the situation, such as the fact that destruction of the armed might of only one party in the conflict between Israel and Egypt was aimed at and the insistence that a general settlement of the Suez Canal problem should be coupled with the resolution of the present emergency, lend support to the view that the great power have no hesitation in by-passing the U.N. or in making force an instrument of policy to impose their wills on weaker nations.

It is too early to see what the long-range effect of these conflicts will be, but in the case of the Middle-East an immediate result has been jeopardising the two major objectives of safeguarding navigation through the Suez Canal and of ensuring continuance of the supply of oil. It is to be hoped that the final settlement of the problems will once more demonstrate the futility of war and the use of force as an instrument of national and international policy.

It is gratifying that in these difficulties, India's objective has been reconciliation and her method negotiation. Even if her voice is not heard and her attitude and motives are misunderstood, she is doing a great service to the whole world at this time by advocating the paths of peace.

### The Sacred Pipal

M. D. Chaturvedi writes in *Gram Sevak*:

Indigenous to the Gangetic basin; the pipal is held in great veneration both by Hindus and Buddhists alike throughout the country. It is the well-known Bodhi tree—the Tree of Wisdom—under which Gautama sat for meditation for 49 days, and received Light: Thereafter, he emerged as the Buddha—"enlightened one." The original Bo or Bodhi tree has been replanted from its own seed and perpetuated at Buddha Gaya through the last 2,500 years. Seedlings of this tree have been sent out from time to time to various Buddhist shrines.

The pipal attains a fairly large size and affords shade, making a good avenue tree. Except in arid regions, the tree is cultivated for its shade and sanctity throughout the country, more particularly around temples and wells. The trunk gets fluted as the tree advances in age. The bark is pale grey and smooth, peeling off in irregular rounded flakes.

The tree is almost evergreen, being leafless for a very short while during February. It has broad ovate leaves with a pronounced tail-like tip, one to three inches long. The young leaves appear in the Gangetic basin some time during early spring and are usual reddish pink in colour. The upper surface of leaves turns shiny green later on.

The flowers are of three kinds: male, female and gall. The flowers are invariably associated with insects which help in their fertilization. The function of the gall flowers is to help reproduce insects. They act as a receptacle for their eggs.



The fruits (known as figs) ripen from April to June and on some trees in October-November. They appear in the angle between the leaf-stalk and the twig, and are depressed and almost spherical. They are about half an inch in diameter, and usually carry insects. Dark purple in colour when ripe, the figs are avidly sought by birds, more particularly by the green pigeon.

The *pipal* (Hindi) is known by a variety of names: *pippala* (Sanskrit); *aswat* (Bengali); *ashvatha* (Marathi); *arali* (Kanarese); *ragi* or *ravi* (Telugu); *asi* (Tamil); and *Ficus religiosa* (Latin).

#### PROPAGATION

The tree is easily raised from seed sown in boxes in fine loam covered with manure and admixed with

charcoal. Young self-grown seedlings are commonly met with and are easily transplanted. In nature, one often finds the *pipal* growing on other trees—as a parasite. It grows fast, finally throttling its host.

The *pipal* can stand the severest of droughts. It is also frost-hardy. In the abnormal droughts of 1907 and 1908 in Oudh, the *pipal* alone escaped unscathed. It also withstood successfully the notorious frost of 1905 that affected the entire submontane forests in Uttar Pradesh.

The *pipal* is a sacred tree. It is never cut by Hindus. It affords excellent leaf-fodder for goats, camels and elephants. Its timber is useless.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## World Communications

Through the powerful media of the press, the cinema, radio and television, world communications are in a position to assist the progress of international understanding. In a free world, the right to information seems the logical outcome of the right to education. For this reason, Unesco attaches great importance to mass communication media.

The Organization's first task, in this field, is to acquire a thorough knowledge of the means of communication at present available to the peoples, with a view to helping to improve them. The inequality of social conditions and technical development in various countries has, indeed, led to such differences in this respect that things to which all should have a right are often enjoyed only by a privileged few.

Since 1947, Unesco has carried out a series of surveys on the structure, equipment and operation of information services in the various regions of the world. The information thus collected has enabled a Clearing House to be set up which keeps in close touch with the appropriate national authorities, the specialized associations and professional circles. Unesco is thus in a position to promote the scientific study of mass communication problems and to assist in adapting professional training to the complex requirements of international life.

The results of studies undertaken either by the Clearing House itself, or at its request, have already given rise to several publications, dealing with such subjects as the production and consumption of newsprint, telegraphic news agencies and the flow of news, world television, educational radio and television, children's newspapers and films, and the professional training of mass communication technicians. The Clearing House publishes *Reports and Papers on Mass Communication*.

Under the title *World Communications: Press, Radio, Film, Television*, Unesco has just published the second edition of a general report describing facilities throughout the world for conveying information and ideas. Representing a complete revision of the 1950 edition, this volume constitutes a full inventory of the world's physical equipment for communication. At the same time it fulfils the no less important purpose of drawing attention to those areas of the world where the inadequacy of such equipment deprives people of the opportunity to be fully informed.

Daily newspaper circulation has increased in recent years in most countries and territories. This increase has been particularly striking in certain economically underdeveloped countries, but it is also noticeable in the most advanced countries. In the United States of America, total daily newspaper circulation amounts to more than 55 million copies, as against 54 million in 1951; in Japan, to 35½ million, compared with 28 million in 1951; while in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics circulation totals 44 million copies of daily newspapers and weeklies, as against 34 million in 1951. On the other hand,

in certain countries there has been a decrease in the number of daily newspapers; this is particularly noticeable where rising costs have obliged certain papers to merge with others or to suspend publication. France, for example, lost 32 daily papers, and Japan seven, between 1951 and 1954.

In Africa, radio communication has proved an excellent auxiliary to the press, and most African territories now receive world news agency services by this means. Air transport has likewise enabled many newspapers, published in towns which previously had little or no contact with the outside world, to receive regular supplies of follow-up material, features and photographs. In this continent of Africa, which is still full of surprises, newspapers now-a-days reach jungle villages where, only a few years ago, total illiteracy prevailed. Many examples of this expansion could be quoted; the Gold Coast has 11 daily papers (with a total circulation of 75,000 copies), as well as nine weeklies and a local news agency; Madagascar has seven dailies and 27 weeklies, nearly all published in Malagasy; and in the island of Reunion, daily newspaper circulation has doubled in the last four years. Even Swaziland has two weeklies, while the remote island of St. Helena boasts a rounded news bulletin. However, what is even more important than increases in the number of newspapers and their circulation is the expansion of the vernacular press. There are many local newspapers circulating in the villages in various dialects; Tanganyika, for example, has dailies, and Uganda weeklies, in three vernaculars.

In North America, the press has continued to expand in all directions. The United States of America possesses more newspapers and periodicals than any other country in the world, and has a highly developed system of news transmission; at present almost 2,000 dailies of general interest appear, and in addition there are 545 Sunday papers with a circulation of 50 million, and 8,892 weeklies with a total circulation of over 25 million. The United States newspapers are also the world's largest, with dailies running into 20 and even 40 pages. Although representing only 7 per cent of the world's population, the United States of America absorbs almost 60 per cent of the world's newsprint output. The country is also unique in being the home of three world news agencies (Associated Press, International News Service and United Press Associations); these serve several thousand clients at home and abroad, including an increasing number of radio and television stations. Canada maintains its position as the world's largest producer and exporter of newsprint. Largely because of this country's vast size, its 94 general-interest dailies (82 in English and 12 in French) circulate mainly on a regional basis. However, group control is increasing, about half of the dailies being owned by 11 enterprises. In addition, more foreign-language papers are appearing in Canada as a result of post-war immigration from continental Europe.

In the Latin-American countries, literacy campaigns, such as that launched by the Mexican Government some years ago, have had significant results for the press. In Mexico, which possesses over 160 dailies,

all the larger towns now have their own newspapers, and the provincial press exerts considerable influence. The same is true of Argentina, but it is in Brazil and the Venezuela that the daily press has developed most rapidly.

*The Fall in Illiteracy and the Rise in the Numbers of Newspapers.*

The trend already noticed in Africa and the two Americas is also evident in Asia, particularly in Japan, India, Indonesia and China. Even remote, mountainous Afghanistan has witnessed a significant advance in newspaper-reading, with four dailies appearing in the capital and 11 in provincial towns, and 23 periodicals. In India, although individual newspaper circulations have remained small, the number of papers has increased rapidly, particularly in the case of provincial weeklies and reviews; of the total number of 824, 49 per cent appear in towns with less than 100,000 inhabitants. This rapid growth is undoubtedly due to the literacy campaigns launched in rural areas. Weeklies with small circulations now reach even the outlying villages, and the rural population will doubtless show an increasing desire to be informed about events at home and abroad.

The Japanese press has long been highly-developed, and its circulation has grown rapidly in recent years. In 1952, Japan had 186 dailies, with a circulation of 30 million; today, although there are only 179, their total circulation has increased by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million copies. Thus the number of copies per 1,000 inhabitants is twice as great as in any other Asian country, and is even higher than in the United States of America. Japan also maintains two of the largest news agencies in the world. In the People's Republic of China, the press has expanded remarkably since 1951. The 776 daily newspapers published there appear in numerous editions, and certain large national dailies have several regional offices which issue separate editions using a simple vocabulary. Newspaper-reading has been greatly stimulated by the efforts of the Chinese postal authorities to promote circulation. However, wall-newspapers still remain the chief means of conveying information in rural areas. Their editors now keep in direct touch with the central offices of the national information service, the New China News Agency.

In the Middle East, circulations have everywhere increased. Iraq, Iran, Syria and the Lebanon have between 20 and 40 dailies each, fairly evenly distributed amongst the main towns. The Israeli press, of more recent growth, has shown little change in recent years; although Hebrew papers represent 75 per cent of the total daily circulation, the press remains multilingual.

*The World's Highest Readership Rate: 609 Copies per 1,000 Inhabitants.*

In the last five years the press has continued to expand in all Western European countries. In both Belgium and Sweden, circulation has increased by nearly a million since 1951. The United Kingdom, Sweden, Luxembourg, Norway, Belgium, Denmark and Switzerland have maintained a very high readership rate of over 300 daily newspapers per 1,000 inhabitants. The German Federal Republic has a similar rate; not counting regional editions, it now possesses 671 dailies with a combined circulation of about 16 million, as compared with 623 and a circulation of roughly 13 million in 1952. In Italy, an increase in circulation has also been recorded; and though, strictly speaking, there are no 'national' dailies, most of the large towns have papers with large circulations.

In the countries of Eastern Europe, the press presents more or less uniform characteristics. In Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, the newspaper of Communist Party enjoys the greatest circulation—sometimes three or four times larger than that of its nearest competitor. Total circulations have not declined, and there have even been some noteworthy increases—as in Hungary, with a total daily circulation of 1,100,000 copies as against 850,000 in 1950, and Bulgaria, with 1,275,000 as compared with 800,000 in 1951. In this latter country, the authorities decided, in the interests of farm workers, to have daily papers published at State farms and tractor stations during the harvest season.

In France, the number of dailies has declined since 1950, but total circulation has remained the same and the readership rate has not changed. The national news agency—Agence France-Presse—is one of the six world agencies, its services being used by more than 2,000 newspapers and radio stations at home and abroad. The United Kingdom remains the country with the highest readership rate, with 609 copies of daily papers per 1,000 inhabitants. Its 137 dailies have a total circulation of approximately 31 million, and its 11 national Sunday newspapers one of 30 million. Large enterprises exercise a dominant influence on the press; five chains, in fact, control 47 major dailies and 77 weeklies. London is the home of a world news agency, Reuter's, which co-operates closely with a number of Commonwealth and foreign agencies.

The press of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has several unusual characteristics. Each of the sixteen republics has its own official language, and newspapers are issued in 119 different tongues. There is only one truly national daily—the organ of the Communist Party, published in Moscow and twelve other towns and distributed throughout the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Of all the dailies and weeklies, 65 per cent are published outside Moscow, and this decentralization has resulted in a rapid increase in the number of readers. The press has continued to expand in recent years, and the total circulation of the 7,800 dailies and weeklies is now estimated at 44 million—an increase of 11 million since 1951. They are served by the world news agency Tass, which has its headquarters in Moscow and working arrangements with various agencies in Europe and Asia.

The expansion of the press in Oceania has been aided by increased pulp and newsprint production in Australia and New Zealand, a general increase in population, and higher individual incomes. First in size and importance is the Australian press. Since half the total population of Australia is concentrated in Sydney and Melbourne, the daily newspapers published in these cities alone represent more than half the country's daily circulation. The numbers of newspapers and the circulation figures have scarcely changed in recent years. However, as a result of the influx of European immigrants, 20 newspapers are now published in Australia in languages other than English. The same phenomenon, on a smaller scale, can be observed in New Zealand, where 43 dailies appear in 34 towns and are evenly distributed between the two islands; all have a strongly regional character, and no morning or evening paper has to face any competition in its own region. In the Pacific Islands, although there has been a slight increase in the number of newspapers and of readers, the radio and the cinema have largely supplanted the press as a means of communication.



*One Human Being in Ten goes to the Cinema Once a Week.*

Apart from describing the present world situation with regard to the press, the report published by Unesco gives equally detailed information on recent developments in radio, cinema and television. Space does not permit anything but the broad outlines of this development to be given here. Radio services have continued to spread, especially in economical under-developed areas. This expansion largely accounts for the fact that radio authorities have been looking for new outlets in order to extend or improve the transmission and reception of news. The frequency modulation system (FM) is being used more and more for this purpose; it has the advantage both of eliminating interference with stations working on the older amplitude modulation (AM), and ensuring high-quality reception. The United States of America at present possesses 50 per cent of the total number of receiving sets in use throughout the world, with 794 sets to every 1,000 inhabitants, whereas Europe has only 300 sets to every 1,000 inhabitants. Likewise, however, in the course of the last five years, radio has made considerable progress in South America, China and numerous territories in Africa and the Pacific area.

One human being out of 10, on the average, goes to the cinema once a week. The chief film producers are the United States of America, Japan, India and Hong Kong, followed by Italy, the United Kingdom, the German Federal Republic, France, Mexico and the Philippines. The four greatest newsreel producers are the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and France. The English are still the most assiduous cinemagoers, with an average attendance of 25 times a year. Educational films are still making progress, and are being used more and more in the schools of all five continents. Mobile film units reach the most backward areas and bring films to millions of illiterates, especially in Africa. In the People's Republic of China, 1,200 film units circulate in rural areas, showing documentary films to audiences of from 100 to 1,000 in number.

Television, the most recent of the information media, has seen an extraordinary development. In many regions of Europe and some countries of America and Asia, it has already gone beyond the experimental stage. In most of these countries, networks of transmitting stations are being set up, while sales on receiving sets are expanding rapidly and the quality of broadcasts is being improved. The most remarkable progress has been recorded in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, followed by Canada and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. More than a million television sets have already been sold in Canada, and this figure will probably be reached in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during 1956. In many countries—Brazil, Colombia, France, Japan, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and others—educational broadcasts are provided regularly for children and adults. Teaching by means of a combination of sound and image is destined to bring about radical changes in education.

The first edition of *World Communications*, pointing out that the facts had now been assembled, stated: 'From the facts, action must follow. Millions of people, in vast areas of the world, have little or no modern means of communication. They must be helped to obtain them'. Since that time, the action mentioned has been taken both by the United Nations and by

Unesco. At its 17th session, in April 1954, the Economic and Social Council invited governments to study the possibility of encouraging and developing national mass communication media and of requesting technical assistance from the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies for this purpose. Later in the same year, the General Assembly of the United Nations authorized the granting of such assistance. At its eighth session, in December 1954, the General Conference of Unesco in turn authorized the Organization to assist in the development of communication services. It voted a substantial sum for the sending of expert missions to Member States in 1955 and 1956, at the request of the governments concerned.

As a result of these decisions, therefore, countries desirous of improving their means of communication can, within certain financial limits, obtain direct aid from the United Nations and Unesco. By listing available resources and requirements, the report just published by Unesco is calculated to facilitate work of this kind, which aims at ensuring that every human being enjoys his right to information.—*Unesco Chronicle*, June, 1956.

### Unesco Sponsors History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind

It would be difficult to try and draw the peoples of the world together in closer comprehension and friendship if they knew nothing of each other's history, traditions and contributions to the common heritage of mankind. That is why Unesco attaches such importance to the study of history in general. And that is why in particular it has entrusted a group of scholars with the task of preparing a *History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind* to show the interdependence of nations and their cultures in a just light.

The work has been taking shape since 1950 under the guidance of an international commission, composed today of 29 members, representing 20 countries, with the Brazilian scholar, Professor Paulo de Berrido Carneiro, as chairman. Professor Carneiro described it as a "work which might help educational institutions in the different countries to attach less importance to history from the national angle and lay greater emphasis on what the peoples have gained by knowing each other."

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The undertaking, which is designed to appear in 1930, consists of six volumes devoted respectively to the following periods: 1. Pre-historic and archaic periods, up to 1200 B.C.; 2. From around 1200 B.C. to 400 A.D.; 3. From 400 A.D. to 1300 A.D.; 4. From the beginning of the fourteenth century to towards the end of the eighteenth century; 5. The last years of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century; 6. The beginning of the twentieth century to 1950.

The introduction to each volume will contain a brief summary of the period in question, considered under its aspect as a stage in universal history. It will indicate the position occupied by the different peoples of the world at that time, and their relations with each other. Commerce, wars, travel, migrations, are dealt with as and how they influence cultural exchanges.

Following the introduction, each volume deals with the different cultures of the time and their reciprocal influences. Six main themes emerge and are treated in turn: 1. Languages and systems of writing, intellectual institutions of the period, and education; 2. Science and technology and their application to agriculture, industry and medicine; 3. Division of labour and the social structure, government and law; 4. Scientific theories, religious beliefs and philosophical systems; 5. Creative forms of expression, arts and literature; 6. Theory of knowledge and scientific method, new forms of thought, investigation and belief.

The conclusion of each volume, as its introduction, conceived from a universal point of view. Taken as a whole, the work displays in methodical sequence the evolution of the peoples of the world, their progress, and the way in which human existence has been transformed.

Since this is a universal history, it must obviously be a product of international co-operation, and present, through qualified exponents, the main tendencies of all major philosophical and religious currents of thought. More than a hundred and fifty correspondents in some fifty countries are working in collaboration with the Commission responsible for the undertaking. One or two individual historians, who will make use of the material provided by a large number of specialists, have been selected to edit each of the volumes. The whole production will then be made ready for publication by Professor Ralph H. Turner, of Yale University, before coming before the Commission for final approval. When the History appears in print, it will be published in English, French and Spanish, followed in all probability by a shortened version in a single volume. Editorial responsibility rests entirely with the international Commission.

It is interesting to note that in the course of its preparations for this work the Commission has been led to publish a quarterly journal, the *Journal of World History* under the editorship of Professor Lucien Febvre, of the Institute of France. This journal publishes papers produced by various contributors to the "History," and working documents, as well as the comments and criticisms that follow them. The welcome the journal has found among learned societies, in university circles, and with the general public is abundant evidence of its success. The widespread dissatisfaction Unesco is anxious to see on the various subjects handled in the *History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind* has thus already begun.

Continuation of the work on the History figures

as an important item in the cultural activities section of Unesco's Draft Programme for 1957-58 which will be before the coming General Conference of the organisation in New Delhi next November.—*Unesco*.

### Higher Education in the USSR

A rather broad network of institutions of higher learning has appeared in the USSR during the years of Soviet power, and which enrol at present some 2 million students, as against 127,000 in tsarist Russia. During the 280 years that higher schools existed in tsarist Russia there were only 96 institutions of higher learning which graduated 10,000 students annually. The USSR now counts some 800 institutions of higher learning which give the country every year 250,000 young specialists.

Technical and agricultural education has been greatly developed. In the USSR engineers are trained at more than 200 technical colleges (prior to the revolution there were only 15 technical colleges with 100 students), which enrol some 650,000 students.

The Sixth Five-Year Plan (1956-1960) has set new tasks before the higher schools. In the course of five years they must train almost 1,500,000 young specialists for the various branches of the national economy. More than 650,000 people will be trained as engineers for industry, transport, constructions and specialists for agriculture.

Whereas in tsarist Russia there were only 136,000 specialists with higher education, in the USSR at present, there are 2,600,000.

The number of scientific workers is growing all the time as a result of the broad development of scientific investigations in the Soviet Union and the extensive network of higher educational establishments. At the moment there are 224,000 scientific workers engaged in the higher institutes and in the 3,000 scientific research establishments, of which some 10,000 are doctors of science, 14,600,000—senior scientific workers (professors and doctors), 80,000—masters of science, 28,600 docents and 17,000 junior scientific workers.

Scientific cadres are trained in the USSR at post-graduate courses at higher institutes and scientific research establishments. This year (1956) 30,000 people are taking post-graduate course.—*News and Views from the Soviet Union*.

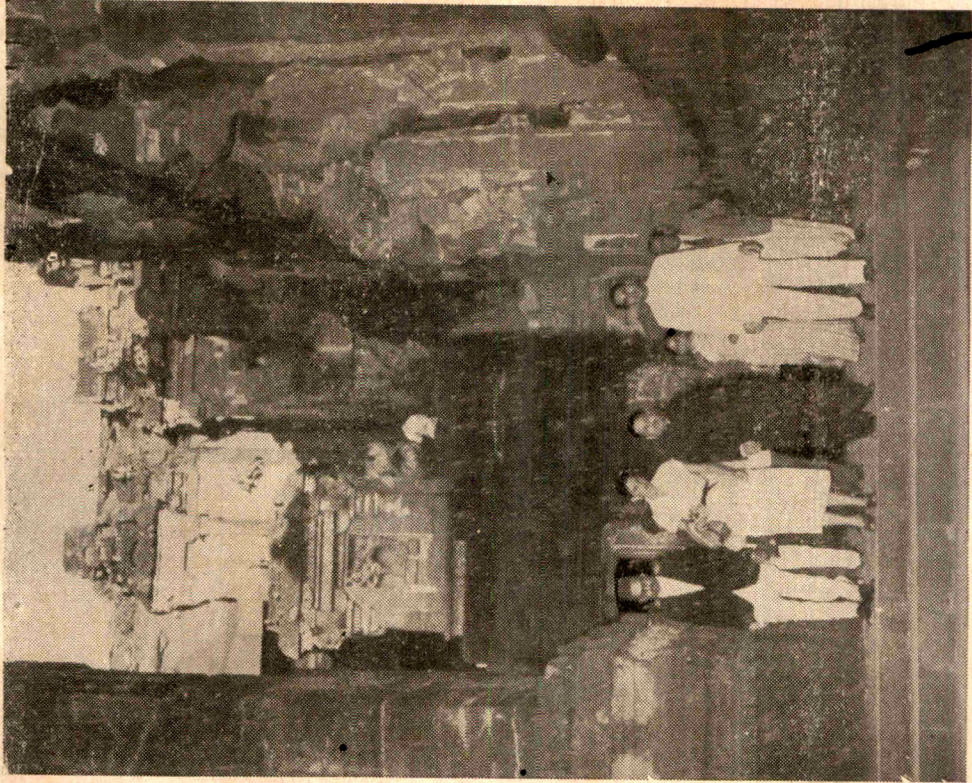
### USSR Academy of Sciences Enrols Post-Graduates

The USSR Academy of Sciences has started to enrol post-graduates. The Academy has a special department for the training of scientific cadres.

This year (1956) a large group of graduates from higher educational institutions who have shown an inclination for research will be enrolled for the Academy's post-graduate course. Enrolment will be increased in such branches as electrical engineering and electronics, automation and telemechanics, mechanical computation. All the Academy's post-graduates will receive a high State stipend and additional funds for the purchase of scientific literature. Their studies will be guided by outstanding Soviet scientists.

Quite a number of young specialists from foreign countries are being trained for independent scientific work in the Academy's post-graduate course. This year (1956) a large group of Chinese scientific workers will be enrolled. Under the guidance of Soviet scientists they will receive further training in specialities urgently needed for the development of the Chinese economy.—*News and Views from the Soviet Union*.





H. E. Mr. Tanka Prasad Acharya, Prime Minister of Nepal, at  
the famous Kailash Temple of Ellora



Submission  
Photo by Parimal Mukherjee





GODDESS SARASWATI  
By Satindranath Laha

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *India on Trial*

Kashmir has again become the cynosure of the world and Pakistan has succeeded in making India stand at the bar of the Security Council. It is true that the whole affair is topsy-turvy, and the real charge against India is of Neutralism.

Nine years have passed since India, through an ill-conceived and ill-advised idea of Pandit Nehru, tried to arraign Pakistan for her well-planned act of aggression in Kashmir. Aggression there was, as was pronounced by Dixon, accompanied with rape, murder, loot and arson on a large scale. But then that is a chapter of history that has been prevented from being given the publicity it should have had, through the misdirection of our wiseacres at New Delhi. Now we are faced with the problem of giving it publicity and likewise explaining to an incredulous world the reasons for withholding the facts from the ken of the people at large.

Indeed, our ways, so far as Kashmir and Pakistan are concerned, are inexplicable to all people—excepting the few of the “initiated”—in the terms of normal reason and logic. And that is why our enemies find it so easy to raise a clamour against us, and our friends become irritated and exasperated beyond measure at the attitudes that our tin-gods strike.

Shri Krishna Menon has done well at the Security Council—indeed, far better than the inept man who was chosen to face Zafrulla Khan. And there is no question about the justification of his stand. We should take a resolute stand against the mendacious accusations and the malicious demands levelled against us. Mistakes galore have been made by us in

this matter, and our attitude has seemed to be wobbly to friend and foe alike. There should be an end to all that, as indicated by Pandit Nehru at Madras.

But it is also time to take stock of our standing at the comity of nations, and also to make a clear distinction between friend and foe. This androgynous pose, of treating friend and foe alike, is hopeless in a world wedded to realism. The “Holding Resolution” at the Security Council should make us search our heart and mind. Why is this enmity to India, veiled or open, so manifest there?

“Malice aforethought” might be the case with regard to some of those who sponsored the resolution, but surely not to all. It is, indeed, difficult to believe that the U.S. was a party to it from the start, since the *New York Times* of January 24 gave a special report, by Michael James, which concludes:

“When Mr. Krishna Menon ends his speech tomorrow he will face a ‘holding’ resolution in line with what was asked for last week. The resolution is expected to be sponsored by a number of delegations. The United States is considering being one of the sponsors.”

The question of giving adequate publicity to our case abroad has not received the attention that it should have had. World opinion cannot be ignored even by the most powerful of all nations, let alone by a new-born babe like India. It is about time we realised that our choice in ambassadors and foreign envoys have not been uniformly good. On the contrary.

Then again this “Holier than Thou” attitude taken by us at all times, with regard to all and sundry, is likely to irritate even the most tolerant, even if we were a nation of saints, which we are not—most emphatically not.



### *Kashmir and the United Nations*

After a period of more than four years Kashmir again came to be featured in the deliberations of the Security Council when on January 23 Pakistan initiated a discussion on the subject to get an endorsement from the Council of her stand against India on the future of that unfortunate territory.

Opening the debate, Mr. Feroze Khan Noon indulged in his characteristic accusations against India and, in effect, even held up a threat that unless Security Council agreed to his dictations he would have no hesitation in again letting loose the hordes of "tribesmen" who had so thoroughly devastated parts of Kashmir during the autumn of 1947.

The gist of Mr. Noon's long speech was that the United Nations Security Council should ask India to defer Kashmir's contemplated integration with India on January 26 until after a plebiscite, apparently to be held according to the political convenience of the Pakistani leaders. This move for an injunction upon India was supplemented with a demand that the United Nations force should take over responsibility for security in both parts of Kashmir in order to get over the difficulty of demilitarization.

Replying to Mr. Noon's statement on behalf of India, Shri Krishna Menon gave a detailed resume of the Kashmir problem and reminded the members of the Council that it was India who had first taken the question of Kashmir before the Security Council. As everybody knew, Shri Menon said, "it was 'not usual for defendants to go to court.'"

Shri Menon said: "We are here on a complaint of aggression. That complaint of aggression has not been resolved." The Security Council could not act during the period of nine years to settle the matter.

He pointed out that India had raised the Kashmir issue before the United Nations "as a situation whose continuance was likely to endanger international peace and security. This was no dispute about territory. The Security Council, under the Charter, would be incompetent to deal with it as such (i.e., a dispute) because that would be either a political or judicial question. So, we brought here a situation, not a dispute."

When initial Pakistani aggression had been

made against Kashmir in October, 1947, Shri Menon added, India could enter Pakistan territory—an act which was necessary for taking military action against the invaders. But mindful of the background of fratricidal strifes accompanying the independence of India and Pakistan, India had wanted to settle the matter peacefully and had approached the Security Council in January, 1948, to take measures for an end of Pakistani aggression on Indian soil.

"We came here complaining to the Security Council under Art. 35 requesting that the Pakistan Government be asked to prevent tribal and Pakistan nationals from taking part in the fighting in Kashmir State and to deny the use of its territory in operations against Kashmir," Shri Menon said.

"Is this the language of a Government with expansionist ideas?" he asked.

Turning to Kashmir's integration with India Shri Menon said: "The State of Jammu and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of India. That came into force in November and all the provisions relating to federal matters between the State and the Federal Government are matters of history."

There was absolutely nothing of the critical atmosphere about January 26 that was sought to be conveyed by the Pakistan Foreign Minister. Nothing was to happen on that day—which was India's National Day—except that at midnight the Kashmir Constituent Assembly would dissolve itself and would begin to function as a provisional state legislature.

India had no doubt once offered to settle the matter through a plebiscite, Shri Menon added. But the offer had not been accepted. It could not be said that if an offer was made and then not accepted within a certain time, the offer could go on for generations.

"The relation of Kashmir to India so far as we are concerned is decided by accession," Shri Menon said, "I do not see what restraints could be imposed upon the exercise of the sovereign rights of a country."

Mr. Menon spoke for almost seven hours and thus earned the distinction of making the longest speech before the United Nations. The above was but a very inadequate summary (necessitated by considerations of space) of his masterly statement.

What was the reaction of the nations



constituting the Security Council towards the issues raised by the representatives of India and Pakistan. It appeared that the members had come to the discussions with a closed mind. Before Mr. Menon's speech was completed and even before he uttered his first words five members (Austria, Colombia, Cuba, the United Kingdom and the United States) had a draft resolution ready on the matter virtually endorsing the Pakistan stand in toto. As Shri Nehru described it, this was, indeed, an extraordinary procedure to follow in deciding upon complaints—without giving any opportunity to parties to present their views.

The resolution was moved on January 24 before Shri Menon had concluded his speech. Resuming his speech on that day he said: "I want to say here and now that I am making a statement here today without any reference to this resolution and the reason I want this to go on record is that I want the people of my country to know that this resolution has been put down by these five sponsors before they have heard the statement of India, especially after I stated last night that I have still to argue the case."

The resolution was nevertheless passed by the Security Council by ten votes (USA, UK, France, Formosa, Colombia, Cuba, Australia; Philippines, Sweden and Iraq) to none with the Soviet Union abstaining.

The resolution called for the *status quo* in Kashmir as of January 24, 1957, and read as follows:

"Having heard statements from representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan concerning the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir;

"Reminding the Governments and authorities concerned of the principle embodied in its resolutions of April 21, 1948, June 3, 1948, March 14, 1950, and March 30, 1951, and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, that the final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations;

"Reaffirms the affirmation in its resolution of March 30, 1951, and declares that the con-

vening of a Constituent Assembly as recommended by the General Council of the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and any action that Assembly may have taken or might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire State or any part thereof, or action by the parties concerned in support of any such action by the Assembly, would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle; and

"Decides to continue its consideration of the dispute."

Last week, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, told the Council that the Indian Government was "taking steps to integrate the State of Jammu and Kashmir into the Indian Union, reportedly on January 26, 1957."

The Security Council endorsement of the Pakistani move became the occasion for renewed anti-Indian propaganda in the British and American press. From the naive comments made by those newspapers one would be inclined to conclude that India had practically no justification in remaining in Kashmir which was part of her own territory. While this hostility of the Anglo-American press was partly a measure of the inadequacies and ineffectiveness of India's publicity abroad, the deliberate distortion of truth by influential sections in those countries was nonetheless unmistakable.

So far as India was concerned she did not expect a very different verdict from the Security Council—composed as it was now predominantly of countries with very little independence of action in the international sphere. The fact that Britain and the USA, who had all along shown a peculiar sympathy for the Pakistan stand on Kashmir, were among the sponsors of the resolution, determined in advance the attitude of those who eventually voted for it, with the possible exception of Sweden.

The only surprise came with Russian abstention from using the veto. In view of Russia's clear recognition of Kashmir as an integral part of India many had expected that the USSR would veto any resolution that would tend to interfere in the internal affairs of Kashmir. As a matter of fact, however, she did not use the veto but merely abstained from voting. This Russian step was widely inter-

puted as a reply to India's condemnation of Soviet intervention in Hungary.

### *Sheikh Abdullah's Letter*

Much has been made of by Pakistani propaganda, about a letter which is supposed to have been written by Sheikh Abdullah. We give below an extract from the *New York Times* of January 16, which is in line with Pakistani efforts:

"United Nations, N. Y., January 15—Members of the Security Council will soon receive a letter from Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, imprisoned one-time pro-Indian leader of Kashmir, charging India with violent repression in the disputed region.

"The Council will meet at 10-30 A. M. tomorrow at Pakistan's request in an attempt to break the deadlock that has existed since 1948 between India and Pakistan on holding a plebiscite in the mountainous state.

"At that time the Council arranged for a cease-fire between the two nations, which were warring over possession of the area. It also called for the withdrawal of hostile forces prior to a United Nations-sponsored plebiscite. India has since refused to hold that election until Pakistani troops leave Kashmir. Pakistan has refused to leave until India does.

"Pakistan is expected to ask for an immediate withdrawal of all troops and for an immediate plebiscite.

"Sheikh Abdullah was a political leader in Kashmir before the partition of India into Pakistan and India in 1947. When the Hindu Maharajah of Kashmir acceded to India in 1947, Sheikh Abdullah became the chief minister of Kashmir and seconded the Maharajah's accession.

"The letter, which will be received by Council members today or tomorrow, was sent by members of his regime in exile in Ceylon. It was handwritten, and the writing appears to check with that in personal mementos held by observers here.

"The Indian delegation declined to comment on the letter before seeing it, but Indian circles warned that it might be a forged 'plant.' The Pakistani delegation said, that if that was the case India should permit a western correspondent to see Sheikh Abdullah in Jammu state, where he is a prisoner, and ask him if he wrote it.

"In this penciled letter, Sheikh Abdullah re-

called that, after a 'tribal invasion' of Kashmir by forces from Pakistan in 1947, the Maharajah 'had to sign an instrument of accession to India' in order to 'receive Indian military aid to repulse the invaders.'

"The letter also said that 'on behalf of India there are innumerable commitments made to the United Nations Organization as well as to the people of Kashmir that the latter alone can decide their fate through an impartial plebiscite.'

"Sheikh Abdullah charged in the letter that his imprisonment was a result of a 'deep and carefully screened conspiracy against me and my followers,' after he had written to both Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Prime Minister of Pakistan in July, 1953, giving his views on the dispute as those of the people of Kashmir. 'Unfortunately,' he said, 'India did not like this and turned hostile.'

"The former Kashmir leader added that he has since been under detention 'without trial and without even a charge.'

### *Nehru and Kashmir*

Pandit Nehru said what should be the last word on the Kashmir problem at Madras, on January 31st. Below is the news report of the same:

"If I am convinced that I have not honoured any international commitments in regard to Kashmir, I will either honour them or resign my Prime Ministership,' declared Prime Minister Nehru in a speech here today.

"Shri Nehru said: 'India agreed to a plebiscite in Kashmir on certain conditions and in a certain context of events. The very first condition was the withdrawal of Pakistan armies from the territory of Jammu and Kashmir State which they had invaded. They have not done it even today.'

"Shri Nehru said that 'any such conditional offer—it is strictly conditioned—cannot last for ever and ever.'

"I have no doubt in my mind that under fair and peaceful conditions and in conditions where religious fanaticism is not allowed to play, a great number of people in Kashmir in a plebiscite would decide for India. We laid stress always that elections and plebiscite must be on political and economic issues. We do not want communal riots and call it a plebiscite.

"Shri Nehru added, 'I do not want Kashmir

in the name of plebiscite to be made the scene of fratricidal war which will spread to India and upset the delicate balance that has been established here.'

"Addressing a mass meeting in the Island Grounds Shri Nehru said that the recent developments in the Kashmir problem had 'caused us some concern and distress also because it seems to us that this serious problem which has existed for nine years now was dealt with very casually recently in the Security Council.'

"Wisdom requires something more than casual consideration and casual decision while dealing with the Kashmir problem with its strong emotional background in India and Pakistan involving all kinds of consequences.

"The basic thing about Kashmir,' he said 'is the good of the people of Kashmir. Nothing else counts. The major consideration for me and for my Government has been the good of the people of Kashmir.'

"The Prime Minister referred to some people in foreign countries talking about India's 'double standards' in regard to Kashmir and said: 'I am not personally conscious of any double or separate standard. If I judge deliberately the Kashmir issue by any different standard than now, then I would stand condemned not only before other countries but before my own people and even more so before myself, my mind and heart. I think if moral issues come in, India stands rather well over the Kashmir matter.'

"The Prime Minister speaking about the Kashmir question said: 'First of all, I find that some of our people tend to get rather excited about it. Well, excitement is not good in considering serious problems. There is no need to get excited although we realise this as a serious problem. Some people have suggested and some members of parliament have suggested for the immediate summoning of the parliament. I do not see any need for this. Some have even suggested: postpone the election because of this or amend the constitution. I entirely disagreed with this. These elections are going to take place whatever happens. We are a mature enough people to carry on our own constitution and our democratic working and face serious problems at the same time. We are not going to run away from the elections if something happens in some other place.'

"But' Shri Nehru said, 'because danger

threatens us, and because of the constitution, I think it has become all the more necessary to have elections so that the country may give verdict over that policy, which we may pursue. We have no cold feet. We are stout and would remain calm with stout hearts.

"Nevertheless, it is true that some recent developments in the Kashmir problem have caused us concern and as I said, of course distress also—distress because it seems to us that this serious problem which has existed for nine years now nearly was dealt with very casually in the Security Council—this problem, which has roused our people emotionally, certainly in Pakistan and certainly in India and most of all in Kashmir itself. There is a great deal of sentiment behind it. But, of course, we cannot solve the problem on sentiment. Where there is this strong emotional background today, where there is nine years' history, involving all questions of problems,—legal problems, practical problems and problems of consequence of any action, then it seems to me that wisdom requires something more than casual consideration and casual decision.

"The Prime Minister said it would be becoming for Pakistan to have elections in their country before they talk about a plebiscite in Kashmir.

"Shri Nehru said, the five-power resolution was pushed through and hustled through in the Security Council even without trying to understand what the position was. The resolution which the Security Council passed was drafted and was in existence even before it took the trouble of hearing our representative. 'That is the most casual way of dealing with an important question,' he said.

"Shri Nehru added: 'There has been a great fuss made about Jammu and Kashmir framing its constitution and accession to India. So far as I remember the Pakistan constitution has incorporated that part of Jammu and Kashmir in their state. Nobody shouted about it. The Security Council did not move. When this fact was mentioned in the Security Council it did not apparently create any impression. It is an extraordinary thing that they did not apply their mind to it.'

"Speaking about the military alliances, Shri Nehru said, 'It is quite possible that it is due to all these military alliances that these strange resolutions are passed in regard to Kashmir.'



"What pains me is that the countries which are friends of ours should have considered this difficult question in this casual way.

"The question of Kashmir, apart from the good of the people of Kashmir has become deeply significant, because if any wrong step is taken it will upset many things in the whole of India. We have never accepted it and we do not propose to accept the two-nation theory on which Pakistan was founded."

### *Foreign Aid to India*

The Deputy Minister for Finance, in a written reply to a question about the amount of foreign aid received and promised for the execution of the Second Five-Year Plan stated in the last session of the Lok Sabha that approximately Rs. 269 crores, inclusive of spill-over from the First Five-Year Plan, excluding the World Bank loans and loan assistance for the steel plants, had been received and promised for the execution of the Second Plan. The USA, including U.S. private organisations such as Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Institution, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Norway were the countries that had offered aid to India.

India has also received substantial loans from the International Bank for some of her major projects. The first loan of \$34 million was sanctioned in August 1949 for the purchase of locomotives, the second loan of \$10 million in September of the same year for the purchase of tractors to weed out kans grass, and a third loan of \$18.5 million in 1950 for the Bokaro electric power-station which has already gone into production. Of the loans offered by the World Bank, about \$42 million were withdrawn before 1951-52. Of the remaining \$18 million to be used to finance the Five-Year Plan, only \$6.2 million were spent in 1952-53.

In December 1952, the Bank agreed for the first time to give a loan of \$31.5 million to a private firm, the Indian Iron and Steel Company. Another \$19.5 million were sanctioned in January 1953 to meet the foreign exchange expenditure of the Damodar Valley Corporation, which amount was later reduced to \$10 million. During the year 1954-55, two further loans were given for projects in the private sector. The first was a loan of \$16.2 million for a thermal station in Trombay and the second loan worth

\$10 million for the newly set up Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation. The two loans have been guaranteed by the Government of India. In 1956, two further loans were given by the World Bank to two private firms in India. A loan of \$75 million was given to the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the other loan for \$20 was given to the Indian Iron and Steel Company for a period of 11 years at a rate of interest of 5 per cent per annum.

On January 30 another World Bank Commission of railway consultants arrived in New Delhi for a three-week intensive study of the Indian railways and their development programmes to determine the extent to which the Bank can help in railway development projects. India has desired to have a total of loan of \$1,000 million for the Second Plan from the World Bank. But the Bank advised India during the latter half of the last year to go slow with her socialistic drive in economic developments and also to encourage the free flow of private foreign capital into the country to meet the gap in foreign exchange resources. The controversy is of recent memory. Of course for such an out-of-the-way advice, Mr. Black was taken to task even by representative opinions in some Western countries. However, this much is certain that the World Bank may not be agreeable to meet all the requirements of India's foreign exchanges for long-term developments. The Bank's main function is no doubt to provide development finance, but its duty is also to cure trade imbalance, particularly the dollar imbalance in post-war years. But to that extent its achievements are none too satisfactory.

The original idea behind the World Bank was that it would endeavour to make an easy flow of capital among the member countries so as to remove the hurdles of scarce currencies. But that idea has not materialised. It was envisaged that against the proceeds of dollar loans made by the Bank, it would be possible to buy capital goods in third-party countries. Thus the idea was that such transactions with third-party countries would help in preventing one way movement of gold to American coffers on account of a much too unequal balance of payments. But most often the third-party currencies have not been made available and of course, this was

partly due to the fact that the availability of goods in third party countries were not satisfactory.

The main charge that has been levelled against the Bank is that from the outset the International Bank in effect has been an instrument of external expansion by the American financial oligarchy. The main purpose of the Bank, according to its charter, is "to promote private foreign investment." The problem of expanding exports of private capital is a most urgent problem of post-war American economy. Today only the U.S. private capital is in a position to expand overseas and it is accused of trying to seize a key position in the economies of the recipients and to firmly oppose their independent developments.

During the meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund in September 1956, Mr. Black, in his Presidential report sang the praises of private capital, asserting that it did not seek "pernicious exploitation" but fair compensation; he accused the under-developed countries of failing to take measures to attract private foreign capital. In his letter to the Finance Minister of India in October he also stressed the need for allowing the free inflow of private foreign capital. The representatives of some of the countries of South Asia, the Middle East and Latin America sharply criticised the Bank's policy. They argued that the Bank argued its case from the "Wall Street point of view." Some speakers pointed out that the Bank raised loan interest rates without any justification, and that it restricted the granting of loans under the pretext of combating inflation and collecting debts. As a result, member countries have to seek funds in the private market. The representative of Cuba voiced doubts "whether or not the Bank is fully performing the tasks for which it was created." He stressed that although the World Bank had been established as a co-operative organization to finance the economies of the member countries, it operated virtually as a private Bank and "is making it more and more difficult to lend money to its member countries."

Mr. Eugene Black, the President of the World Bank, is an influential representative of the Rockefeller monopoly group. The Bank seems to have been incorporated in the system of American "aid" which primarily serves the

interests of the U.S. monopolies and particularly, the Rockefeller group. Mr. Black's suggestion to India that she should rather develop her transport system in preference to the development of heavy industry smacks particularly of a colonial pattern of economy. The supporters of American private capital at the last meeting of the IBRD called on the under-developed countries to refrain from developing their own industries, primarily heavy industry and to concentrate on agriculture.

The World Bank's refusal to grant loans to Egypt for the constructions of the Aswan Dam is indicative of the fact that the Bank is guided more by political considerations than by economic interests of the member countries. It indicates further that the "Bretton Woods Twins" are the national preserves of the USA directed towards international power politics. Further, the increase in the interest rate of the Bank is uncalled for. It sometimes makes a discrimination in charging interest rates. As for example, the recent loan for \$20 million granted to the Indian Iron and Steel Company will bear an interest of 5 per cent, whereas, its loan for \$50<sup>m</sup> granted recently to Australia will bear an interest only of 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent inclusive of the 1 per cent commission charged by the Bank.

### *Dearer Advances*

From February 1, 1957, the Reserve Bank of India's rate of interest on advances to scheduled banks against Government and other eligible securities has been raised to 4 per cent per annum. The Bank Rate, however, remains unchanged at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum. The Bank Rate is the rate at which the Reserve Bank rediscounts first class approved trade bills and as such is distinguishable from the rate of interest on advances against approved securities. In recent years the Bill Market scheme has become a convenient form of accommodation for the commercial banks and the Reserve Bank endeavours to encourage the bill habit among the bankers and with that end in view it tried to keep down the cost of borrowing against bills at a low rate as far as practicable. But in view of the recent rise in prices of essential commodities including foodgrains, it became apparent that the cost of borrowing by the commercial banks from the Reserve Bank should be made dearer. The Bank rate has remained unchanged since 1951 November.

Although the Bank Rate has not been raised, the cost of borrowing under the bill market scheme has been indirectly raised by enhancing the stamp duty on bills by the recent Finance Act. Hitherto, the stamp duties on inland bills of exchange upto one year's maturity were at a flat rate of 2 annas per Rs. 1,000. Now the statutory rate for bills, both inland and foreign up to one year's maturity, has been raised to 10 annas per Rs. 1,000 with proportionate reduction for bills of shorter duration. For the present, the intention of the Government is to operate on the basis of one half of this rate. In view of this budgetary provision raising indirectly the cost of borrowing under trade bills, the Bank rate has not been raised.

The increase in the interest rate on advances will not, however, affect the banks to any considerable extent. At present the borrowing against trade bills is much higher than that against Government securities. The increase in interest on advances has been necessitated on account of the rise in stamp duty on bills. The accommodation against these two forms of securities must be more or less on the same level of interest rate and if one is dearer, there will be greater resort to the other. At present the trade bills are rediscounted by the Reserve Bank at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, that is, at the Bank Rate, and when the new higher rate of stamp duty is added to it, the real rate of interest comes to 4 per cent. It will therefore be seen that actually there is no difference in effect between the Bank rate on trade bills and interest rate on advances.

Although the rate of interest on advances under the bill market scheme and warehouse loans to co-operative societies has remained fixed at  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , the ultimate cost of borrowing will rise and in view of that borrowing against bills will be to some extent discouraged. The increase in Bank rate in India was long overdue. In the face of rising prices it was raised in Britain to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In recent months, the Bank rate has also been raised in other European countries. But in India the Bank rate has not been raised, although the prices are progressively on the increase. For some time past the Bank rate in this country has become unrealistic in that it remained fixed, while the market rate of interest has gone up.

Commodity prices, which had ruled, on the whole, quiet in September and October, recorded

a sharp rise in November and the months following thereafter. The Economic Adviser's general index of wholesale prices (Base: year ended August 1939—100), rose by 3.8 per cent from 417.1 to 433.2, mainly owing to increase under food articles, industrial raw materials and semi-manufactures. The inter-bank call rate in the Bombay short-term money market, which had ruled firm at  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent since October, rose to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent towards the close of the month. In Calcutta, the call rate rose to as high as 4 per cent in October on account of over-investments by commercial banks. It has now come down to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In 1946-47, the call rate generally ruled at 4 as per cent. Term money is also now quoted higher at  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent as against  $3\frac{1}{4}$ — $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent at the end of October.

In 1956, there was excessive expansion in bank credit to the extent of Rs. 172.2 crores. The total bank advances in 1956 were Rs. 766.3 crores and the credit deposit ratio rose by 12 points to 70 per cent. Despite the growing demand for credit, banks continued to reduce their indebtedness to the Reserve Bank; this was made possible partly by accretions to deposits and partly by liquidation of gilt-edged portfolio. In order to check the rising trends of borrowing by commercial banks against usance bills from the Reserve Bank, the Reserve Bank has also raised the rate of interest charged on advances under the Bill Market scheme from  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, that is, at the prevailing Bank rate.

Since 1955, the greater use of Bank rate as a weapon of monetary control has been made. In 1955, as many as 14 countries raised the discount rate, some of them, namely, Canada, the USA, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and Austria resorting to the device more than once. Particularly significant was the resort to monetary discipline by Norway and Sweden which had for many years relied on central planning and direct controls. In 1956 there has been a further round of rise in discount rates, to the highest levels in the last 25 to 30 years. Some of the present rates are 7 per cent in New Zealand;  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in the United Kingdom and Western Germany and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in Finland. In Chile and Colombia, the discount rate varies with the amount of borrowing of a bank from the central bank. Canada has been following the practices of adjusting the bank rate with the market rate of interest. This is rather a variable bank rate and



it is changed with the rise or fall in the market rate.

In modern planned economies the Bank rate should be viewed in a new perspective, rather than the traditional one. The Bank rate should be directed as a variable weapon of credit control and it should follow the market rate of interest rather than remaining fixed in the face of changing interest rate structure. Nowadays it is being said that the importance of Bank rate is just marginal and that is true only if the Bank rate remains fixed and does not vary in accordance with the change in the market rate. In order to make the Bank rate effective, it should be changed to the changing money rates.

### *Balance of Payments Deficits*

The mounting adverse trade balance and dwindling foreign exchange reserves have become a constant source of headache to the Government of India. In the Lok Sabha in its December session it was revealed by the Finance Minister that at the end of November 1956, India's foreign exchange reserves came down to as low as Rs. 536 crores. It may be remembered that under the revised system of note issue in India, the Reserve Bank is required to maintain Rs. 400 crores in foreign securities as a reserve against note issue in India. That means, India today has only a surplus amount of Rs. 136 crores for payments for her imports. Of course, the foreign exchange reserves may go up as a result of a favourable trade balance. But for the last several years India has been suffering from adverse balance of payments and it would be too much to expect that India could have a favourable trade balance in the near future.

The recent review published by the Reserve Bank on India's balance of payments reveals that India's overall trade deficits amounted to Rs. 802.7 crores during eight years between 1948-49 to 1955-56. The first period, 1948-49 to 1951-52 has been described as that of "inflationary pressures and shortages," the second period, 1952-53 to 1953-54, is that of a "mild recession," and the third period, 1954-55 to 1955-56, as that of "expanding economic activities." During the first period trade deficits totalled Rs. 610 crores, during the second period they amounted to Rs. 83.2 crores and during the third period they were Rs. 109.5 crores. During the first plan period the actual annual

average trade deficit amounted to Rs. 103 crores. As against this, the estimated annual average trade deficit during the Second Five-Year Plan is much larger at Rs. 275 crores.

The recently concluded Indo-Pakistani trade agreement also reveals adverse trade balance against India. In 1956, India's trade deficit amounted to Rs. 18.8 crores as against Rs. 9.7 crores in 1955. India's continuing dependence on Pakistani raw jute is mainly responsible for throwing the trade balance against her. In 1953, India's raw jute production rose to 46 lakh bales, but thereafter it declined to only 41 lakh bales.

The falling export prices of our commodities and heavy import of capital goods are the two important factors that are responsible for our adverse balance of payments. Two years ago, the import of steel was a negligible item in our trade figures. While internal production figure has increased slightly in 1956, India still had to import larger quantities of steel to meet urgent requirements. In 1956, India imported nearly 1.8 million tons of steel. Despite the index of industrial production having risen in 1956 and despite a tremendous increase in imports, shortages and consequent price rises continue to cause us concern. So long the Government of India was putting up a false picture of our prosperity in our international trade. Every year in his budget speech, the former Finance Minister of India, Mr. Deshmukh, used to dwell lucidly upon the current account surplus of India's foreign trade, without pointing out the heavy imbalance in our balance of payments position. Now after the end of the First Five-Year Plan we are being told constantly that our foreign exchange reserves are running short and that the balance of payments position is adversely against us.

Obviously our current resources in foreign exchange cannot be expected to finance the development programme envisaged in the second plan. India's exports are running at a lower level than was expected and as a result India has to fall back on her sterling balances to withstand the first impact of our increased requirements. Up to 1953, the trade deficit was mainly the result of higher food imports and currently the import of producer goods and raw materials for our developing industries are responsible for the running down of the sterling balances.

The sterling balances came down to Rs. 533

crores in January of this year. The Government is obliged to maintain Rs. 400 crores worth of sterling balances as the currency reserve, while at least Rs. 40 crores are needed as working balances. Commitments have already been made for an advance payment of Rs. 80 crores for the Rourkela steel plant. The import of steel is now one of the major drains on foreign exchange. As a result, import control belt has been tightened up and the biggest casualty being the virtual ban on the import of cement. The phasing of the Plan outlay and ultimately the total Plan outlay itself will henceforth be governed mainly by foreign exchange considerations.

But mere import control is no remedy for the shortage in foreign exchange. What the authorities do not take into consideration is that the more you restrict your imports, the less will be your exports. The figures of our foreign trade for the last several years will testify to the truth of this statement. Under the present pattern of foreign trade a country cannot expect to have more exports by buying less and less from the countries concerned. Foreign trade is a two-way traffic. The history of India's foreign trade in the post-war years is the story of falling exports following the import restrictions. The Government is making too much of the bogey of falling exports and dwindling foreign exchange reserves. The restrictions on imports of house building materials, like cement, and consumer goods, will adversely affect India's internal economy. The supply being restricted, prices are having upward movement resulting in higher prices and higher cost of living. Higher costs of living means higher cost for planned projects and our exports. Practically that is the fact with our planned outlays and the falling exports on account of higher prices. The import control on consumer goods will create a vicious circle forcing the price level upwards and increasing the cost of the Plan.

The sterling balances represent an extraordinary growth during an abnormal period, namely, the last world war. The sterling balances should not be made the only index of our external prosperity or stability. The provision for currency reserve for Rs. 400 crores worth of sterling balances is also unnecessary. No other country in the world follows this queer practice of maintaining currency reserve in foreign securities. This is a costly

provision which India can hardly afford to indulge, particularly at a time when our foreign exchange resources are required for urgent nation building projects. The recent Commodity Agreement with the USA will to great extent relieve India for the payment for food imports. Capital goods should be imported against loans from the International Bank and the International Finance Corporation, recently set up. Lastly, India should strive to increase her exports by tapping new markets and our motto should be—"not aid, but trade." For that purpose, bilateral trade agreement should be the basis of foreign trade.

### *Indian Rice Statistics*

The Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Union Ministry of Agriculture, has recently brought out a booklet on rice statistics. The booklet contains many interesting figures. The area under rice in India is about one-third of the total world acreage under rice. India's production is one-fourth of the total world production and her average yield per hectare is 1,220 kgs. of paddy as against the world average of 1,650 kgs. India is the second largest producer of rice in the world, China being the first in rice production. India produced in 1954-55, 24 million metric tons of milled rice, Pakistan 8 million metric tons, Thailand 3.6 million metric tons, and Burma 3.8 million metric tons.

Of the total area under rice in India roughly one-third is irrigated, and the rest generally depends on rain water. During 1954-55, the area under Japanese method of paddy cultivation was about 1.3 million acres. The total additional production as a result of this method of cultivation rose by 6 lakh tons. The marketable surplus of rice in India is about one-third of total production, the rest being retained in villages for local consumption and seed. India is a large consumer of rice. In 1954, she imported nearly one-eighth of the internationally traded rice. Per capita consumption of rice in India is, however, low. Taking the post war average (1947-48), per capita rice consumption in India and Pakistan was about 68 kgs., per year as compared with 164 kgs., per year in Burma, 121 kgs., per year in Indonesia and 102 kgs., per year in Japan.

Rice is the chief food crop for half the world's population. It covers more than 240

million acres which on an average produces annually about 160 million tons of clean rice. It is predominantly an Asian crop, about 91 per cent of the rice being produced and consumed in South-East Asian countries, extending from the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent to Japan. In 1956, the total acreage of rice in India was 76.25 million acres, representing 24 per cent of the total cultivated area. The total production in 1956 was 2.5 crore tons.

The diversity of conditions under which rice is grown is peculiar to India. It has at one extreme the deep water rice of Assam and West Bengal growing in a rainfall area of 75 to 150 inches and on the other there are areas in which rice is grown as a dry crop with 25 to 30 inches of rain. The crop is again grown on lands almost at sea level, as in the river deltas and in lands even below sea-level with protective embankments, and at altitudes of 3,000 to 5,000 ft. above the sea-level. The crop is grown at different seasons.

### *The Importance of the Middle-East*

Why all this anxiety about the Middle East? Why did Britain and France risk a world conflagration? Here is an assessment of all that, as made by the *New York Times* of January 21st:

"The richest farmlands on earth do not command as much attention today as do those sandy acres, cultivated in strips and circles and fabulously underlain in places with oil, that we call the Middle East.

"In Moscow, the modern leader of the Tartar horde joins with a ruler from what used to be called Cathay to express a tender solicitude for the 'peoples of the Near and Middle East.' In Cairo the potentates of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria offer the synthetic State of Jordan money and arms to replace the dole that until lately used to come from London. In Ankara the Premiers of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan are completing a two-day discussion of the effect of the Eisenhower Doctrine on their respective countries.

"Finally at the United Nations the seventy-four delegations that last Saturday noted Israel's failure to retire to the old armistice lines, as required by previous resolutions, may well be wondering what will happen if she does not do so within the stipulated five-day period. Secre-

tary-General Hammarskjöld cannot put them out, even if he felt himself authorized to use the U.N. police force. The Egyptians, who could not keep them out, cannot be expected to put them out either.

"The terms of the situation are not wholly stated in any communique, resolution or set of minutes. The world's attention is on the Middle East because this area is at once a bridge, a route and a source of a raw material absolutely indispensable to Western Europe. The Russians want the bridge as a means of sending their influence more strongly into Africa. They want to be able to control the oil not so much because they themselves need it but because Europe does need it. They have relatively little use for the Suez Canal, but life would be brighter for them if they could turn the canal off and on, like water in a pipe.

"The stakes are high, even when measured solely in the material units which the Russians use and which they assume are also our own first thought. They are higher still in terms of human liberties, which really do matter to us. Our opponents misjudge us if they imagine we would spend many billions for defense in order to protect an oil investment of a few millions.

"The stakes are high, but the rules of the game are difficult. Having used our General Assembly vote to make the British and the French, our old and close allies, withdraw from Egypt, we seem logically committed to apply the same pressure to the Israelis. But the situation, practically regarded, is not the same. If the Israelis were to withdraw unconditionally within their old boundaries they would leave the Gaza Strip, with its 200,000 refugees, in at least a temporary state of anarchy. They would also expose the Gulf of Aqaba and their own port of Elath to a renewed and totally illegal Egyptian blockade.

"In short, a complete, literal and unconditional compliance with what is now asked of the Israelis would restore the situation which led to the recent little Middle Eastern war, in which Israel, Britain and France took part against Egypt. The chances for a lasting and just peace would be slight. The danger of a wider war would be greater than ever.

"The obvious solution is to put the Gaza Strip and the Gulf of Aqaba under control of the U.N. The Israelis have indicated some readiness to do this in a proposal, revealed yesterday, to



administer Gaza under U.N. direction leaving eventual disposition to a plebiscite. It may be that the necessary two-thirds General Assembly majority, present and voting, cannot be found, and that if we move the required resolution we may suffer a loss of prestige. Even if this is so the test should still be made.

"The Eisenhower Doctrine cannot be treated as something to be applied by and by in a still nebulous emergency. The emergency is here. If we are to avoid the necessity of applying force at some later time, to rescue some Middle Eastern country that has asked our help, we will have to see to it now that neither anarchy nor dictatorship spreads in the Middle East. We can do this peaceably, now. But the sands are running out."

### *The Suez Tangle*

The following special political report, as published in the *New York Times* of January 19, throws a flood of light on the Anglo-French plot, and the forces that actuated it:

"Paris, January 18—Our European allies are sometimes skeptical of the high moral pretensions of United States diplomacy. A case in point was the unpublicized Dulles speech during the September 19 afternoon session of the London Suez Conference.

"Ten days previously Britain and France had completed a military build-up to invade Egypt between September 12 and 15. This plan, of which we had more than an inkling, was held up as a result of our strong objection and equally strong assurance that we intended to help safeguard Europe's vital interests.

"In this atmosphere Dulles, red-faced with earnest indignation, told the London meeting: 'I don't care how many words are written into the Charter of the United Nations about not using force. In fact there is not a substitute for peace in some way to get just resolutions of some of these problems, inevitably the world will fall back again into anarchy and into chaos.

"We have just as much a responsibility to seek a solution in conformity with the principles of justice and international law as we have a responsibility to try and prevent the use of force. \* \* \* You cannot solve the problem [of Suez] just by halfway measures which relate only to peace and which do not also put the full weight of our strength behind what we believe to be a

solution in conformity with the principles of justice and of international law."

"Britain and France eventually decided the United States was not placing 'the full weight' of its strength behind such a solution and attempted action on their own. This failed miserably. They are now in the uncomfortable position of having to rely totally upon us to apply 'the principle of justice' under the umbrella of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

"They have been given little detailed information concerning our Middle East political policy. This is partly because of our desire to avoid the embarrassment of apparent association with our European allies. And it is partly because of personal mistrust existing between the Western foreign ministers, a mistrust that is bound to persevere while Dulles, Lloyd and Pineau stay in office.

"There are three categories of problems in which we must seek settlement: economic, military and political. The economic aspect is, to Europe, most urgent. The United States, ensconced in fat-dripping prosperity, must recognize that unless existing agreements to exploit and transship Arab oil are not soon reapplied Europe faces strangulation.

"Yet Syria is making no effort to repair the sabotaged Iraq petroleum pipeline. And Nasser has told Arab statesmen he will 'never' permit Israeli access to Suez or the Gulf of Aqaba and will ban British and French ships until Israel relinquishes the Gaza Strip. If and when that happens will he again raise the ante for Britain and France?

"Militarily it is tricky to try and reinforce the area. Arab Governments privately make no secret of their desire to use arms received against Israel. Many Middle Eastern states are not competent to employ new weapons. When Hitler sent guns to Yemen they were carefully locked up to prevent them from wearing out.

"Some countries cannot safely be armed even in terms of internal security. Hundreds of thousands of Bedouins recognize no government, only family and tribe. Could there ever be point in giving rifles to the indigo-painted warriors of Yemen? Should we forget the political ambitions of military cliques in Egypt, Syria and Jordan?

"No matter what their leaders tell us, most Arab Governments still have no more intention of

accepting Israel's existence than their forebears had of accepting the Crusaders' kingdom of Jerusalem. Without precise guarantees can we ask Israel to evacuate Gaza—where German engineers built concrete forts for Egypt—or the entrance to Aqaba—where Nasser had mounted British coast-artillery rifles?

"The existence of Jordan seems doomed. Cairo and Damascus want to include it in a grand federation under Egypt and Syria. Saudi Arabia and Iraq prefer to partition it between themselves. Undoubtedly King Saud and Prince Abdul Illah will say as much in Washington. Both men privately dislike Nasser, fear Russia and respect America. Abdul Illah's life was saved by our Baghdad Minister sixteen years ago.

"The United States has the power and wealth to seek what Dulles called "just resolutions." But we would be unwise to encourage a new Middle East arms race—despite Moscow's munitions peddling.

"We are worried that during 1956 the Soviet bloc quadrupled free world loans and credits—largely in Islamic countries. Yet we should be careful in ladling out our own economic aid. Unless it can be put to useful purposes it is valueless. It must not only benefit the area's inhabitants but also help reopen vital links with Europe's choking industry."

### *People's China and India*

We print below a report from the *New York Times* of January 20th, as an example of political kite-flying:

"Hong Kong, January 19.—Communist China has quietly begun a thorough re-examination and reappraisal of its policy toward India, well informed sources from Peiping reported here today.

"The decision to review and re-evaluate the relationship between Communist China and India, the recognized leader of the Asian and African neutral states, was said to have been based on these major considerations:

"The possibility that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to the United States and his talks with President Eisenhower might result in a better understanding, a closer relationship and less distrust of long-range objectives between India and the United States.

"An apparent lack of progress and accomplishment, from Peiping's point of view, in the

recent talks between Chou En-lai, the Communist Chinese Premier, and Prime Minister Nehru.

"The belief held by some top-level Chinese Communists that the co-existence policy with India has been far more rewarding for India than it has for China.

"The greatest fear expressed by top-ranking Chinese Reds was that a softer policy by Prime Minister Nehru toward the United States would be reflected in the smaller Asian and African neutral nations that regard India as their leader and look on Communist China as their guardian.

"Peiping has been largely successful with the Asian and African neutrals in casting the United States in the role of the most dangerous world aggressor and the main threat to world peace. Closer understanding between the United States and India could do much to lessen or destroy this belief, the sources said.

"Peiping's leaders were aware, these sources added, that any relaxation of the fear of the United States in the smaller nations as a result of Prime Minister Nehru's increased confidence would correspondingly weaken their dependence on Communist China as a 'big brother.' This would reduce its position of leadership by strength in Asia.

"In relation to the second point, observers who were in Peiping when Premier Chou returned on January 2 from his three-day talks with Prime Minister Nehru, reported that an atmosphere of evident dejection surrounded the usually buoyant Chinese leader.

"Although diplomatically phrased official announcements of successful exchanges between the two Asian leaders were made later, no specific statements of progress were made and there has been no subsequent evidence to indicate that the Chinese Premier had won any significant concessions or important pledges in New Delhi.

"It also was reported by the same sources that shortly after his return to Peiping, Premier Chou admitted knowledge of rumors in India that the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, religious leaders of Tibet now visiting Calcutta, were being approached by United States agents in efforts to influence them against returning to their Chinese-controlled state.

"Asked if Communist China would pursue a stern policy to put down any resulting uprisings in Tibet if the two Lamas did not return, the Premier was reported to have answered that

Peiping would be forced to adopt the policy that she has endorsed in Hungary.

"It is believed that the Lamas quelled earlier uprisings against the Chinese by persuading the people to accept the Chinese occupation peacefully."

### *"Algeria Lives in Fear"*

We append below an extract from the *New York Times* of January 24, to show what is happening today in Algeria, which is being forgotten by the world:

"ALGIERS, Algeria, Jan. 23—The conflict in Algeria has expanded continuously since the rebellion started two years ago. Today it is a country-wide everyday display of ambushes, hit-and-run raids, assassinations and sabotage.

"Fear and tension have now become the background to daily existence. Last week communiques and newspaper accounts reported approximately twenty-five European civilians and several times that many Moslems killed or injured in terrorist incidents. A dozen farms were burned and hundreds of farm animals slaughtered.

"Railway lines were cut in more than a dozen places, a station was set afire and a train was attacked and derailed. Security forces killed more than 250 rebels in a score of clashes with insurgent bands and hundreds of Moslems were arrested in policing sweeps.

"In one of the more bloody attacks against Europeans, a suburban Algiers bus was stopped yesterday by armed Moslems. Its seven European passengers, including three women, were lined up by the roadside and killed with rifles and submachine guns.

"It was a relatively quiet week but typical of conditions that have become routine in Algeria.

"It is estimated that there have been nearly 5,000 assassinations since the rebellion began in November, 1954. Most of those killed have been Moslems who have worked with the French or fallen afoul of revolutionary discipline.

"The number of Europeans assassinated is about 1,000. French forces have lost more than 2,000 men killed and have killed, according to French figures, nearly 20,000 Moslems in military and policing operations. Most roads, although extensively used, are considered unsafe. Railways operated at a reduced level in the face of ambush and sabotage hazards."

### *Eisenhower Doctrine for Middle East*

President Eisenhower in a message to an extraordinary joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives on January 5 asked the United States Congress to authorize the use of United States military forces to "protect the territorial integrity and political independence" of any Middle East nation requesting such aid to resist "overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism." He added that he would later on ask Congress for 400 million dollars for aid in the Middle East during the next two fiscal years. The President also announced his intention to send a special mission to the Middle East soon to explain the co-operation he planned for the area.

James Reston, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times* writes: "On several points the President used ambiguous language, but it can be said that this was purposeful ambiguity. He did not, for example, define what was meant by the 'Middle East area.' He did not say whether he would consult with the Congress or just with the leaders of the Congress, or whether he would do so before or while or after ordering United States troops into action in response to an appeal for help against armed Communist aggression."

In his message to the Congress President Eisenhower referred to the importance of the Middle East which possessed about two-thirds of the world's known oil deposits and through which passed the Suez Canal which was so important to the economics of a great many of the nations of the world. So long the colonial powers—notably Britain and France had maintained a stability in the area. The withdrawal of these powers from the Middle East scene following the achievement of independence by a number of Middle Eastern countries created a power vacuum in the area inasmuch as the newly independent countries were not strong enough to maintain the stability of the region. Then there was the Soviet move for domination over the area.

In such circumstances, President Eisenhower told the Congress, it was "essential that the United States should manifest through joint action of the President and the Congress our determination to assist those nations of the Mid-east area which may desire that assist-



ance." His proposed action had three distinctive features. The President said:

"It would, first of all, authorize the United States to co-operate with and assist any nation or group of nations in the general area of the Middle East in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence."

Secondly, it would authorize his Administration "to undertake in the same region programs of military assistance and co-operation with any nation or group of nations which desires such aid."

Thirdly, it would "authorize such assistance and co-operation to include the employment of the armed forces of the United States to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of such nations requesting such aid against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism."

The President assured the Congress that the actions taken by the USA in the event of an armed attack in the Mid-east would be "subject to the over-riding authority of the United Nations Security Council in accordance with the Charter."

### *What Next?*

The world is evidently passing through a very critical phase. The "cold war" which looked like melting away has been re-inforced by the events following the Anglo-French attack on Egypt and the Soviet intervention in Hungary. Later events have demonstrated that the two colossi—USSR and the USA—were in no mood to reconcile oneself with the other—threatening in the process the independence of small countries.

The game being played by the two giants is purely selfish and solely motivated by power-politics. The USA opposed Anglo-French aggression on Egypt and was on that account hailed throughout the world. It was expected that she would help the emergence of some sort of stability in that highly unstable area of the world. But then came the Eisenhower doctrine of filling up the power vacuum in the Middle East created by Anglo-French withdrawal from the area. This new move of the USA intensified the mutual differences of the Middle Eastern countries and brought upon them a new pressure

from the Soviet Union who could not reasonably be expected to view with indifference the reinforcement of American military strength near her borders. The Middle East thus presents a highly unstable atmosphere.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union, which had shown some welcome changes of its policy during early 1956, indicated of late—particularly after the Hungarian uprising—that she was also in no mood to loosen her grip on the satellites in Eastern Europe. No doubt Mr. Gomulka extracted great freedom for Poland; but the Soviet hold on other countries of Eastern Europe remain as firm as ever. From the latest reaffirmation of the Warsaw Pact contained in the joint Soviet-Czechoslovak statement of January 30 it would appear that the grip is being tightened up. The suppression of the Hungarian uprising continues to be glorified as an act of great international help to the people of Hungary.

Simultaneously with such military and political tightening up of the Communist camp there has been a determined effort to close up ranks ideologically. After her exposure during the Hungarian crisis the Soviet Union apparently felt so uncertain of her own position that the task of providing a theoretical justification of Soviet Russian stand fell on the Chinese Communist Party which in a 14,000-word statement published as an editorial article of the Peking *Jin Min Jih Pao* (People's Party) virtually endorses every step of the Soviet Government. The Chinese Communist Party soundly condemns Marshal Tito and other Communist intellectuals who had criticized Soviet atrocities in Hungary.

The position is that at the end of the first month of the year the two power groups stand farther apart and the nations favouring non-involvement in power-bloc rivalries find themselves in increasingly greater danger.

### *Eden Retires*

Sir Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister, resigned his position on January 9 after a brief audience with Queen Elizabeth the Second at the Buckingham Palace. His resignation, made on grounds of failing health, was accepted immediately.

After consultations with leading Conservative politicians—including Sir Winston Church-

chill and the Marquess of Salisbury—the Queen appointed Mr. Harold Macmillan, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Eden Cabinet, as the new Prime Minister. On January 14, the new Premier announced his Cabinet which included among others: Mr. Macmillan (Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury); Mr. Peter Thorneycroft (Chancellor of the Exchequer); Mr. Sellwyn Lloyd (Foreign Secretary); the Earl of Holme (Secretary for Commonwealth Affairs); Mr. Arthur Lennox Boyd (Secretary in Charge of Colonial Affairs); Mr. Duncan Sandys (Defense Minister); Mr. Richard Auster Butler (Home Secretary and Lord Privy Seal); Mr. David Eccles (President of the Board of Trade); Marquess of Salisbury (Lord President of the Privy Council); and Viscount Kilmer (Lord Chancellor, *i.e.*, Chief Justice). The numerical strength of the Macmillan Cabinet was eighteen—one less than in the preceding (Eden) Cabinet. The average age of the members of the Cabinet was 53 compared with 55 in Sir Anthony Eden's team.

Notable among the members of the Eden Cabinet who were left out of the new Government were: Mr. Anthony Head (whose handling as the Defence Minister of the military aspects of Suez had come in for severe criticism in some newspapers and Conservative political circles); Sir Walter Monckton (who had reportedly opposed the invasion of Egypt); Mr. Gwilym Lloyd George (the Home Secretary in Eden Cabinet) and Mr. Patrick Buchan-Hepburn, the former Minister of Works.

The departure of Sir Anthony Eden from No. 10 Downing Street was in no way unexpected. The Anglo-French aggression in Egypt towards the close of last October resulted in widespread criticism of the policies of the Eden Government in both Labour and Conservative circles alike. There were a few minor resignations from the Government and there were repeated reports of a Cabinet crisis. About the middle of November, Sir Anthony Eden temporarily withdrew from Government on grounds of ill health and went to Jamaica for rest. The Lord Privy Seal Mr. Richard Auster Butler deputised for the Prime Minister and led the Government and the country through a very critical period when Great Britain stood virtually isolated in the international field. Speculations became rife whether

Sir Anthony would rejoin the Cabinet at all. As a matter of fact, however, he resumed the duties of the Prime Minister. But there was never any doubt of his impending retirement.

While the resignation of Sir Anthony Eden was not unexpected political circles were greatly surprised at the appointment of the new Prime Minister. It was almost universally held that the Queen would ask Mr. Butler, who had deputised for Sir Anthony during his absence to form a new Conservative Government. But instead she named Mr. Harold Macmillan as the new Prime Minister. In her decision the Queen was greatly influenced by the advice of Sir Winston Churchill and particularly of the Marquess of Salisbury.

A fresh controversy arose over the appointment of the new Premier. Labour leaders charged that the Queen, by naming the Premier before the Conservative Party had elected its leader, had imposed her choice upon the party and had thus involved the Crown in a political controversy inasmuch as the Conservatives had no alternative but to elect Mr. Macmillan as their leader since a failure to do so would be construed as implied disobedience to the Queen.

The new Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, in one of his early declarations made it quite clear to the Labour politicians, who had been clamouring for a fresh general election, that he was not going to comply with their demands. On January 22 the Conservative Party unanimously approved of his appointment as the new leader of the Party and Government.

The retention of Sellwyn Lloyd as the Foreign Minister and the passing over of Mr. Butler, who was reportedly the leader of the group opposing the invasion of Egypt, in favour of Mr. Macmillan would seem to belie expectations of a change in the foreign policy of the U.K. following the resignation of Sir Anthony.

Commenting upon Sir Anthony Eden's departure from the British political arena after only twenty-one months as Premier, the *New York Times* International Edition, January 10, writes that his resignation "also illustrates the tragedy of his policies, a tragedy that has its roots both in the changed world situation that has also changed Britain's role and in British political developments at home." His resignation at the moment had largely been due to the failure of the Anglo-French intervention in

Egypt which, according to the *Times* had "turned into a political and military debacle of serious consequences to Britain, to Europe, and to much of the free world" and with which the newspaper nevertheless finds itself in full sympathy (the Egyptian aggression according to its interpretation had been undertaken following the "principle" of "opposition to the appeasement of the dictators," the British "mistake" having lain in mistiming the attack), but it was also a "culmination of (British) dissatisfaction with Sir Anthony's rule that began long before Suez."

That dissatisfaction had its root in the general discontent of the British middle classes with the policies of both the Conservative and Labour parties in creating and maintaining a welfare State. "Sir Anthony has become, in part at least, a victim of the revolt. It remains to be seen what his successor can do in stemming it," the *New York Times* concludes.

### *Elections in Poland*

National elections were held in Poland on January 20 to fill up 459 seats in the Polish Sejm (Parliament). Polling was quite heavy, more than 90 per cent of the electorate voting in some provinces. The result indicated the country's reaffirmation of its faith in the leadership of the Communist Party under the guidance of Wladyslaw Gomulka whom the people endearingly called "Comrade Wieslaw."

Though there was only one list of candidates, elections in Poland this time was held in greater freedom than was the case in October, 1952, when elections had been held last. There were 720 candidates (of whom only 83 had sat in the outgoing Sejm) for 459 seats. The electors were thus offered a limited choice. Women candidates numbered 28 against 68 elected in the last Sejm.

The list of candidates was prepared by the National United Front composed of the Communist Party (which was allotted more than 50 per cent of the nominations), United Peasant Party (allotted 25 per cent of the nominations), Democratic Party (with 15 per cent of the nominations) and 114 non-party members—representatives of trade unions and their mass social organizations and 22 Catholics.

Mr. Gomulka topped the list having gained 99.4 per cent of the votes in his constituency in Warsaw. All the other leaders of

the Communist Party including Premier Cyrankiewicz and the President Aleksander Zawadzki were also returned. The leaders of the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, Mr. Stefan Ignar and Professor Stanislaw Kulczynski were also successful.

The significance of the Polish elections lay in the fact that, to quote the correspondent of the London *Times*, "some people did strike out the names of Communist candidates, and that this was allowed." As the *Hindu* points out, "The voters have indicated their preference among the candidates on the lists in a marked manner: for instance, while Mr. Gomulka led his list decisively, the next two men on the list, belonging to the United Workers' Party, went to the bottom of the polls. A non-party architect and a Catholic obtained the second and third places. It may be possible for Poland to have fully free elections in due course."

To understand the significance of the relatively free elections in Poland it was necessary to recall the delicate position of Poland between Russo-Western rivalry and of Mr. Gomulka in particular. His problem is peculiarly complex: to maintain the independence of Poland both against Western Powers—Germany in particular and from the Soviet Union on the other hand; and to ensure the people at least a stable economy. Admittedly this was no easy task. Wacław Solski writing in the *New Leader*, November 26, makes the point quite striking. "One false step in either direction," writes Mr. Solski, "may destroy not only him but Poland. Some 30 Soviet divisions are massed on Poland's eastern borders, more than 20 on her western frontiers. The opinion prevails in Poland that Soviet troops have been sent to Germany primarily to frighten the Poles with the memory of September, 1939, when Poland was invaded simultaneously from Germany and the USSR." Both the *Hindu* and the *Statesman* in their leading articles rightly underline this point.

The last Sejm was a shame as Mr. Gomulka said in his speech before the eighth plenum of the Polish Communist Party. And it was to be noted that only 83 members of the old Sejm could secure re-nomination (how many of them were actually re-elected was not yet clear). Most of the present members of the Polish Parliament had suffered under the old regime and if it is recalled that on his assumption of



leadership Mr. Gomulka had clearly indicated his determination to restore the right and authority of the National Parliament, it would not be far wrong to expect the Parliament to exercise more powers and to that extent fulfilling one of the conditions of democratic functioning—namely, the executive accountability to the Parliament.

### *The Djilas Trial*

Milovan Djilas, the 50-year-old Montenegrin poet, essayist and revolutionary, was one of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party and was Vice-President of Yugoslavia until his deposition in 1954. His disgrace in 1954 followed the publications of his articles in the Yugoslav press criticising the various aspects of Yugoslav political life and the bureaucracies in the party and administration. In those articles he had criticized the one-party system and had suggested the adoption of a multi-party system in Yugoslavia. He was tried and sentenced to a term of imprisonment but was let off without having to serve the term. With him was expelled Vladimir Dedijer, ex-member of the central committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, and official biographer of Marshal Tito. (For details see *The Modern Review* for March, 1954, pp. 178-180).

Djilas lived since then as a private Yugoslav citizen until his second arrest following the publication in the U.S. anti-Communist weekly, *The New Leader* No. 19, 1956, an article written by him on the recent upsurge of the peoples of Eastern Europe against Soviet domination, and on Yugoslavia's attitude toward those events.

Djilas wrote that the eastern European events of late October, 1956, had posed three questions: "(1) the further possibilities of national Communism, (2) the replacement of Communism by a new system, and, along with this, the right of a people heretofore under Communist rule to choose its own—non-Communist—path of development, (3) the problem of future foreign (and . . . internal) policy of the Soviet regime."

The basic thesis of Djilas was that Communism as a social system was no longer capable of leading mankind along the path of social progress. Even "national Communism" was unable to perform the tasks of further social development. The example of Yugoslavia had

indicated that "national Communism can merely break from Moscow and, in its own national tempo and way, construct essentially the identical Communist system." And yet even the Yugoslav experience with its many historical peculiarities could hardly be deemed to be applicable to other Eastern European countries where the Communists could not have come to power without the backing of the Soviet Government and army.

Yugoslav national Communism, Djilas wrote, "was above all, the resistance to Moscow of the Communist Party" of Yugoslavia with the support of the people behind it, "In Yugoslavia, therefore, the entire process was led and carefully controlled from above, and tendencies to go farther—to democracy—were relatively weak." In the other countries of Eastern Europe, however, the Communist resistance to Moscow had not been initiated by the Communist Party but had resulted from the discontent of the popular masses so that from the very first unbridled tendencies had been expressed there to transcend the bounds of national Communism itself. The leaders in those countries, divorced from popular support, had to look upon Moscow for support for the maintenance of their authority and had, therefore, tried "to halt any further estrangement from Moscow."

Yugoslavia's attitude toward the discontent of the other Eastern European countries against Kremlin domination, according to Djilas, had been to support that "as long as it was conducted by the Communist leaders," but she had "turned against it—as in Hungary—as soon as it went further"—transcending the bounds of national Communism. Djilas disliked this Yugoslav reluctance to go further which was inherent in the prevailing system in Yugoslavia itself.

Moscow's conduct in the Hungarian Revolution had been determined by both external and internal reasons. "Just as Yugoslav revolt revealed Moscow's imperialism with regard to Communist countries, so the Hungarian Revolution threatened to reveal the Soviet internal system as the totalitarian domination of a new exploiting class—the party bureaucracy," wrote Djilas. The victory of the Hungarian Revolution with its political democracy and social control of industry and banking would have meant the confinement of the Soviet system

within the national boundaries of the USSR and would thus have engendered new processes there. The existence of a rift in the Kremlin leadership was undeniable. In external policies, however, the difference between the competing Soviet groups lay in their methods, in the word of Djilas, "whether to stick to the old army and police methods (Stalinist imperialist methods); or apply new ones in which economic and political elements would be dominant. Attempts at introducing the new methods led to the Polish case, the return to the old ones led to Hungary. Both methods proved ineffective. From this spring the splits and conflicts in the USSR."

The chief significance of the Revolution in Hungary, despite its failure, lay in the fact that it meant "the beginning of the end of Communism generally" in the same way as "Yugoslav Communism, separating itself from Moscow, (had) initiated the crisis of Soviet imperialism, that is, the inevitable birth of national Communism," Djilas wrote.

The grounds of the present arrest and trial of Milovan Djilas are not quite clear to us in India where news about Yugoslav developments are reported in a rather slipshod manner. So far as it can be ascertained from the scrappy reports Djilas was arrested for publishing critical remarks about Yugoslavia in a foreign press. Referring to this charge Vladimir Dedijer pointed out that as no Yugoslav newspaper would be ready to publish anything written by Djilas or Dedijer (they could not even secure any respectable job in Yugoslavia suited to their talents and attainments) if they had to publish anything they had no alternative but to resort to the hospitality of the foreign press.

It is hardly possible to pass any judgment on the merits or otherwise of the trial of Djilas—especially on the basis of absence of virtually any dependable and tolerably full account. Yet the arrest and trial of Djilas solely on the offence of his publication of an article in the foreign press—considered against the revelations of Dedijer—pointed to the crisis facing the intellectuals all over the world, a crisis that had so poignantly been expressed by the late Albert Einstein when he had declared that if he should be born again he would like to be born a manual worker. Everywhere—in western

"democracies" no less than in Communist dictatorships—intellectuals face a dilemma of how to reconcile the pursuit of truth (at least as they conceive it) with the interests of powers that be. This problem has been present since the time of Socrates and the vast progress made by mankind in the material field would seem to have been unable to produce any corresponding change for the better at least in so far as intellectual freedom is concerned. Otherwise how to account for the liquidation of scores of intellectuals (including Maxim Gorky it would now seem from the Khrushchev disclosures) in the Communist countries and the extensive book-burning in Communist China and "free" USA? How is it that the leading American writer, Howard Fast, whose concern for individual freedom and human dignity and independence could hardly be doubted after his reaction to Khrushchev disclosures and whose books had once been distributed by the Government of the United States of America, could find no publisher in the USA to undertake the publication of his now famous book *Spartacus*?

### *Indian Administration*

The *People*, a weekly news-magazine published from Lucknow, in its leader on December 30, throws some light on an aspect of present Indian administration—its top-heavy and uneconomic character. Referring to the general situation prevailing in the Uttar Pradesh, the newspaper points to the phenomenal growth in the number of officers in higher ranks without however any corresponding rise in the efficiency of the administration.

"Everywhere and in all departments," the *People* continues, "the number of supervisory officers has increased; in some cases abnormally. In the Secretariat itself there were formally six Secretaries, five Deputy Secretaries and one Under-Secretary; as against that there are 81 officers of similar cadre today. In a popular government an increase in the number of officers is inevitable. But we strongly maintain that such a colossal increase is not only disproportionate but also unnecessary."

At some point since independence there was an effort to reduce the number of higher administrative personnel: the number of Divisional Commissioners were reduced from ten to three; the work done by the Board of Revenue

was sought to be done through a newly created Land Reforms Commissioner. What became of that effort? Not only did it prove a failure but the number of officers increased even beyond the original strength. Thus there were now ten Divisional Commissioners and the Board of Revenue "which was regarded superfluous seven years back will have five senior Indian Civil Service officers along with some two senior officers of the Provincial Civil Service" and there were similar admissions about the number of Superintending Engineers in the PWD.

Even then did these plethora of officers contribute to the toning up and increased efficiency of the administration? Far from that. In most cases people were occupying posts to which they were not so eminently suited. The Divisional Commissioners whose duty it was to advise junior district officers were mostly persons whose experience of district administration was far from adequate. In British days, considering the nature of Secretarial functions requiring expert advice to be tendered to the Ministers-in-Charge, no person would generally be brought in as a Secretary unless he had about fifteen years' experience in the district administration. "Have we today in the Uttar Pradesh Secretariat a single Secretary who has 15 years' experience of district administration?" the *People* asks.

In this connection the remarks made by Mr. John Strachey, the British Labour leader, bear some interest. Mr. Strachey who had been to India on the invitation of the Indian Statistical Institute wrote in an article in the *Encounter* (reproduced in the weekly *Bhoo-dan*, January 23, 1957) on his impressions on India in which he said that India would in fifteen years time become an industrialized socialist community.

The major Indian industries would be publicly owned; wrote Mr. Strachey and a "double process of industrialization and socialisation" would be going throughout that period. Any breakdown in the Second Five-Year Plan would not thus mean any return to "private enterprise capitalism but a transformation of India into some form of totalitarian or dictatorial community."

In addition to economic difficulties for the successful implementation of the Plan there was another, and, perhaps, more important, obstacle to it—the administrative lag.

"The main administrative obstacle to the plan," wrote Mr. Strachey, "lies in the administrative service itself. The I.C.S. together with the admirable positive qualities which it shares with Whitehall shares also to some extent Whitehall's *laissez-faire*, cautious, non-interventionist conservative approach to economic affairs. Indian civil servants are for the most part reluctant planners and I think this has resulted in delays which have cost India dear. The worst difficulty is likely to be sheer shortage of numbers of trained administrative staff to do this gigantic work."

### *Rewriting Indian History*

Inaugurating the nineteenth Indian History Congress at Agra on December 25, Shri K. M. Munshi, Governor of the Uttar Pradesh, said that the task before modern Indian historians was to rewrite Indian history from the Indian point of view but discarding any partisanship. He said that the rewriting of Indian history had to be done with a view to discovering what in the course of centuries "we felt and suffered, how we reacted to new conditions, what were the central ideas and fundamental values which persisted through time, how we were influenced or overwhelmed by the impact of external forces or internal disruption and how we survived them to emerge as vital and free nation."

The modern historian must try to draw an objective picture avoiding the narrowness and prejudice of the British writers and the overglorification of everything Indian which characterised early Indian historians. He paid a warm tribute to the "sturdy generation of historians" who had met the challenge of European historians by upholding India's past culture.

He criticised the shortcomings of the Marxist historians whose view of history was highly schematic and therefore greatly distorted. "Such history neither illumines the past nor the future. That is why in countries where it is in vogue it has to be re-written time and again to eliminate inconvenient episodes and development."

Historians could have only one approach—the historical—he said. The first step in historical interpretation was to recognise the importance of truth, that is, of searching and tabulating records with integrity and thoroughness; of weighing the testimony in a scrupulous balance.



# THE ROLE OF NON-RAJPUTS IN THE HISTORY OF RAJPUTANA

By PROF. K. R. QANUNGO, M.A., Ph.D.

(1)

ABOUT ten years back I happened to visit the commercial town of Malpura in the Jaipur State. I mingled with the concourse of picturesque humanity that covered the busy *chauk* of Malpura on the market day. The sight of a market or a *mela* in Rajputana is an object-lesson to the historian that the history of Rajputana is not the history of the ruling Rajputs only but of non-Rajputs as well, who form the vast majority and who have perhaps a much older history to tell than the Guhilots and Chauhans, Rathors and Kachhwahs. The market square of Malpura made me ashamed of my indifferent knowledge of the ethnography of the so-called aboriginal races, whose specimens are preserved till today in the hills and sands of Rajputana. Next to the most familiar Bhils, Minas and Meos, Jats and Meds had also been the makers of the history of this land; today a ruler, tomorrow a robber and the day after a miserable labourer or beggar,—such has been the lot of these peoples. The same fate seems to await the proud Rajput on the cross-road of Medieval and Modern India. Before we rush to the philosophy of history, much spade-work in and around Rajasthan history is yet to be done.

We should, however, confine our discourse mainly to the role of three non-Rajput communities of Rajputana; namely, the Charan, the Kayeth and the Vaish or Baniya, in the medieval history of the land. The Charan is peculiar only to Rajputana; whereas the Kayeth and the Vaish, much-flattered as well as much-maligned communities, so indispensable for their administrative and business brain, are found everywhere and always.

(2)

To begin with the Charans.

The Charan does not claim emergence from any limb of Brahma like other castes of Hindu society. Surajmal Mishan, the great Charan Poet-Laureate of Bundi Court in the second half of the nineteenth century,—in his grand epic, the *Vamsa-bhaskar*, traces the origin of the Charans to the *Suta* referred conjointly with the Maghadha in the Mahabharata; others of this fraternity claim that Charans were

heavenly beings (who are mentioned with Siddha and Gandharva as singers of the praise of gods and heroes),—and that they came down to earth in the company of the Kshatriyas!

Whatever might be his origin, the Charan and the Rajput in historical times are found inseparable like body and soul. In the social fabric of Rajputana, the Charan occupies an intermediate position between the Brahman and the Rajput, and in character he combines the characteristics of the Rajput with those of the Brahman. The Charan is not a beggarly wandering minstrel as the general impression goes. The Charan was the esteemed and faithful companion of the Rajput, sharing his *ammal* (opium) and half of his loaf in adversity, and receiving his extravagant bounty in prosperity. He followed his client chief on horseback to the thickest of fight, where the poetic fire of his *geet* of old gave a Rajput "the strength of ten" on the field of carnage. The post of honour at the main gate of the princely castle belonged to the premier Charan, who haughtily demanded his *neg* there from bridegroom's party, and whose privilege it was to open that gate on the foe in times of sally and receive the first blow of hostile sword.

The Charans as a class were always humoured and honoured wherever a Rajput who cared for his reputation did ever live; because the Charan's tongue would cut both ways, and cut deeper than the *katar* (broadsword) of a valiant foe. But for this eternal dread of satires and unsavoury reflections, the Charan as well as his counterpart in other climes, the minstrel and the chronicler,—would have starved in the Middle Ages, whether of the East or of the West.

The Charan was not the proverbial strife-monger between rival clans adding fuel to the fire of fray on a point of honour; he was rather an agent of peace in the feud-torn land of the Rajputs. The typical Charan of Rajputana was fearless of speech, true to his word unto death, kindly and charitable to all, and genuinely devoted to his country's good and the welfare of the Kshatriyas particularly. He was no ordinary beggar; and even the meanest of the Charan would disdain gifts and charity of any

other community except those of a Rajput. The Charan, though as sensitive and proud as the Rajput, excelled the Rajput in humane virtues, moral courage and political morality. His weapon against the Rajput was only his moral force backed by a superstition; namely, the threat to kill himself and thereby bring upon the obdurate Rajput the wrath of gods. The Charan was classed with "the cow and the Brahman," whose slaughter was forbidden to the Rajput. Next to the Rajput the Charan only enjoyed the privilege of giving *sarna* (protection) under his roof. When rival septs living in neighbourhood indulged in civil feuds, both sides would send their women and children to the houses of the Charans, which were a haven of refuge in a demilitarised zone as it were, though within the striking distance of skirmishes. Thus the inviolability of the Charan's home saved the seed of the clan when its adults were killed in insane feuds. A single determined Charan rushing in between the ranks of fighting warriors sometimes stopped bloodshed. If the exhortation of the well-wishing Charan went unheeded, he would kill himself with his *katar* in living faith that no Rajput would dare to cross the ban of a Charan's blood. This was no fiction, but a long-established institution in the code of honour and morality backed by a religious awe in that land of eternal vendetta.

The Charan's patriotism, courage and devotion earned for his community a precedence over all other castes inclusive of the Brahman in the customary law of the land. Notable Brahmans, Vaishyas and Kayeths were sometimes the recipients of such distinctions of a first grade chief, as *taxim* and *langar* (reception by standing and the gift of gold anklet); but these privileges and distinctions were *personal* with them only; whereas in the case of a Rajput or a Charan, the same honours once conferred were meant in perpetuity for their successors unless definitely withdrawn by the ruling chief.

### (3)

The Charans were more liberal in their social outlook than the Brahmans. Unlike the Brahmans they would join Rajputs in jovial gathering, take flesh and liquor and also cooked food from the hands of other castes. Like the Rajput he belongs mainly to the sturdy cult of *Sakti* worship. They are in general worshippers

of *Mataji* (Divine Mother and her incarnations). When two Charans meet they greet one another not with the usual "Ram, Ram," but with "*Jai Shri Mataji*." *Mata* is an incarnation of *Sakti*, and there are several shrines of more than one *Mata* or incarnations as saintly Charan ladies of old with miraculous powers. We have it on the authority of Guleri that the shrine of Karaniji of the village of Deshnok near Bikanir is held in great reverence by the Charans and Rajputs. If we believe the late historians, Mumshi Devi Prasad of Jodhpur who knew every inch of Rajputana beyond Ajmer westward,—this temple of Karaniji remains to this day a veritable paradise of rats (*chuha*). Rats move in confidence and live a care-free life there. These rats fearlessly climb on necks and heads of devout pilgrims, who take this otherwise nuisance as a token of divine favour! They are affectionately over-fed with *bajra* grain by the temple authorities and pilgrims. If a rat meets with death by some unintentional act of any man, his only penance is to offer a gold rat to Deviji as the only condition of forgiveness of his sin.

Appropriately enough these rats are fondly called "the Kabas of Karaniji." These privileged "robbers" are always guarded by a contingent of ten or twelve Charans armed with *lathis*<sup>2</sup>, which make a short work of prowling cats.

It is said that the Solanki ruler Siddha Raj Jai Singh made a home for the then wandering Charan community in the territory of Cutch, where they were given rent-free land. There they multiplied; but after some time the urge of wandering blood impelled the more adventurous among them to turn their backs on Cutch and settled life. The roving Charans entered the Desert of Rajputana and became known as the aristocratic Maru Charans; whereas, those who clung to their home in Cutch became the degraded Kachhela Charans. The Maru Charans who boast of 120 septs spread along with expansion of Rajput power all over Rajputana, Western India, Malwa, Central India and Kathiawad. They multiplied rapidly

1. The Kabas are a predatory tribe claiming hereditary guardianship of the temple of Dwaraka, where they levied blackmail from pilgrims.

2. *Guleri-granth*, Vol. I, p. 253; footnote 3 (Nagari-pracharini Sabha).

owing to their custom of marrying many wives and keeping concubines in imitation of the Rajputs.

The Charan is entitled to beg of a Rajput only; but there are seven categories of persons and communities, who in their turn have a hereditary claim on the Charan's bounty, and are not allowed to beg of any other community. Besides their *kula-guru* family of Brahmins living in Ujjain till today, and the *purohit* (family priest), these are: the *Rao* Bhat of Chandisa sept of Marwar (who are the Bhats of the Charans as of the Rathors of Marwar); the *Rawal* Brahmins, the *Goind-pota* and the *Viram-pota dholi-s* (Bhats singing with *dhol*?) and the *Motisar* community. These Motisars were originally Rajputs of Jhalā, Khichi, Parihar and other septs, who had become the devotees and worshippers of *Avar Mata* (the guardian goddess of the Charans), who gave them the divine gift of poetic talents even without learning how to read and write. Evidently the Motisar stood in the same relation to a Charan as the Charan stood in relation to a Rajput as his hereditary panegyrist and custodian of fame. A Motisar in praising any distinguished Charan gives him the compliment of *Abari ka ked*, which means, according to Pandit Guleri<sup>3</sup>, a descendant of *Yayavar*. Who this mythical Bedouin ancestor of the Charans was cannot be determined at present. At any rate it mystifies further the origin of the Charans like that of the Rajputs.

(4)

The Charans are also known as "Kula" or "Kulaa." Their quarrel with the Bhats in general except with those of their own is long-standing. It is said that one *dholi* Bhat named Brajlal, an inhabitant of Marwar, composed a satirical poem *Kula-kulamandan* to hold the Charans in contempt. It is said that the Bhats once in a full public audience of Akbar's Diwan-i-Am spoke ill of the origin of the Charans (*Akbar Sahaji ra dari-khana mahi Bhat Charan-kul ri nandak kidhi*). At this time a Brahman named Lakhaji, the *guru* of

the Charans, was a high favourite with the Emperor. Lakha invited his own *guru*, Gangaramji, who lived in the village of Jajiyan in Jaisalmir. Gangaram came and expounded the Tantrik work, *Shivarahasyam* to an assembly of the Pandits in the presence of the Emperor, who accepted his authority to the discomfiture of the Bhats. The Charans became grateful to Lakha for his powerful patronage extended to their fraternity in the Mughal Court. Charan Dursa of *Adha* sept commemorated this in a *duha* :

*Dilli dargah amba phal, uncha ghanan apar;  
Charan Lakkhau charan, dal nawanvanhar.*

[i.e., Delhi court (patronage) is a mangofruit placed too high above; Charan Lakkhau is the bender of the branch (of the tree) for the Charans (to get at that)].

Old Lakha received rich land-grants in Ujjain from Akbar, and retired in old age to Mathura. There Maharajah Udai Singh of Marwar, whose daughter was married to Prince Salim, came there on a pilgrimage and desired to see Lakha, a subject of Marwar. The Rajah came on three successive days to Lakha's house but went away disappointed as Lakha remained inside the house. This was because the Rajah had confiscated the *sasans* (gift villages) of the Charans and Bhats of Marwar, who resorted to a *dharna* at Aauva, a village in Jodhpur territory. In that *dharna* one Goind *dholi* (ancestor of Goindpota section of Bhats dependent on the charity of the Charans) was the first to die in this common cause by cutting off his own head. The Rajah did not yield till many Charans committed suicide. On the fourth day old Lakha<sup>4</sup> at the intercession of his wife agreed to pay a return visit to the Rajah. Such were the proud and community-conscious Charans of old in Rajputana.

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If Chand Bardai, the reputed author of *Prithviraj Raso*, was a historical character, traditions portray in the *Raso*, the relation in which the ideal knight of Rajput chivalry and the best and bravest of minstrels stood in times of old. However, we should confine ourselves

3. According to Pandit Guleri, *Yayavar* (corrupted into *Avari*), was a *rishi* (saint) and the founder of a school of poetry, known as *Yayavariya*. Rajashekhara of the tenth century A.D. describes himself as a *Yayavariya*, which makes Guleri surmise that this poet was a descendant of *Yayavar* (*Guleri-granth*, II, p. 253).

4. Guleri on the authority of Munshi Deviprasad (*Guleri-granth*, II, p. 253). Saktidanji is the representative of Lakha's line in whose house are preserved *farmans* of Akbar, letters of Durgadas, Kavi-kalash (of Sambhaji's court) and others which were shown to Pandit Guleri.



to the *Khyats* and other chronicles of indigeneous origin to pick up a few selected anecdotes to illustrate the role of the Charans in Rajput History.

To begin with Mewar.

1. When the fortunes of Mewar sank low under the onset of the Khilji imperialism, and Ajaysi's son Rao Hammir exhausted in resources and spirit had gone away as far as Ginnar to seek a new home for his people it was a saintly Charan woman, mother of Baru Charan, who came to the rescue of the Sisodia prince by purchasing 500 horses from her own funds for the use of his followers. Baru accompanied Rao Hammir to Mewar, and when Hammir recovered the independence of Mewar, he made Baru the *Barhat* (premier Charan), whose descendants are known to this day as Sauda Barhats of Mewar.

2. When the murdered Ranmal Rathor's body lay uncremated for fear of the wrath of Rao Chunda (ancestor of Chundavat sept of the royal family), it was a Charan of Mewar, Chandan by name, who gave the dead body a religious funeral in defiance of Chunda's order, and courted expulsion from his ancestral home leaving a silent lesson behind for Rajputs that hatred should not pursue the dead.

3. Kumar Jagat Singh, son of Maharana Karan (grandson of Pratap), had one day gone out for hare-hunting outside the Kishan-pol gate of Udaipur when he was being pursued stealthily by a stranger on horse. "Now on demand of my brother's blood," cried the Naruka Rajput from Dhundahar country (Jaipur), who was about to deal the prince a mortal blow. And as suddenly the head of the assailant fell down at the feet of the prince, struck down by the sword of Charan Khemraj, who having scented some evil was following the prince unnoticed. After his accession, Maharana Jagat Singh I conferred a *jagr* of an yearly income of thirty thousand rupees on Khemraj, whom he used to call "Bhai Khemraj." The Maharana honoured him by accepting his hospitality with the ladies of the royal household for fifteen days on the occasion of the marriage of Khemraj's daughter in his village home. (For other anecdotes, Introduction to *Vamsa-bhaskar*).

4. When Aurangzib sent an army to destroy Udaipur in the time of Maharana Raj

Singh, the Maharana had to seek the shelter of inaccessible hills. At this time Charan Naru of Sauda Barhat family (descendant of Baru whom Maharana Hammir had made the premier Charan of Mewar),—used to carry supplies and information from the palace of Udaipur to the hiding place of the Maharana. Once a friend in jest said, "Barhatji, how is it that you have now turned your back on the very gate of the *Raoti*, where once you so haughtily stood to demand *neg* (customary gifts to the Charan on occasions of marriage)?" Out to the quick by this taunt, Naru sent away his family to the defiles of the Aravala, and he himself with twenty choice comrades took post at the first gate or Badi-pol of the palace. When Taj Khan and Ruhullah Khan came to destroy temples and idols, Naru rushed to the temple of Jagdish situated opposite the palace gate, and died there to a man fighting against the enemies of his country and religion.

5. In the month of Paus, 1816 B.S. (1750 A.D.), Rajah Ummed Singh of Shahpura took the field against Rajah Sardar Singh Sisodia of Baneda. Two kos from Baneda he pitched his main camp, and sent forward his son Kumar Ran Singh to storm the castle. Sardar Singh fled away in a hurry leaving his woman-folk behind. When the troops were about to force their way into the palace, Charan Deva (who had several years before left Baneda in disgust for Shahpura),—with naked sword barred the entrance of Shahpura troops and thundered, "Over my dead body only, thou shalt find a passage to the *zanana* of Baneda." The assailants stood aback knowing the consequence of using force against a Charan like Deva, whom the Rajah of Shahpura himself sent with the Kumar. On hearing of this strange conduct of Deva, Ummed Singh rode to the palace gate of Baneda, where Deva was standing grim as death. He embraced Deva, praised his courage and loyalty, and said to him that Shahpura would also expect of him such service in times of need as he was ready to render bravely to the families of his former unkind lord of Baneda. He gave Deva in rent-free gift a village now known as Kheda-Devapura, which is still in the possession of the descendants of brave Deva.

(5)

The Charans played an equally important

role in the history of Marwar, specially during the War of Independence under the lead of great Durgadas. In the battle of Delhi when Durgadas sallied out of Jaswantpura to cover the flight of infant Ajit, Charan Sandu and Mishan Ratan (son of Newal) were among those who fell in fight to pay the debt of salt to Jodhpur. Among the select braves who accompanied Durga to the court of Shambhaji for escorting the rebel prince Akbar from the clutches of Aurangzib were the Charans, Sandu Jogidas, Mishan Bharmal, Sarau, Asal-Dhanu and Vithu-Kanau. It was Barhat Charan Kesari Singh, who undertook at a critical moment to win over Rathor Sangram Singh (grandson of Mahesdas), a high and trusted *mansabdar* whom Aurangzib sent against the nationalists. And the Charan did it so successfully by his fervent appeal to the honour of his clan that Sangram threw away his *mansab*, and assumed the leadership of the nationalist party against Aurangzib. In a battle near Jodhpur (B.S. 1742), Ratnu Charan Sahasmal bravely gave up his life.

When minor Ajit was for the first time shown to his loyal chiefs on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, 1743 B.S., Barhat Charan Kesari Singh was one of the privileged few to be present. Many years after when Maharajah Abhai Singhji, (son of Ajit) arrayed his troops outside Ahmedabad against Sarbuland Khan, the Charans and Bhats as was usual sang the praise of the ancestors of the Rathor chivalry as a martial preliminary. Among these were: Rohriya Gorakhdan, Kesar-dan's son Karanidan II, Rupnath Dadhvariya and Dadhvariya Dwarakadas, Sandu, etc.<sup>5</sup>

When Kumañ Man Singh Rathor had fled to Jalore from the wrath of Maharajah Bhim Singh and was standing a long siege there, Charan Jugta, who accompanied the fugitive prince, used to go out of the besieged fort and bring in food by begging from the hostile Rajputs outside. The besiegers having been warned by Bhim Singh refused further permission to Charan Jugta, and so the Charan handed over all the ornaments of his females to Man Singh to defray his expenses.

Maharajah Man Singh thought of punishing the chief of Sirohi, who had in his days of distress refused protection to his womenfolk. Rao Bairisal of Sirohi was forced to sue for peace on the promise of a payment of a lakh of rupees as war indemnity. But Bairisal had no money. So the Charan of Sirohi stood surety for the amount, and the Jodhpur army withdrew. When the Charans failed to realise this sum within the stipulated time, they went in a body to Jodhpur and offered their lands and possessions in redemption of their promise. Man Singh, touched by the honesty and sacrifice of the Charans, excused this indemnity altogether.

However, the importance of the Charans in the history of Rajputana lay not so much in politics and war as in the sphere of literature of Medieval Rajputana. Time and space allow us hardly to touch the fringe of the subject. Suffice it to say that the Charan raised the dialect of the Desert to the dignity of the literary language of the court and aristocracy of Rajputana and outside, which later on developed into Rajasthani Dingal and gradually pushed back Sanskrit to a secondary place. The Charan literature occupies, perhaps, the most prominent place in the literary history of Rajputana. Dingal poetry breathes more of martial air and laconic fire than softer long-drawn tunes of love and religion which characterise the Pingal. The Charan poetry comes in three forms: *Duha*, *Geet* and *Rasa* (martial Epics). Everything in the Charan literature is invariably grafted on history and legend, though sometimes confused and distorted in their extant versions. The Charans composed *Geets* or songs, which were, however, not for vocal music but for declamation and spirited recital in assemblies. Epics are in the form of *Rasas* of heroes of old or eulogistic biographies of popular contemporary rulers. Its prose takes the form of *khyats* (traditions and chronicles), or of *varta* (stories) and *vamsavalis* (descriptive genealogies). Folk literature, such as, *Dhola-Maru ra Duha* seemed to have had originated with the Charans.

On the whole, the Charan was the Voice of the Desert and the soul of the medieval history of the Rajputs. Unfortunately much of their literature transmitted orally till the nineteenth

5. This account of the Charans of Marwar has been compiled from Maharajah Abhai Singh Rathor's biography in Hindi verse, *Raj-rupak* (Introduction, pp. 6-60; Nagari-pracharini Sabha edition).

century from generation to generation, or jealously guarded as family heirlooms when reduced to writing—, has been irretrievably lost.

We only hope that the Charan should come by his own in history with the progress of historical researches in Rajputana.

(6)

The Rajput was in general all brawn and muscle without much brain in peace and war, though there have been a few exceptions like Maharana Kumbha and Sanga of Mewar, the Kachhwah trio of Man Singh and two Jai Singhs, solitary Durgadas of Marwar and the belated Zalim Singh Jhala of Kotah.

The Rajput was essentially a grabbing warrior, and no organiser or administrator. The brain behind the Rajput history was supplied mostly by the Kayeth and the Vaishya, and partly by the Brahman. A history of Rajputana worthy of the name cannot be written till further researches are made into the family records of these non-Rajputs, who practically ruled the Rajput principalities and manned their whole civil administration. They have a legitimate share of the glory that history has hitherto assigned to the Rajput exclusively. The Rajput had an ear for music, but he had no head for figures; of administrative abilities, industry and thrift he had very little. The Kayeth and the Vaish, on the other hand, combined these qualities with those of a soldier and a diplomat when occasions would arise. Moreover, a Rajput chief would scarcely trust a fellow Rajput as an adviser in political and revenue matters. Hence, the office of *Pradhan* or Chief Minister in a Rajput State was invariably assigned either to a Kayeth or a Vaish; the *kamdars* of most of the Rajput *Jagirdars* even were from non-Rajput communities "Make your brother a *Pradhan*, and you may as well write off you Raj"—embodies Rajput political wisdom as we read in Nainsi's *Khyat*.<sup>6</sup> There was also another reason for this preference given to a tactful and trusty non-Rajput for the post of *Pradhan* in a Rajput principality. On an expedition not commanded in person by the chief or his heir-apparent, different septs of the same clan even would rather submit to the command of a non-Rajput

*Pradhan* than agree to have the head of one of a rival family as their Commander-in-Chief. The same was the case also in every *thikana* or fief. Kotari Bhimji Mahajan or Bengu, as told by Tod, was not the solitary instance in Rajputana where those who were born to weigh *ata* in a grocer's shop could wield swords with both hands to put Rajput heroism to blush and cut a passage to the Paradise through the hostile battle array.

M. M. Ojah has given us an illuminating survey of the part played by non-Rajputs in the history of Mewar. Materials for a similar account of the services of the Kayeth and the Vaish are available for Jodhpur, Jaipur and other Rajput States. We shall begin with a brief notice of the services of non-Rajput families of fame in Mewar in the light of Ojah's *Rajputane ka Itihas*.

#### 1. *The Family of Bhama Shah (Vaishya):*

The name of Bhama Shah is remembered throughout Rajputana with as tender affection and reverence as that of Maharana Pratap. He was the son of Mahajan Bharmal, an Oswal of Kavadiya *gotra*. Bharmal had been appointed commandant of the strategic fort of Ranthambhor by Maharana Sanga, and he continued to hold the same post when that fort passed on to Hada Surajmal of Bundi as the guardian of his nephew, Kumar Vikramjit. Bharmal's two sons, Bhama Shah and Tarachand grew up dashing soldiers and capable administrators. The two brothers fought in the battle of Haldighat under Maharana Pratap. Pratap made Bhama Shah his *Pradhan* in place of Mahasani Rama, and appointed Tarachand to the charge of Godwar district. During the critical years of Pratap's fortune Bhama Shah raided Akbar's *subah* of Malwa, and brought a booty of twenty lakhs of rupees and twenty thousand *ashrafs* to the Maharana. The astute politician and diplomat Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim tried hard to seduce Bhama Shah to the service of the Emperor by alluring offers; but Bhama Shah was no Tanaji Malsure.<sup>7</sup> In the last fight of Pratap against the Mughals, Bhama Shah took a prominent part at the battle of Diver along with the Chundavats and Sakhtavats. He continued in the office of *Pradhan* under Maharana Amar Singh till his death on

6. For an anecdote illustrative of this maxim, see *Khyat*, I, p. 69.

7. Shivaji's most valiant lieutenant, who for a time deserted his service and became a Muslim.



January 26, 1600 A.D., leaving instructions to his wife to hand over to the Maharana a book wherein he used to enter the sites of buried treasure of Mewar,—the secrets of which were known to him alone. What a noble contrast with Nana Fadnavis who secreted the wealth of the public treasury, spent the same for personal benefit only, and handed over the secret book of his treasure to his widow as a parting legacy!

Tarachand, younger brother of Bhama Shah, rose high in martial fame and enjoyed life much better than any average Rajput of those stormy days. He built a beautiful *baradari* (garden palace) and a *baoli* at Sadri near which stand in stone sculptures Tarachand himself, his four wives, one favourite concubine (*khawas*), six dancing girls and his musician with his wife. So an Oswal seems to beat hollow a Mughal *amir* in the art of graceful living!

Jiva Shah, son of Bhama Shah, succeeded to the office of *Pradhan* under Amar Singh, and Jiva Shah's son Akhairaj held the same in the reign of Amar's son, Maharana Karan.

2. *Sanghvi Dayaldas* (Vaishya): What Bhama Shah had been to Maharana Pratap, Dayaldas was to Maharana Raj Singh I, during the critical years of his fight with Aurangzib.

Dayaldas was the son of Mahajan Raju whose ancestors had been Sisodiya Kshatriyas, but who merged themselves into the Oswal community of merchants on account of their conversion to pacifist Jainism. Exploits of Dayaldas need not be repeated here. He built at great cost the magnificent marble temple of Adinath, which stands on a hillock overhanging Rajsamudra lake.

3. *Pancholi Biharidas*: He was a Panchauli Kayeth of Bhatnagar sub-caste. Panchauli is derived from *Pancha-kula* (the village notable of the Panch or village council of elders), according to competent Sanskritists (*e.g.*, Guleri); but they claim to be emigrants from ancient Panchala country (modern Rohilkhand). He was more than a *Pradhan* in the time of Maharana Amar Singh II, when diplomacy and flexible administrative policy could only save the State.

4. *Family of Amar Chand* (Brahman): Amar Chand was the son of a Sanadhya Brahman named Shambhura, who had been employed as Superintendent of the royal

kitchen in the time of Maharana Jagat Singh II. Maharana Pratap Singh II was highly impressed by the sterling qualities of Amar Chand, a man of vigour and devoted honesty, fearless in speech and straightforward in action as he was. He made Amar Chand his *Pradhan* with absolute powers, which offended the ambitious and intriguing queen-mother. After some time Amar Chand was poisoned by Ram Peary, a maidservant and evil genius of the queen-mother. Though he was the virtual ruler of Mewar for many years, he died a poor man leaving no means to his widow to buy a coffin-cloth for him. Whatever he took as his pay he spent almost the whole of it in charity and public welfare keeping for himself just enough for a frugal life. His death started Mewar on the road to ruin and humiliation.

5. *Mehta Agarchand* (Vaishya): His ancestors were Chauhans of the ruling Deora sept of Sirohi. One of them had been converted to Jainism by the famous saint and scholar Jinaprabha Suri of Akbar's court; and since after, his descendants became merged in the premier merchant community of Oswals. The original home of Agarchand's family was Jodhpur. He became the *Pradhan* of Maharana Ari Singh II, and was succeeded in his office by his son Devichand.

6. *Family of Seth Jorwarmal Baphna* (the Rothchilds of Rajputana): Originally Parihar Rajputs, the Baphnas accommodated themselves in the Oswal community with the change of their cult (from Brahmanism to Jainism), and consequently of profession. When Col. Tod came to Mewar as Political Agent, he advised Maharana Bhim Singh to invite Seth Jorwarmal from Indore to restore the solvency of his bankrupt State. Jorwarmal set up his business house at Udaipur saddled though by a bad bargain. The helpless Maharana said to Sethji, "You meet all expenses of my State from your shop, and all the revenues of Mewar will be deposited in yours." And, as if, by magic Seth Jorwarmal turned the deficit budget of Mewar into a surplus one within a short time; and over and above he provided for the prodigal expenses of the Maharana's pilgrimage to Gaya and released him from his heavy debts—of which he owed twenty lakhs to Jorwarmal alone.

Jorwarmal's success was an object-lesson that he who can manage well a business con-

cern knows also how to handle the finances of a kingdom, and that a soft Baniya can turn *zabardast* in repressing lawless elements and corrupt State servants, who retard the flow of wealth from agriculture and trade to the coffers of the State.

7. *The Gandhis in Mewar* (Vaishya): The Gandhis in Mewar played rather a dubious part in Mewar. Somchand Gandhi secured the post of *Pradhan* through intrigue, and by intrigue he maintained himself in power in the time of Maharana Bhim Singh. However, he was a man of some political foresight and diplomatic ability. He succeeded in keeping out the Marathas for a time from Mewar, and counteracting their policy of establishing undisputed Maratha ascendancy in Rajputana. To keep himself in power he added fuel to the smouldering fire of hereditary rivalry between the Chundavats and Sakhtavat sept. He was murdered in the palace by Rawat Arjun Singh Chundavat. Somchand's son, Satichand paved the way for the utter humiliation of Mewar in a mad pursuit for the revenge of his father's blood on the Chundavats.

(7)

Non-Rajput communities played a similar though a less conspicuous part in other States also, which we cannot afford to notice here in detail. But their part in the history of Jodhpur is too important to be ignored by a historian for correcting the general impression that the history of Rajputana is, perhaps, a bundle of adulating chronicles of Rajput oligarchies of the land. With the progress of research Rajput history shall reveal itself as a history of the people of Rajputana as well. This is particularly true of the history of Jodhpur from the death of Maharajah Jaswant Singh onward. We propose to add only a brief sketch of the role of non-Rajputs in the reigns of Maharajah Ajit and his son Abhai Singhji in support of our contention.

When Aurangzib heard the news of the death of Maharajah Jaswant without an heir in Jamrud, he at once sent his officers to confiscate the property and treasure of the Maharajah, and summoned the chief nobles and the household officials of Jodhpur to the imperial court. Bhati Raghunath and Kayastha Kesari Singh were brought to Delhi to submit an account, whereupon Kayeth Kesari Singh told

the Emperor that he alone was responsible for it. He went home from the *darbar* and drank poison preferring death to a disclosure of his master's property,—as the spirited Ratanu Charan, Virbhan, says:

*Kayath tyag vichare kaya,*

*Kasari Singh Ram ka jaya.*

When Rathor Durga with the widow of Jaswant and her newly-born child were besieged in their house at Delhi by Aurangzib's troops, Rathor Durga vowed to save Ajit at any cost. At her own prayer the Rani's head was cut off on the bank of the Jamuna, and the warriors sallied out to hew their own way with infant Ajit through hostile array. In the grim battle of Delhi, Kayeth Hari Rai and Muhta (Vais) Visna died fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Rajputs.

Non-Rajput associates of Durgadas played all through a brave and loyal part in all his activities. When Durgadas summoned a council to have its opinion whether Prince Akbar should be given refuge, besides the Charans already mentioned the following were also invited:

*Bhandari* (Vaish): Askaran, Raichand Dipavat, Sawant Singh, son of Khemsi, Hemraj, son of Jagannath.

*Kayasth*: Harkishan, brother of Kesari Singh who died in Delhi.

*Purohit*: Puskarna Brahmins Akhairaj and Dalpat's son Dronacharyya Vyas (Brahman)—Lakshmichand and Balakrishna, son of Murar.

In a battle near Merta (Tuesday, second of bright fortnight, Kartik, B.S. 1738), Purohit Raghunath died fighting, and several years after Purohit Akhai Singh was one of the few to have the privilege of seeing Ajit in his hiding place in Sirohi.

Bhandari Khimsi and Kayastha Gulalchand were trusted lieutenants of Ajit in his dealings with the Sayyid brothers. Bhandari Viyayraj, Muhnot Sango and Kayeth Madho were posted in the fort of Ajmir when it came to the possession of Ajit.

When Maharajah Abhai Singhji led his army to attack on Haidar Quli Khan outside Ahmedabad, the Maharajah assigned the command of his right wing to Bhandari Bihairaj, and that of the left wing to his younger brother, fiery Prince Bakht Singh. In the centre under

the Maharajah, along with the Rajputs the following non-Rajput commanders were posted:

*Gujar*—Kehar Samdasot, Sundar and Khetal Bhagot.

*Vyas* (Brahman)—Fatoh Dipchandot, Bhai Udaychand, Jaharmal Jasavat.

*Purohit*—Sivar Sunjo, Kehar and Nandalal.

*Astronomer*—Jaidev, son of Dronacharij.

*Bhandari*—Girdhar, Ratan, Dalo, Dhanrup, Bijairaj Khetsiyot, Samaldas Lunavat, Amro Devaut, Lakshmichand, Maidas Devichand, Singhvi Achal, Jodhmal and Jiwan.

*Mukhta* (Vaish)—Gokal Sundardasot, Gopaldas Kalyandasot, Devi Singh, Megh Singh and Sadaram Rupmalot.

*Modi* (Baniya)—Peethal and Tikam.

*Pancholi* (Kayeth)—Balkishan, Lalo Harikishanot, Dolo, Madho and Rupo.<sup>8</sup>

#### (8)

As regards the writer and the mercantile communities there was the other side of the medal in medieval Rajputana as in the modern. The Kayeths, though highly indispensable, were also adept in intrigue and habitually inclined to nepotism. In almost every Rajput State, particularly in Amber, the Kayeths held most of the key-posts for which they alone were qualified by their knowledge of Persian and half-Mughal upbringing. The post of *vakil* or diplomatic agent of a State at the imperial court was generally filled by a Kayeth; because it required bribing, intriguing, spying and bluff without which no business could make any headway at the Mughal Court. There was, however, a propensity in the Kayeth's shrewdness to cut both ways to his own profit at the cost of the interests of his own master as well as of the Empire. In humbler situation also, a Kayeth with his pen at the desk was dreaded much more than a blustering Rajput with his hand on the hilt. A Kayeth's solicitude or smile and courtesy boded evil for anybody having business at the Rajput's *deori* and the *darikhana* (equivalents of Mughal *Diwan-khana* and *Diwan-i-Am* respectively).

However, in the countryside, the Baniya figures more than the Kayeth in popular vituperation, born of the jealousy of his affluence and the natural antipathy between the capitalist exploiter and the exploited masses. An oath

"by the sins of a shop-keeper" was,—and is still considered irrevocable; a curse of the same formula would shake even the sceptic. Nainsi tells us in his *Khyat* how the Baniyas of Kelakot in Cutch-Bhujnagar, threatened with ruin on account of four years' successive rain-fall and bumper crops in that dry region, had recourse to *vartiya* (Tantric wizard) to lock up rains and create famine in the land.

The Rajput had his own method of balancing his economy against the Baniya by setting some of his kinsmen to rob and steal and sending others to keep them out if paid for by the Baniya. A rough method of replenishing the exhausted state was to impose a periodical fine on the Patwaris and merchants under the name *Tisala dand*, because of its realisation every third year in the Kotah State down to the time of Zalim Singh. No offence was needed, no reason need be given for *Patel barar*, payable by every Patel, no matter honest or corrupt. The amount was arbitrarily fixed and willingly paid because the Patels provided themselves for the contingency beforehand at the expense of the poor tiller of the soil. A similar fine was levied on Borahs and other merchants, whose income the State had no means to tax otherwise.<sup>9</sup> This reminds us of the treatment meted out to the Jews in Christianity during the middle ages.

This was the law of jungle prevailing in the heart of an otherwise civilised country, having even less justification than the practice of the Pathan Maliks. When debts mounted up and demand on for repayment became insistent, the Pathan would have the house of the Baniya of his village,—who was his book-keeper and moneylender to meet unlimited credit,—burnt down periodically with all his papers, pay him a little to start business anew and allow him to grow fat again like his *dumba*.

#### (9)

The Rajputs with their subordinate partners, the Kayeth and the Vaish, make up after all, only the top-dressing of the history of Rajputana. The pre-Rajput history of the land had been the history of wandering and settlement of the Bhils, Jats and Meds, Meos and Minas, who became submerged under the successive waves of migration of the Rajput Kshatriyas. Of these peoples all are of Aryan if not of Indo-Aryan stock except the Bhils,

8. These lists are compiled from *Raj-rupak* of Virbhan (Nagari-pracharini Sabha Edition).

9. For *Patel Barar* and *Tisala Dand*, see Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma's *Kota Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. II, pp. 541, 548.



who are supposed to be of Dravidian origin. The Meds<sup>10</sup> (Mers) and the Jats were found always moving together, as in Muslim histories Jats and Meds are invariably mentioned together. Those of the Meds or Mers, who still remain Hindus, stand today as much outside the pale of Brahmanism, as their reputed ancestors, the Mādrakas, living between the Indus and the Ravi in the days of the Mahabharata stood along with the Vahikas (later on known as the Jats, who are called *Vaheks* still in Sindh). Modern scholars are inclined to identify the Meds or Mers with the Medes or ancient Iranians. The Meds held sway over the whole tract now covered by the States of Kotah, Bundi and Mewar; whereas the Jats lived in the Jangal-desh (a portion of ancient Kuru-Jangal region), which covers Bikanir and some portion of the Jodhpur State. During their days of ascendancy their ruling families ranked as Rajputs, while the rank and file, perhaps, clung to their unorthodox food, faith and superstitions. The Sanskritised name of *Meda-patamandal*<sup>11</sup> for Mewar proper preserves the memory of their sway in that region from which they were gradually pushed and confined to their modern habitat Merwara. There they lapsed back to their semi-wild life, and later on entered the fold of Islam out of spite to the Rajputs.

The Bhils, perhaps, represent the oldest stratum of the population of that portion of Rajputana, which lies between the table-land of Malwa and the Desert beyond the main range of the Aravala mountain with its submonte skirt of hills and jungles. Waves of migration of the Indo-Aryans and later on of the Sakas and Hunas, and other peoples like the Jats and Meds and Meos and Minas swept successively over this region submerging the Bhils, and passed away by leaving a silt of peoples of Aryan stocks and isles of a higher civilization. But the Bhils seemed to have had

recovered ground just as Nature recovers her own against man in unguarded moments and turns the garden of his civilization into woodland.

However, the Bhils are found in occupation of the Aravala regions down the banks of the Chambal from which they had evidently pushed the Meds west and northward. Nothing of the history of the Bhils before they came into clash with the Rajputs is definitely known. Ruins of an old Bhil town, Asalpur, lie five miles north of Nahargarh on the left bank of the Barni stream; and another fort of theirs, now known as Akelgarh, stood on the right bank of the Chambal a little south of Kotah. Kotah itself was the last capital of a Bhil chief, Kotiya Bhil, who deserted his older capital of Akelgarh. The Bhils lived in small mud forts accommodating, perhaps, the ruling sept, whose territory did not on the average exceed 25 square miles.<sup>12</sup> Their kingdom was a sort of confederacy of small clan republics, which combined against a common foe in times of war, or fought amongst themselves over wine and women when left alone. They were not altogether foes of civilization; agriculture flourished and merchants carried on their trade under their protection, and they had their Bhats and musicians from outside to regale their leisure;—as we can surmise from stray references in the Rajput *khyats*. They sank into a subject-people along with the Minas of Bundi in the time of Samar Singh Hada, who ascended the *gadi* of Bundi in 1243 A.D. Samar Singh had to fight a severe battle near Akelgarh against Kotiya Bhil in which nine hundred Bhils and three hundred Hada Rajputs were killed.<sup>13</sup>

The Minas about this time shared with the Bhils the mastery over the whole tract from Bundi to Dhundahar (modern Jaipur country). They occupied an intermediate position between the Rajput and the Bhil in civilization and orthodoxy. Jeta Mina became a very powerful ruler in Bundi in the beginning of the thirteenth century. In those days Rajputs and Minas of ruling status intermarried though the Minas were looked down upon for their unorthodox customs and food. When such alliances were profitable in cash or territory, the Rajput would

10. For Meds, see Nainsi's *Khyat*, I, p. 7, footnote 1, by Ramnarayan Dungan, *Brihat-Samhita* mentions another tribe Mandavya along with the Meds. It is not unlikely that the Mandavyas also had their settlements from Mandor or Mandawar in Marwar to Malwa, where we have such place-names as Mandasor, Mandu, etc. The name Mandavya in abbreviation and popular use probably became Mand, if these were a distinct people from the Meds.

11. Inscriptions relating to Med dynasty are said to have been found in the Kotah State (Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma's *History of Kotah* in Hindi, Vol. I, p. 4).

12. Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma's *History of Kotah* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 33.

13. *Ibid*, p. 61.

readily admit the Kshatriya status of the Meds and Minas of their neighbourhood. So Jeta Mina of Bundi, whose power had hitherto eclipsed that of the intruding strangers, the Hada Chauhans of Bundi,—proposed a marriage between his two sons with the daughters of Rao Deva. Rao Deva replied that if the Minas would give up their evil customs and reform themselves he might give them two daughters of his brother in marriage. Jeta agreed to this condition with alacrity and gave an undertaking in writing to fulfil all the conditions of Rao Deva. With two girls Rao Deva came to the village of Umarthun, prepared the *mandap* of marriage and raised a temporary reception house for the bridegrooms' party of the Minas. But this was really a death-trap. Jeta Mina came with a large party which was lodged in that house. Wine and feasting went on merrily, no marriage took place, and not a single Mina remained alive next morning, fire and sword having done the needful in the lime-light of the callous Rajput treachery. Similar was the fate of Kotiya Bhil of Kotah at the hands of Rao Jeta (grandson of Rao Deva), who killed the Bhil chief by luring him to a friendly feast. These are typical of the way by which the Rajputs destroyed the power of non-Rajput tribes in Rajputana.

The Bhils and Meds of Mewar put up a stiff resistance to Rajput aggression. Nainsi in the last quarter of the seventeenth century writes :

" . . . three *kos* from Devaliya was a Greater Merwada, where lived Burar-Bargat, Bujmal, and Umar sept of Mers in 140 villages. Once they were expelled by Rana Jagat Singh, but reinstated at the intercession of Jhala Kalyan. At present Rana Raj Singh has expelled all the Mers and settled in their villages Sisodiya Rajputs of Chundavat, Saktavat and Ranavat clans with their *basi* (clients attached to a family or clan). These people (Mers) used to commit depredations and lawlessness. The land between Devaliya and Meval is called *des* (country) of Mandal (?), the chief place of which is Dharyabad, where lived the Mers, behaving as subjects or as *mirasis* (roving brigands levying blackmail). There were 140 villages of Mers here, whom Rana Raj Singh has ousted and given their villages to Sarangdeo Rajputs.

"The Bhil lord of Mahesar Hill and paragona Jurra is an extremely devoted and loyal vassal of the Rana. His ancestors bore the title of Rawat. At present this place is in possession of Ravat Narsingh-

das . . . Mahesar range of hills is 12 *kos* in breadth, where *paragona* Jurra is situated . . . In times of difficulty this place is an impregnable shelter for the Dewan (of Ekalingaji, i.e., the Maharana). There in Panarwa, Narsinghdas holds 200 villages, Ranak Dayaldas Bhil 25 villages, the descendants of Gangadas 140 villages. Bhils live as subjects . . . In the rear of Dungarpur lives Bhil Khengar Bhagora. Herein for 150 *kos* are the settlements of the Bhils only . . ."

The Bhil was a potent factor of success in Maharana Pratap's war of independence against the Mughal Empire. The Mina still holds as dear to the prestige of the Kachchwas as their ancestors who had once voluntarily accepted the Kachchwa dynasty as rulers over them. A Rajput in distress always found protection and hospitality among these brave primitive peoples. They were humoured by the Rajputs in times of difficulty and flattered as "uncle" or "nephew" (*bhanja*); but once tight on his saddle the ungrateful Rajput had nothing but contempt and chastisement for these peoples. Had better wisdom dawned on the Rajputs these peoples could have been easily reclaimed by them as an integral part of the Rajput polity of Medieval India. The Rajput failed, and paid dearly for his sins. Had it been otherwise, the Rajput would have played a nobler role than that of brave watch-dogs of alien regimes after 1000 A.D. But the old vigour of the Indo-Aryan polity that had strengthened itself by digesting the Sakas and Hunas<sup>14</sup> in ancient times was gone, and the missionary zeal and catholicity of religious and social outlook of the Brahmins had vanished from the land. With the loss of political independence appeared the symptoms of a cul-

14. Nainsi, *Khyat*, Vol. I, pp. 7-8.

*Mandal ka Des* appears to be a wrong translation in this passage. *Barah* (twelve), *chaurasi* (eighty-four), etc., are the units of a *Mandal* (a social and semi-political confederation), among the Jats and kindred tribes. So *Mandal ka Des* possibly means the 'territory' covered by a *Mandal*.

15. The word *Shaka* was used in Rajputana to denote a foreigner, a *mlechcha*, later on applied to Muslims by analogy. The Hunas were admitted to be Kshatriyas, whose daughters were eligible for marriage by the Rajputs. In the Haryana tract of the Punjab, the Hun is remembered as a doughty fighter and a boisterous braggart talking big. If somebody is reluctant to meet an opponent, others encourage him saying, "Is he Hun?" They snub and taunt a boasting fellow saying, "Some big Hun seems to have come!" Legends of Rajputana contain references to *Hun virs* (Hun braves) as lawless depredators, who used to live in inaccessible defiles and plunder merchants and pilgrims (Vide *Guleri-granth*, I, p. 218).

tural dyspepsia and spiritual bankruptcy of the body-politic of India. The result was that Islam stole a march over the Hindu society at the start, and later on, rode rough-shod over the prostrate Hindus. Islam coerced and tempted into its own fold a considerable portion of these neglected and prosecuted tribes only in a less refined and beneficent way than that of Christianity in modern times.

However, the forgotten history of these non-Rajput tribes is the coral reef on which the multi-coloured landscape of Rajput history unfolds itself. But these fossils of humanity will some day spring to life under the magic breath of liberty and change the medieval complexion of Indian society. These peoples cling to their lands for livelihood, which is anything but enviable as the sigh of the countryside goes :

*Kura karsan khayē gehun jeemen baniya.*

[i.e., the cultivator is left only the refuse of grains to appease hunger, while the Baniya (shop-keeper-cum-moneylender, feasts on wheat.]

(10)

Any future research into the history of the so-called non-Aryan races of Rajputana shall have to seek light from philological studies of the spoken dialects in the countryside of Rajputana. And these dialects are anything but modern Hindi. One competent authority remarks about the spoken language of one of the easternmost States of Rajputana, namely, Kotah :

"Grammar and accents of the *bhasha* of Kotah have similarities with those of Gujarati . . . There are some characteristics in the style of pronunciation, which show no connection either with Sanskrit or with Persian. There are also some words in their vocabulary, whose relation with Sanskrit or any Semitic language cannot be established. From this it may be surmised that in the language of the Kotah State there has been possibly some hybridization with the languages of foreign tribes, Huna or Gujar."<sup>16</sup>

The Rajput of modern times tries to forget himself in opium and wine, which too he may sadly miss in no distant future under the new dispensation tabooing all intoxication except that of power and purse. Nothing but the ingrained fatalistic philosophy will remain to console him for the loss of his glorious past, and reconcile himself to new conditions remembering the poet Bhasa's words:

16. Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma, *History of Kotah (Hindi)*, Vol. I, p. 22.

*Kalakramena jagatah parivartamana,  
Chakrarapankiriva gachhti bhagyapankih.*

(11)

History of mankind has been, on the whole, one of progress and reorientation with the advent and exit of virile nations. The medieval history of Rajputana received a similar reorientation with the rise of the Rajputs. Its modern history also is receiving only a reorientation and not a set-back under the lead of the non-Rajput majority. If the Rajputs had been in the forefront of Medieval India, and the wealth of the Mughal Empire flowed into the barren tract of Rajputana in the shape of war booty and pay of Rajput mercenaries, the same phenomenon catches the eye today only with the Marwari merchant and not the Rajput soldier in the vanguard to tap the wealth of Hind and of outside in an age when intellect and business acumen can achieve much more than sword and muscle.

The seed and soil of Rajputana have not lost their properties though the world has turned topsy-turvy for the Rajput cavalier and his horse. The Oswals and Agarwals stand today as heirs to the fame of the Chauhan and the Rathor, the Sisodia and the Kachchwah,—whose blood has mingled in theirs through conversion to Jainism and the impact of economic forces, and whose robust optimism and spirit of adventure they emulate in peaceful avocations of life.

The bulldozer of Secular India is breaking down the crust of medievalism on Indian society, which the sword of the Rajput upheld for centuries. The steam-roller of modern economic and political forces will, perhaps, knead the Old and the New India into an enduring cement for a Welfare Polity in which the non-Rajputs will get an opportunity to grow to their full political stature. Let us only hope that the spirit of sacrifice and heroism of the children of Rajputana shall continue to inspire future generations with the old war-cry of their land :

*Ghar jatan dhram palatan, tiriya padta lav;  
Ye tinhuhi din maran-ra kaha rank kaha Rao.*<sup>17</sup>

17. When the home and hearth is in danger, when religion is at stake, when the womenfolk are in distress; these are the three days of days for all (to die), whether a pauper or a prince.

Quoted in Jagadish Singh Gahalot's *Rajputane ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 5.



## PUBLIC OPINION IN DEMOCRATIC INDIA

BY PROF. D. C. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

THE faith in "Rational Man" is the cornerstone of democracy which is sustained and developed by the constant conviction that the people can determine their own needs by means of a process of rational thought and that having determined what they want they are capable of seeing that they achieve it through the processes of the government. Democracy is government by public opinion.

The political history of India is a sorrowful saga of strife and dissension among many nationalities and communities. The Indian "nation" of today may mean only the people of India as they apparently stand together and united presumably ignoring the dark chapters of the past history. Indian democracy at present will mean a pattern of popular government based on the foundation of the opinion of these people and as such public opinion in India at present becomes a subject-matter of great importance and interest. But in a country the great bulk of the population still remains plunged into the darkness of illiteracy, where the people are, as a result of the centuries-old tradition, inflamed furiously at the slightest provocation on religious or communal grounds, what and how much of public opinion can possibly be deciphered in order to gauge its nature, strength and intensity as the life-blood of the democratic government in India? Are we to accept "that great compound of folly, weakness, prejudice, wrong feeling, right feeling, obstinacy and newspaper paragraphs" as the public opinion and let our governmental machinery be run at random or is it prudent to curtail the free play of the democratic process in India by ordering our administrative system according to the opinions rendered by the "Elite" of the people and not by the spasmodic outbursts of capricious feelings and emotions of the sand-heap of irrational multitude of people that live in India?

The latter suggestion betrays a genuine lack of faith in the capacity of the unenlightened people of India to form and exert

general opinion about the important problems of the country. If this faithfulness is justified, then, certainly, India will have to limit her experiment with democracy accordingly, at least during the transitional period. (To say that the Indian people have not the capacity to form sound public opinion may mean either of the two things or both. Firstly, it may mean that the Indian people have not the educational backing to form rational conclusions on important socio-political issues placed before them. It may mean, in the second place, that the people of India due to their long-standing diversities are incapable of coming to any unanimous opinion on important problems.)

Distrust in the intellectual capacity of the masses with reference to important problems is nothing new. It is a standing indictment against democracy that democracy is a "patent impossibility evidently due to the utter inability of the people to judge issues dispassionately and rationally." But the objection is based upon superficial observation. Gladstone, the celebrated political genius of England, who can definitely be regarded as an astute appraiser of the public opinion of his time and country, however, once stated:

"I painfully reflect that in almost every political controversy of the last fifty years, the 'leisured' classes, the 'titled' classes have been in the wrong. The common people,—the toilers, the men of uncommon sense—these have been responsible for nearly all the social reform which the world accepts today."<sup>1</sup>

A member of the law faculty at the University of California, Max Radin, analysed the popular vote in California on 115 referendum propositions put before the people in State elections between 1936 and 1946. He found that in a substantial majority of cases the voters took the same attitude towards the propositions as was taken by two of California's conservative institutions, the Conservative Club of

1. Gallup: *A Guide to Public Opinion Polls*, London, 1944, p. 85.

San Francisco and the Town Hall of Los Angeles, after extensive study of the issues by their legislative committees. Dr. Radin concludes from the evidence of these 115 referenda that the voters not only displayed caution and good judgement but they rejected crackpot suggestions with greater firmness than their elected representatives in the State legislature. This is not anything unnatural. As Ogle observes :

" . . . man is motivated by reason, rather than by emotion or superstition, when he most clearly is aware of the situation in which he is asked to act. Awareness of the situation is not necessarily a function of the 'elite' . . . Superstition is rife when men grope in ignorance, but there is ample evidence to demonstrate that, when they have knowledge they make judgments whose primary motivating factor is reason. It would seem, therefore, that the criterion of using reason is not necessarily a hypothetical mental or physical superiority, but plain knowledge of the facts of the case. Men will make decisions or choices by means of a reasoning process when they have knowledge; if they are unable to use reason they will employ witchcraft. It appears that the 'elite' is as fallible in this respect as any other group, and that, pressed for a decision, the superman is as likely to rely on the portent of mystic rites as is the yokel. It appears equally certain that the superman is able to wish as strongly as the yokel, and that his wishes influence his thinking in exactly the same way and to the same extent in absence of sobering facts . . . The average citizen has neither the understanding nor the competency to deal with the great mass of complex, technical material which the civil servant of today handles. He has, however, an understanding and knowledge of the matters with which he is in daily contact. Concerning his job, and his business, the average man is expert in the detailed sense of the word: he knows more about that particular facet of life than anyone else. The strength of the democratic system of government rests in its ability to tap this reserve of exact knowledge at its source."<sup>2</sup>

It may be confidently contended that the democratic experiment in India cannot be unsuccessful simply on account of illiteracy among the people in India. The vast millions of ordinary Indians living in the villages may be illiterate, but they are not unintelligent. Average Indians are marked by their shrewd

understanding of the implications of a problem vitally affecting their immediate interests. He has in full measure that "understanding and knowledge of the matters with which he is in daily contact," to which Ogle has attached so much importance. Formation of public opinion among the rural population in India cannot be brushed aside as sheer impossibility. (But, of course, the extent and nature of the public opinion to be found in rural India must be limited to matters directly affecting the vital interests of the rural population. Issues like the industrial policy, or deficit financing, insurance at nationalization cannot be placed before these people for sound opinion. On issues like these the opinion conveyed by the educated people living in the urban areas must be taken as the representative opinion of the country.) This brings us to the second point. It must be admitted that there cannot be anything like one undivided or unanimous public opinion on any important issue in India. One and undivided public opinion is an impossibility not only in India but in every democratic country of the world at present. The term "public" cannot have any greater denotation than "a group which will admit in any way that its members have the same interests or that its members belong together—or could probably belong together under the proper conditions." Consequently, "there is, then, not one public, 'the public' of the politician, nor are there several publics, but literally an infinite number of publics in any country. An individual may belong to thousands of publics, and most of us must belong to a very large number." If there are different "publics," it is natural that there will be diverse and divergent "public opinions" too. Lord Bryce appears to have been aware of this possibility of divergence although by public opinion he means one opinion, that is, the opinion of the majority only. According to him,

" . . . public opinion is a congeries of all sorts of discrepant notions, beliefs, fancies, prejudices, aspirations. It is confused, incoherent, amorphous, varying from day to day and week to week. But in the midst of this diversity and confusions every question as it arises into importance is subjected to a

2. Gallup: *A Guide to Public Opinion Polls*.

3. M. Ogle: *Public Opinion and Political Dynamics*, Boston, 1950, pp. 25, 26, 16; 28; 29.

4. Ogle: *Ibid*, p. 44.

5. Ogle: *Ibid*, p. 44.

process of consolidation and clarification until there emerge and take shape certain views or sets of interconnected, each held and advocated in common by bodies of citizens. It is to the power exerted by any such views, when held by an apparent majority of citizens that we refer when we talk of public opinion as approving or disapproving a certain doctrine or proposal, and thereby becoming a guiding or ruling power."<sup>6</sup>

Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell was fully aware of the possibility of multiplicity in public opinion and attempted to strike a balance by his compromising formula. According to him,

"Public opinion to be worthy of the name, to be the proper motive force in a democracy, must be really public . . . A majority is not enough and unanimity is not required, but the opinion must be such that while the minority may not share it, they feel bound, by conviction, not by fear, to accept it; and if democracy is complete, the submission of the minority must be given ungrudgingly."<sup>7</sup>

Without disputing the fundamental contention of Dr. Lowell it may be, however, pointed out that on particular occasions the question of majority and minority may not arise at all. For instance, in India, today considering the widespread illiteracy it will be sheerly meaningless to refer the issue of deficit financing in the country to the rural population for their judgement and find out whether the majority is in favour or not. Only those issues which have direct bearing upon the lives of the rural people should be referred to them for their opinion. On these familiar issues they may differ amongst themselves and then in order to ascertain the public opinion of the rural population on these particular issues Dr. Lowell's formula may be applied with success. Prof. Ogle gives an instance which may be of interest in this connection. The peasants of Ohio (U.S.) were recently called upon to come to a decision as to whether they desired to participate in the wheat crop control plans of the national Department of Agriculture. The problem before the farmers simply involved casting a balance and determining whether cost was met by gain, and in a case of this nature certainly the most competent person to make such a judgement

was the man who would have to operate under the programme if it were adopted. As it happened, the various farm groups disagreed among themselves since the conditions of farming and farm economy differed from one area to another. For example, the Ohio farmers wanted to exempt from the count of acres planted to wheat the amount which they grew as feed for livestock, whereas the Nebraska and other middle-western groups protested that they were unable to compete on similar terms and this practice would give Ohio farmers an unfair economic advantage. All these problems, however, were within the especial competence of the farmer and here, in this case, if the Government wanted to determine their policy in this regard simply on the basis of the "public opinion" of the rural population of the country, then, they could secure that opinion in accordance with the suggestion given by Dr. Lowell. There are, however, issues on which "public opinions" of the different cross-sections of the people of the country, as a whole, need be taken into consideration. For example, in the present case, not only the farmers of the country, but also the businessmen were interested in the problem of controlling the amount of wheat produced and the price of wheat at least in so far as the American crop influences the international price quotation. Manufacturers who used wheat also had a stake in the price. Thus each of these groups had a vested interest in wheat; each was concerned with opposing, modifying or encouraging the wheat control plans of the Department of Agriculture; and each had a knowledge of conditions that could be gained only through actual working experience. Nevertheless, no single member of any one of these groups of people was able to comprehend in full the problems of the other groups which were affected by the projected programme. On such occasions, it will be the duty of the Government to ascertain the "public opinion" of the country as a whole out of the vast welter of "public opinions" of the different cross-sections of the population and here also Dr. Lowell's definition of public opinion will be of great help. In any case diversity is recognised to be the inherent factor of public opinion which is not necessarily detrimental to the democratic process.

Democracy attaches the greatest value to the

6. James Bryce: *Modern Democracies*, New York, 1921.

7. A. L. Lowell: *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, New York, 1913, p. 5.

individual and public opinion is, on ultimate analysis, nothing but a synthesis of individual opinions. As individuals differ among themselves, it is natural that public opinion will be a heterogeneous entity. Opinions are expressions of attitude and an attitude is "a mental neutral state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related."<sup>8</sup> According to Prof. Thurstone, the attitude of an individual implies "the sum-total of man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats and convictions about any specific topic."<sup>9</sup> Prof. Childs defines attitude as "a disposition on the part of an individual to act or react in a certain way, usually favourably or unfavourably, toward a particular issue or object."<sup>10</sup> Thus, if opinion means expression of attitude and attitude implies certain disposition to act or react to certain object or event, then the whole argument goes to emphasize not only the "receptive" aspect of human mind but also the "creative" aspect. It is this creative aspect of human mind which explains the "inordinate variety" of human nature; it explains why reasonable, unprejudiced men reach different opinions, even though they have the same information. Every person may have certain inherent disposition. But this fundamental disposition while manifesting itself in diverse forms is naturally affected, modified and ultimately diversified by the objective conditions under which different persons have to live and act. One mind reacts differently to different stimuli, and similarly different minds react differently to the same stimulus. This variability is largely due to the variety of experiences which go to give peculiar bends to respective human minds. As Dr. Walter Lippmann observes:

"Whatever the equipment at birth, the innate dispositions are from earliest infancy immersed in experience which determines what shall excite them as stimulus. . . . The cognitive processes and the

actual bodily movements by which the instinct achieves its end may be indefinitely complicated. In other words, man has an instinct of fear, but what he will fear and how he will try to escape, is determined not from birth, but by experience. . . . There is no *prima facie* case then of supposing that because persons crave some particular things, or behave in some particular way, human nature is fatally constituted to crave that and act thus. The craving and the action are both learned and in another generation might be learned differently, Analytic Psychology and social history unite in supporting this conclusion. Psychology indicates how essentially casual is the nexus between the particular stimulus and the particular response. Anthropology in the widest sense reinforces the view by demonstrating that the things which have excited men's passions, and the means which they have used to realize them, differ endlessly from age to age and from place to place."<sup>11</sup>

Prof. Childs has compared public opinion with weather. Weather implies certain atmospheric conditions and public opinion implies certain conditions of the people's mind. As the weather changes according to the alterations in the atmospheric conditions, similarly, public opinion fluctuates along with the changes of the conditions of the people's mind brought about by different factors. Psychology and Anthropology conjointly proclaim not only the possibility but also the inevitability of multiplicity and flexibility of opinions to be expressed by different individuals and groups of individuals in different periods of time.

In a democratic country where public opinion gets the widest possible scope of free play, opinion of the people on any particular issue must be carefully sorted out of the vast congeries of "opinions" of different cross-sections of the people of the country prevailing in any particular period of time. The greater the diversity, the greater is the necessity of careful and scientific method of ascertaining or segregating the cream out of the complicated and complex mass of mixed feelings and reactions. In democratic India, let us have faith in the inherent capacity of the people to form opinion on relevant issues and then proceed to devise the most appropriate method or methods of correctly ascertaining the real opinion of the people on different problems. The success of the great democratic experiment in India will largely depend upon the extent to

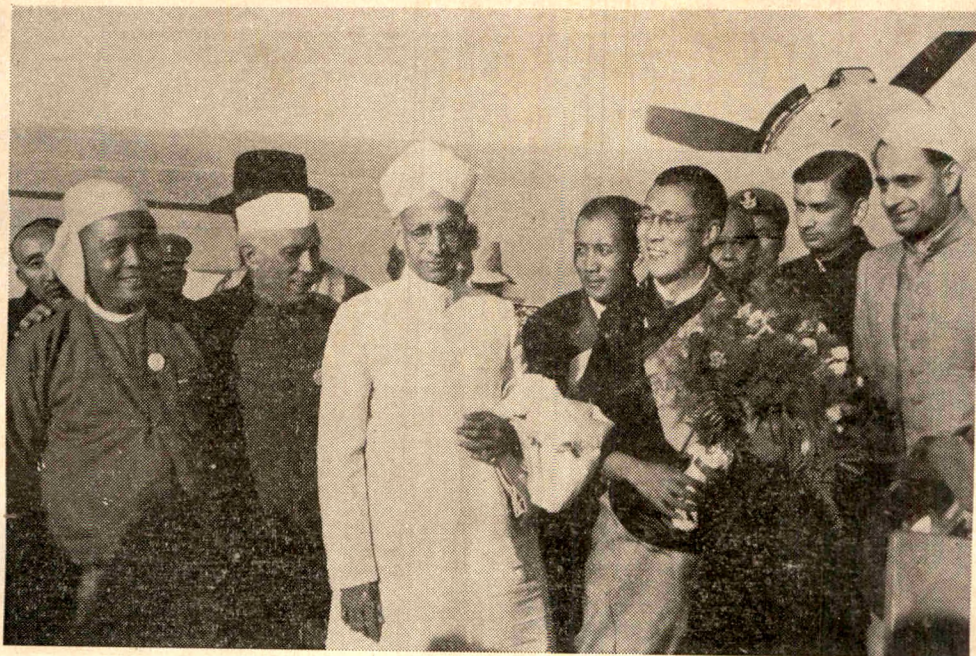
8. Gordon Allport: *A Handbook of Social Psychology*.

9. Thurstone & Chave: *The Measurement of Attitude*, Chicago, 1929, pp. 6-7.

10. Childs: *Introduction to Public Opinion*, New York, 1940, p. 62.

11. Walter Lippmann: *Public Opinion*, pp. 178, 188-89.





Mr. U Nu, former Prime Minister of Burma, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Shri Appa Pant at the Palam airport



Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama at the Exhibition of Paintings of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society in New Delhi





Dr. S. Radhakrishnan declared open for light traffic the western tube of the new Banihal Tunnel, Kashmir



The Chinese Women's Cultural Delegation at the Palam Airport, New Delhi



which there will be opportunities before the people to make their views sufficiently articulate. In 1893, Lord Bryce pointed out that the next stage in the development of democratic government would be reached "if the will of the majority of citizens were to become ascertainable at all times." He observed that "the choice of one man against another is an imperfect way of expressing the mind of a constituency." Political development in different countries in recent period certainly proves that the election returns cannot be taken as the infallible evidence revealing the will of the people on specific issues. Political parties or their candidates now-a-days fight elections usually on the basis of a number of principles or measures. The victory or defeat of a party candidate cannot conclusively demonstrate as to which particular principles or measures were accepted by the electorate and what particular principles were rejected by the electorate although they might have voted for the candidate on the basis of other principles. The victory or defeat of any party candidate does not necessarily imply the acceptance or rejection by the electorate of all the principles for which he stood. In the Presidential election in U.S.A. in 1921, the Democratic Party candidate won. There is good reason to believe that this victory was possible because the Democratic Party stood for the League of Nations. But certainly it is not correct to hold that of the nine million Democrats all were staunch supporters of the League. As Dr. Lippmann points out:

"... many of the millions voted, as they do, to maintain the existing social system in the South, and that whatever their views on the League, they did not vote to express their views. Those who wanted the League were no doubt pleased that the Democratic Party wanted it too. Those who disliked the League may have held their noses as they voted. But both groups of Southerners voted the same ticket. . . . The Republicans majority was composed of men and women who thought a Republican victory would kill the League, plus those who thought it most practical way to secure the League, plus those who thought it the surest way offered to obtain an amended League. All these voters were inextricably entangled with their own desire, or the desire of other voters to improve business, or put labour in its place, or to punish the Democrats for going to war, or to punish them for not having gone sooner, or to get rid of Mr. Burleson, or to improve the price of wheat, or to lower the taxes, or to stop Mr. Daniel (the Demo-

cratic candidate) from outbuilding the world, or to help Mr. Harding (the Republican candidate) do the same thing."<sup>12</sup>

In the last general election in India the Indian National Congress candidates were victorious in many constituencies. But the victory of these candidates does not necessarily indicate that the voters were all in favour of all the principles or measures of the Congress party. There were thousands of people who wanted to see the Hindu Code Bill stopped for ever, but at the same time voted for Congress on the consideration that the Congress government in the country had been trying to do many good things in other spheres; there were many who were thoroughly disappointed by the Congress party's hesitant approach to Socialism but at the same time voted for Congress on the consideration that it was this party who had achieved the national independence of the country through many troubles and turmoils. Similar was the case in respect of other political parties whose candidates either won or were defeated. Evidently, election results cannot be relied upon as a safe guide to gauge the public opinion on particular issues prevailing in a country in a particular period of time.

Lord Bryce also noted that with the swift changes of event many problems may come up which could not be submitted to electorate. He wrote that

"The action of opinion is continuous, that of voting occasional, and in the intervals between the elections of legislative bodies, changes may take place materially affecting the views of voters."

Press and platform are regarded to be the two media for the ventilation of public opinion on any particular issue when there is no immediate chance of having a countryside election or popular vote on the issue. But it is well known how very deficient these two organs are to discharge the functions expected of them under the existing social conditions. The press in almost every country is under the control of some "group," and as a result, views on different important issues are allowed to appear in respective papers only after "due" checking and consideration and there are papers, both in

India and outside, who like to publish news or comments or criticisms on certain selected topics only having complete or partial "black-out" in respect of other "harmful" and "useless" matters.

The public platform certainly serves one important purpose, that is, it provides an opportunity to the leader to express his views to the people. But there ends its purpose and utility at least in so far as we are concerned with what happens usually. In a perfect democracy, however, what is more important is that the people should have a direct opportunity when every one of them would be able to express individually his or her opinion on a specific issue. The public platform does provide the people with this opportunity. In some advanced countries it has become a practice for individual citizens, who consider themselves to be minority in the country, to write or wire their representatives in the legislature expressing their considered views on particular problems. As a practice it is not anything bad. But as a medium of ascertaining public opinion on particular issues it is certainly misleading. As there are persons who considering themselves to be minority want to put pressure upon the members of the legislature through correspondence, there are, on the other hand, citizens who do not like the idea of making their pressure felt to the members of the legislature through correspondence, but come out with their considered views whenever there is any occasion of expressing views collectively and the people belonging to the latter group are found to be far numerous than the people belonging to the former category. If the people belonging to the first category are given the name "articulate minority," then, the people belonging to the larger (second) group may be called "inarticulate majority." In U.S.A., the Burke-Wadsworth Selective Service Bill of 1940 proposed that all men between the ages of 21 and 31 should be required to register and should be liable for one year of military service. During the summer of the year fourteen Senators received as many as 30,000 letters from the citizens on this issue. During the same time a survey of public opinion, covering an accurate national cross-section of voters was taken. The views expressed through these two channels were as follows:

Opinion expressed in Congressional Mail on Selective Service Bill:

For the Bill—10 per cent

Against the Bill—90 per cent.

Opinion expressed on Poll Question: "Do you favour increasing the size of our Army and Navy by drafting men between the ages of 21 and 31 to serve in the armed forces for one year?"

In Favour—68 per cent

Against—27 per cent

No Opinion—5 per cent.

The results indicate that if these fourteen Senators had based their votes solely on the mail they received, they would have gone counter to the wishes of the majority of the people, as reflected in the poll. So, George Gallup poses the question:

"Hundreds of minority group have their spokesmen. What about the views of the inarticulate majority?"<sup>13</sup>

More than fifty years ago Lord Bryce wrote: "The best way in which the tendencies at work in any community can be discovered and estimated is by moving freely about among all sorts and conditions of men and noting how they are affected by the news or the arguments brought from day to day to their knowledge." Modern answer is the system of the public opinion polls.

"By their very nature," writes George Gallup, "modern sampling polls can and do separate the popularity of candidates from the popularity of issues. Polls can report which views of the candidate the public favours, which they reject. The speed with which sampling referenda can be completed for the entire nation is such that public opinion on any given issue can be reported within 48 hours if the occasion warrants. Thus the goal has nearly been reached when public opinion can be 'ascertainable at all times' . . . Public opinion pools can not only deflate the claims of pressure groups and of minorities seeking special privilege, but, more important, they can reveal the will of the inarticulate and unorganized majority of citizens."<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Robinson has pointed out that the development of polling techniques may be divided into five phases, and we are now in what Robinson calls the fifth phase in the development of "scientific" public opinion polls.

13. George Gallup: *A Guide to Public Opinion Polls*, p. 5.

14. Gallup: *Ibid*, pp. 3-5.



"It is a phase," writes Prof. Childs, "in which students of public opinion not only are concerned with questions of method, but also are raising questions regarding the social and political significance of these techniques. The polling agencies themselves are seeking to refine and improve their methods. Business executives and others are displaying an extraordinary interest in public opinion, and are eager to find out what it is in order that they may bring their conduct into conformity with it. And students of public affairs are trying to evaluate present trends and determine what, if anything, needs to be done in order to enhance the social usefulness of polling procedures."<sup>15</sup>

In whatever forms it may be, in democratic India, if the people are to be given fair and square opportunities to make their views articulate, public opinion polls are necessary. The technique of the polls may require modifications in conformity with the peculiar conditions prevailing in our country, but the system should be introduced without delay. It is not sufficient that at the interval of every five years there will be country elections of candidates and in between the intervals there will be some scattered bye-elections. The pattern of economic and social life of India is undergoing radical modifications very rapidly giving rise to many unforeseen but important questions which cannot be left to the exclusive discretion of the representatives in the legislatures. Particularly, in view of the fact that India is a federation, it is in the interest of the greater unity and stability of this federal country that on general questions people belonging to the different regions of the country should be given full opportunity to express their views. Democracy in order to be perfect must be dynamic. But this dynamism is undermined if the government of the country always wants to determine its policy only in accordance with the wishes of certain representatives who were once elected under a particular context of situation. So public opinion polls should be introduced in India and it will be through these polls that the people of India will be able to infuse fluidity in the whole administrative set-up which, under the traditional system, has a natural tendency of moving towards bureaucracy which is bad.

If the public opinion polls give the people.

the opportunity to express their views on specific issues, then in order to ensure that the people are really in a position to form correct opinions, it is necessary that there shall be proper organisational support to educate the people in general. It is true that the people in general have the capacity of coming to broad decisions on questions concerning their immediate interests. But they can give verdict only when the questions have been placed before them in an absolutely objective, that is, unbiased and untwisted form. Information and implications of the issues must be presented to the public in a really scientific fashion and it is here that there enters the factor of propaganda in democracy. Propaganda in its purest sense must stand to help the citizens make wise and intelligent decisions, and as such democracy for its success has to depend largely upon scientific propaganda. But this aspect of the question is often forgotten and propaganda has come to imply some competitive effort on the part of some interested parties to confuse and bewilder the popular mind by repeated use of a number of catch-words and slogans surrounded by an aroma of an ideology which possesses validity more in theory than in practice. It is just in order to save the ordinary public from the unwholesome influence of such propaganda that there is the necessity of some expert but disinterested organization entrusted with the task of enlightening the people with relevant facts and figures concerning important issues confronting the country from time to time. Individual citizens have the capacity to form judgment. But a judgment on an issue concerning the people, as a whole, must be a judgment backed by sufficient knowledge,—knowledge which must come from much wider experience than the utterly limited experience of the individual citizen. As Dr. Lippmann observes:

"You cannot take more political wisdom out of human beings than there is in them. And no reform, however, sensational, is truly radical, which does not consciously provide a way of overcoming the subjectivism of human opinion based on the limitation of individual experience. There are systems of government, of voting, and representation which extract more than others. But in the end, knowledge must come not from the conscience, but from the environment with which that conscience deals. When men act on

15. Childs: *A Text Book of Public Opinion*, p. 52.

the principle of intelligence they go out to find the facts and to make their wisdom."<sup>16</sup>

That is why Dr. Lippmann advocates the establishment of an Intelligence Bureau.

Prof. Childs would like to call it "a clearing house of ideas and opinions" which will function as "a reservoir into which individuals and groups with bright new ideas can pour their questions. One of the primary functions of such a clearing house would be to arrange and classify these ideas, eliminate duplications, re-vamp, and integrate others so that they could be presented to the public in a systematic manner. With orderly classification would come more significant statements of issues. The ordinary citizen cannot as a rule examine all ideas and programmes and sift the less from the more. There must be some agency to do this for him."<sup>17</sup>

Dr. Lippmann wants his projected Intelligence Bureau to perform two-fold function. In the first place, it should act as a bridge between the legislature and the different administrative departments; and in the second place, it will try to associate politics of a country with the principles of political science as such.

"This establishment," writes Dr. Lippmann, "would pretty soon become a focus of an information of the most extraordinary kind. And the men in it would be made aware of what the problems of the government really are. They would deal with the problems of definition, of terminology, of statistical technique, of logic; they would traverse concretely the whole gamut of the social sciences. It is difficult to see why all this material, except a few diplomatic and military secrets, should not be open to the scholars of the country. It is there that the political scientist would find the real nuts to crack and the real researches for his students to make . . . The central agency would thus have in it the makings of a national university. The staff could be recruited there for the bureaus from among the college graduates. They would be working on theses selected after con-

sultation between the curators of the national university and teachers scattered over the country."<sup>18</sup>

The ideas of Prof. Childs and Dr. Lippmann are not mutually contradictory but supplementary. In India, it is time that the social scientists of the country seriously think over the question of establishing some such organization through which they will be able to enlighten the people's mind. In the vast experiment of democracy, that is going on in India today, the social scientists have a vital role to play. But when problems are numerous and complex, individual effort can be of very little significance. Whether we call it "a clearing house of ideas and opinions" or an Intelligence Bureau or a Social Research and Guidance Centre, social scientists in co-operation with the industrialists, the government departments, and the universities of the country must try to set up an organization which should always try to present before the public unvarnished facts and ideas for their enlightenment and guidance and at the same time will try to gauge the currents and cross-currents engendered in the minds of the people by various events or issues and it may be good if the government of the country be prepared to take note of the findings of this authoritative organization and shape their policies and programmes accordingly. This is another way in which real fluidity or dynamism can be infused in the total democratic set-up of a country.

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18. Lippmann: *Public Opinion*, p. 392.



# A SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF THE STUDENTS OF A COLLEGE IN A RURAL AREA OF WEST BENGAL

By PROF. DR. GOBINDA CHANDRA MANDAL

THE education system of a country cannot be divorced from its programme of economic development. The Second Five-Year Plan lays a greater emphasis on industrialization than the First one without, however, seeking to reduce the volume of employment in agriculture. Improvement of agricultural practices and development of small-scale industries have been given a very important place in the economic programme. The needs of our education have to be estimated in such a context of development.

The present paper is an attempt at appraisal of our economy and its educational needs in the light of a socio-economic survey of the conditions of the college-students of a rural area. Such an appraisal is considered by the writer to be pertinent in view of the facts that the conditions of the students largely reflect the economy in which they are nurtured. The present study is related to the students of the P. K. College, Contai, Midnapore.\* The survey was conducted by the writer in October, 1955, under the auspices of the Economic Society of the college. All the students present on the day were investigated though all of them did not answer all the questions which were put to them. The findings are given below:

Table 1 shows the condition of the students' residence:

TABLE 1		
Type of residence	Number of boarders	Percentage to total
Students' Mess (affiliated to the College)	151	21.4
Private Mess	85	12.1
Own house	145	20.7
Relatives' house	72	10.3
Non-relatives' house	260	35.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>713</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Thus we find that residences of students not living in their own houses are scattered, a large number constituting 35.5 per cent of the total reside in private houses belonging to persons to whom they are not related.

Table 2 shows the conditions which the students have to fulfil to secure board and lodging in the houses of non-relatives.

TABLE 2		
Conditions	Number	Percentage to total
By rendering some services, e.g., tuition	99	38.5
Partly by rendering services and partly by paying	18	6.9
By fully paying	85	32.7
Free	58	21.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Thus it is obvious that the conditions of residence of the students 45 per cent of whom have to earn their board and lodging are not conducive to studies. Besides, living in various fragmented houses is not helpful in the growth of community life among the students.

Table 3 shows the housing condition of the students:

TABLE 3		
No of students occupying one room	Total number of students in each class	Percentage to total
One	86	12.1
Two	212	29.9
Three	165	23.4
More than three	247	34.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>710</b>	<b>100.0</b>

It is apparent that the housing condition of the students is not at all satisfactory, more than three persons having to occupy one room in the case of 34.6 per cent of the total number of students.

Table 4 shows the distance which the students have to travel for attending the college:

TABLE 4	
Miles	Number of students
Up to two miles	411
Above two miles	242

Thus a large number of students have to come from a long distance simply for an attendance at the college.

Table 5 shows food-expenditures of the students which is one of the chief elements in consumption-standard:

TABLE 5		
Food-expenditure	Number of students	Percentage to total
Up to Rs. 20	289	44.5
Rs. 20 to Rs. 30	274	42.2
Above Rs. 30	88	13.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>651</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\* Contai is a Sub-divisional town in the district of Midnapore with no other similar town within 60 miles. The Contai P. K. College is rapidly growing; it has degree course both in Science and Arts; its roll-strength was not more than 300 in 1945; by 1955 it has increased to 1,000.

Thus we find that the standards of food-consumption is extremely low, 45 per cent of the students having to consume food worth not more than Rs. 20 at the present-day prices.

Table 6 shows the quantity of milk-consumption:

Quantity	TABLE 6 Number of students	Percentage to total
0 oz.	580	80.8
0 to 8 ozs.	100	13.9
Above 8 ozs.	38	5.3
Total	718	100.0

Thus 80.8 per cent of the students do not take any milk which is an indispensable part of a nutritive diet.

Table 7 shows the extent of fish-consumption:

Number of days for which students take fish	TABLE 7 Number of students	Percentage to total
1-10	91	13.2
11-20	248	35.9
21-30	352	50.9
Total	691	100.0

Thus nearly 50 per cent of the students do not take fish for more than 20 days a month.

There is larger deficiency in the consumption of egg and meat as in Table 8:

Number of days for which students take meat or egg	TABLE 8 Number of students	Percentage to total
0	238	33.0
1-10 days	444	61.7
Above 10 days	38	5.3
Total	720	100.0

Thus nearly 95 per cent of the students do not consume egg or meat for more than 10 days a month.

Table 9 shows how students have been able to procure their books for study:

Percentage of books procured to total required	TABLE 9 Number of students	Percentage to total
Up to 25	114	16.4
25 to 50	237	34.0
50 to 75	182	26.1
75 to 100	164	33.5
Total	697	100.0

Thus it is found that 50 per cent of the students have not been able to procure books more than 50 per cent of what is required.

Table 10 shows the occupational classes from which the students are drawn:

Occupational class	TABLE 10 Number of students	Percentage to total
Trade and profession	145	20.1
Service	117	17.0
Agriculture	428	62.9
Total	690	100.0

Thus nearly 63 per cent of the students are found to belong to families engaged in agriculture.

Table 11 shows the holdings of the families of the students belonging to the agricultural classes:

Holding	TABLE 11 Number of students	Percentage to total
Up to 5 acres	229	57.5
5 to 15 acres	87	21.9
Above 15 acres	82	21.6
Total	398	100.0

It is found that nearly 58 per cent of the students belong to families having holding not in excess of five acres.

The students were asked to note the vocations which they would like to take up after the completion of education. Table 12 indicates the future aims of the students in regard to vocation:

Occupation aimed at	TABLE 12 Number of students	Percentage to total
Trade	29	4.4
Teaching	234	33.3
Legal profession	29	4.4
Engineering	71	10.0
Medical profession	39	5.7
Social welfare-work	72	10.0
Agriculture	88	12.9
Indefinite	121	19.3
Total	673	100.0

Thus though 63 per cent of the students belong to agricultural families, only 12.9 per cent of them are aiming at agricultural occupation on completion of their studies. This tendency follows a demand for school-teachers in rural areas arising out of the urge for educational expansion. Again, agriculture in its present state is less profitable, less respectable and much more tiresome an occupation compared to one like teaching. Besides, there is scope of maintaining agriculture as a subsidiary source of earning by leasing out lands to *bargadars*.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Education should be viewed as the most important factor contributing to the formation of human capital.



As such it must be given the most important place in a plan for economic development. A programme for educational reform must take in view whatever can make education contribute its fullest quota to the human-capital-formation.

The above survey abundantly reveals how the present urge for higher education in a rural area of West Bengal is struggling for fulfilment against extremely adverse circumstances. A progressive society must provide productive opportunity for its utilization.

The findings of the survey suggest some basic tasks to be done for the purpose :

First, there should be provision for a consolidated residence for the students in the college vicinity with all its common facilities which are helpful in building an active mind and body.

Secondly, there should be a state-subsidy towards provision for nutritive food for the students.

Thirdly, provision has to be made for a special library for the poor students who can borrow books from the library for a period extending to the end of their study-course.

Fourthly, there is the task to be done towards reorientation of an institution like the present one under survey, keeping in view the end of a static rural economy and the birth of a dynamic one.

The college under survey turns out every year nearly 30 graduates in Science and 80 in Arts. They are mostly to join the teaching profession. A plan for rural economic development leading to diversified occupations would suggest that there should be a two-year-post-graduate course for practical training in such a college to qualify each student for any particular occupation likely to be open to him at the end of his studies.

Training can be given in the technology of small industries, improved agricultural practices, technique of handicrafts, business organization, economic investigation and social welfare activities. Addition of a practical post-graduate-training-course to the existing higher institutions of rural areas must be given adequate consideration if the nation is really interested in changing the shape of its rural economy. Such a

training course would possibly yield better results than the National Extension Service. This is because the students of the college of rural areas are mostly drawn from the agricultural classes (of Table 10); and as they are students with a formative mind they can be better moulded by any post-graduate training to be workers in the service of a progressive rural economy than what the National Extension Service can do. It is they who would carry economic revolution to the villages.

It is possible to reorient the existing colleges of rural areas on the lines suggested here without serious changes in their structure. The change will only be in the nature of an addition. In fact, students educated at rural colleges are too poor to avail opportunities of post-graduate training or education which is available only in the big cities. Provision of facilities for post-graduate training at the colleges of rural areas would democratize the opportunity of post-graduate training. But as masses of students may not have aptitude for the theoretical aspect of post-graduate education, the post-graduate training in rural areas must have a practical bias just to enable the students to qualify themselves for various occupations.

There must be a recognition of the fact that colleges in rural areas have got a special importance of their own in so far they extend education to people who could never obtain it in their absence. Government efforts in the field of higher education would be much more productive, if they are concentrated at present in rural areas where development has the largest significance. It is high time for us to realize the truth that progress consists in the discovery of new resources, new talents, new people and new energies. There must be an end of the stereotyped outlook which is blind to the vast possibilities outside the confines of big towns.\*

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## MESSAGE OF INDORE

By SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE Indore Session of the Congress was historic from several points of view. At Avadi we had resolved to establish a Socialist Pattern of Society in India. At Amritsar, the Congress called upon the Indian people to consolidate their freedom and bring about a psychological and emotional integration of the nation. At Indore, the Congress incorporated the socialist idea in its basic objective. Although the addition of the

words "Socialist" before "Co-operative Commonwealth" was suggested by the Congress Working Committee some months ago, the Indore session had the privilege of formally amending the Constitution in this regard. The Congress did not add the word in a routine or light-hearted manner; this was done with a full sense of responsibility and seriousness.

The Indore session will also be remembered for

placing before the Indian people an inspiring Election Manifesto. The Manifesto adopted at Indore after detailed discussions gives as a clearer picture of the Socialist Society which we seek to establish in this country. The previous Election Manifestoes of the Congress were prepared and published by the Working Committee. It was for the first time that our Election Manifesto was discussed informally at the Calcutta session of the A.I.C.C. and later by the open session of the Congress. This special procedure was adopted in order to take the Congress workers into the fullest confidence and give them an opportunity of discussing various issues regarding the Manifesto freely and frankly. The Manifesto, as finally published, is surely a valuable document which lays down in concrete terms our basic policy and programme for achieving the Socialist Pattern of Society in this country. The document deserves critical study and attention by all those who are interested in the progress and development of India. It is necessary for Congressmen to, first, study the Manifesto deeply themselves and, then, explain it to the people.

The Indore Congress laid great emphasis on moral values. It is true that material standards of living have their importance. But as the Congress President observed in his address:

"The human being is not simply a mass of matter. There is an essence in him and this essence of human existence should count for more with the human community."

The President remarked that Socialism in India should lean "more on the side of Gandhiji's conception of Sarvodaya." The Election Manifesto also referred to the message of the Buddha and emphasised the ideal of non-violence and goodwill, in a world torn by hatred and violence. The resolution on the conduct of Election campaigns drew the pointed attention of the people to the importance of moral values and the maintenance of high standards in public as well as in private life. Congressmen were enjoined to conduct the election campaign as a high level without any recrimination or bitterness. It was emphasised that the campaign for elections should be in the nature of a social education movement among the masses. In other words, the Congress desired that during the forthcoming general elections different political parties should try to practise the principles of *Fanchsheel in public life*. This emphasis on moral values in election campaign deserves our very serious attention. The idea will not only inspire millions of our people but will also guide other peoples of the world.

The Election Manifesto enumerates the achievements of the Congress since Independence. It also underlines certain special features of the Second Five-

Year Plan. In addition to the need for increasing India's agricultural and industrial production, stress is laid on the urgency of solving the problem of unemployment and under-employment. It has also been pointed out that production on land does not necessarily increase with mechanisation. "Mechanised agriculture may be useful in some areas, but, in view of the man-power available and often not fully used, it is desirable to encourage *intensified methods of cultivation on a co-operative basis*." In a report of the World Bank Mission, it has been pointed out that India's agricultural yields, which are at present among the lowest in the world, can be among the highest with the labour force available. It is aimed that agricultural production during the Second Five-Year Plan may be increased by about 30 per cent.

The Manifesto has drawn our attention towards the need for decentralised planning. It declares that "the Panchayats have an important role to play in this planning." Special emphasis is laid on the organisation of agricultural co-operatives on a popular basis at the village level. The role of small-scale, village and cottage industries is also mentioned in clearest terms. Although a large measure of centralisation has become inevitable in modern life, the manifesto points out that we have "at the same time to decentralise in so far as this is possible." The manifesto also stresses the need for developing local initiative in harnessing of local resources in order to develop a spirit of self-reliance and new confidence.

We have also to explain to the people the need for bringing about greater economic equalities. Without reducing the existing glaring economic inequalities, it will not be possible to bring about a socialist society in India or elsewhere. With this end in view the structure of taxation will have to be reconstructed. It will be necessary to ensure a minimum standard for all our people, particularly of the poorer sections. It will also be essential to revolutionise the methods of production in order to check the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few. It is clear that decentralised production will help this process.

India is determined to bring about a social and economic revolution through democratic and peaceful means. The Election Manifesto concludes with the following significant sentences:

"The great adventure still beckons to every person in India and to the success of that adventure the Congress had dedicated itself. It seeks again, therefore, a renewal from the people of India, of that faith and confidence which have given it in such abundant measure in the past. With renewed strength firmly based on the goodwill of the people, it is determined to labour for the advancement of the Indian people and for world peace."



# SHILLONG

BY PRINCIPAL JOSEPH MINATTUR, M.A., LL.B., J.D.

SHILLONG is a charming little town glamouring for attention. It glows in the bosom of the Khasi Hills. It is the capital of the State of Assam and headquarters of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills District.

It is often referred to as the Queen of Hill Stations in India. The Hills District itself is called the Scotland of the East.

The town is called after a Khasi, U Shillong, who, according to popular legend, met a god on the peak overlooking the town from the south.

Shillong is about 5,000 feet above sea-level. It has a bracing temperate climate. It was because of the comfortable, cool climate that it was chosen to be the capital of the Province of Assam by the British Government.

had democratic institutions from time immemorial. Their Rajas called Syiems have been constitutional rulers and have been, in the literal sense of the word, ministers of the people.

The Khasis follow the matriarchal system, with the result that the Khasi woman is independent and self-confident. The youngest daughter who inherits the family property is responsible for the care and management of the household.

The Khasi woman is probably the most modestly dressed woman in the world, with the exception of *pardanashins*. Her dress reminds one of a Carmelite nun's religious habit. Even the religious habit might stand second to the Khasi woman's dress in respect of modesty.



Bara Bazaar, Shillong

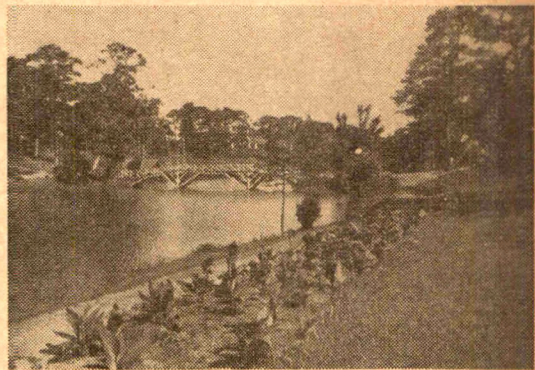
Shillong is a highly cosmopolitan town. It is no exaggeration to say that one finds here people from almost all climes of the world. On an evening at Police Bazaar one sees people dressed in a thousand different costumes and speaking all the tongues of Babel and a few others which then lay latent in the womb of time.

The town is specially remarkable for its people and its natural scenery.

The Khasis who form the majority of a population of 58,512 in the town were living in the Khasi hills when the British came in contact with them in 1824. Their origin is as misty as one of Shillong's wintry nights. They speak a tongue belonging to the Mon-Khmer group of languages. It is related to some of the languages spoken in South-east Asia. The languages of the neighbouring hill tribes have no resemblance to it.

The Khasis, by temperament and choice, are a very friendly people. Like the Coorgs in South India, with whom they have many things in common, they are self-denying and hospitable.

They are a freedom-loving people. They have



The Ward Lake, Shillong

Photo by Prof. B. C. Mohanti

In spring, the multi-coloured dresses of the many groups of people inhabiting the town and the myriad varieties of flowers wearing a bee in their button-holes lend to Shillong the appearance of a rainbow in reflection. Not that such reflections are wanting.

When snips of sunshine scamper with rivers and streams, Shillong's scintillating waterfalls, as they pass curtsying to the giver of all energy, twinkle like a million gold coins sparkling. The Bishop Falls around the corner of the town, with a height of nearly 400 feet, are probably the most frequented of all. Not a few broken-hearted lovers with their more than ordinary aesthetic and emotional sensibilities have claimed mystic union with the sparkle and shine of these falls. The Beadon Falls, the Sweet Falls, the Elephant Falls, and the Spread Eagle Falls are not less enchanting. One could see visitors stand spell-bound before these waterfalls for hours.

Shillong lies in a cup, surrounded by soulful, pine-scented hills. The grove of shadowy pines, tremulous



in the breeze on the hill slopes, shower fragrant lullabies on the town below.

As one meanders along to the town by the Gauhati-Shillong Road, amid scenes of wild natural beauty, with ranges upon ranges of hills on either side, one passes by Bara Bazaar, the dirtiest part of the town. It is as congested as a humming bee-hive. Every eighth day is a Barabazaar day in Shillong. That day people from the neighbouring villages come jostling to the bazaar with their heavy loads of raw materials for sale. With its heavy traffic, bustling crowds and brisk shopping, Barabazaar day is something of an event in Shillong.



Spread Eagle Falls

Police Bazaar pulsates with people of fashion and houses of entertainment. In the evening, the fashionable, the rich and the official classes are seen driving to the Shillong Club. Khasi belles in their warm clothes of myriad hues stroll along the streets. One hears hums of conversation as people crowd about the cinema houses. Of the four cinema houses in the town, two are here and a third is in the neighbourhood. Brisk shopping goes on in the inelegant buildings skirting the narrow roads. The roads of Police Bazaar are not much broader than the path to heaven; if two buses cross each other, there is no place for the pedestrian.

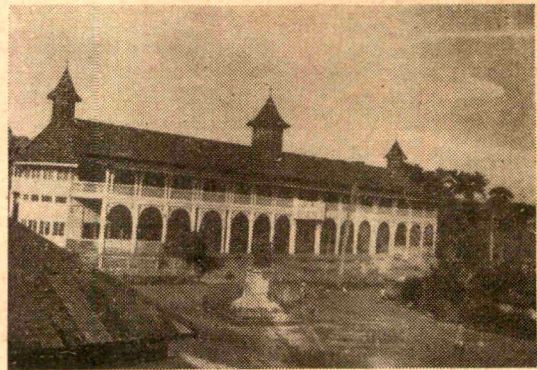
Beside the Shillong Club, there is the most artistically constructed Ward Lake where man has con-

spired with Nature to make of it a thing of beauty. With its inclined lawns, and elfin islets, in an evening it is a joy for the leisurely, the listless and the love-lorn.

A few yards away, spreads in eagle-fashion, the new Secretariat Building with a statue of the Mahatma standing sentinel to hinder the entry of corruption.

Laitumkhrah is probably the neatest part of the town. Three of the four first grade colleges of Shillong—St. Mary's, St. Anthony's and St. Edmund's—are situated here. The Catholic Cathedral, the biggest Church in Assam, the justly famous Loreto Convent High School, and the three colleges lend Laitumkhrah an appearance of grandeur not unmixed with glamour.

Laban, with its whispering pine-trees and its clusters of buildings standing on an ascending scale of levels, if not of loveliness, and seemingly shouting to one another "Excelsior," presents a picture of exquisite beauty. At sundown the yellow shine of the electric bulbs from these ascending rows of houses blends with the fading rose of the sunset and creates for the onlooker an air of visionary gleam. The name 'Laban' is probably from Sanskrit *labanya*, if not from Hebrew *laban*, which means white. There is a touch of the jasmine about Laban.



St. Anthony's College, Shillong

The Golf Links and the Race Course, the open air expanses of the town, which provide football and cricket grounds for the young and the agile are also sympathetic to the idle gossips who find in them, of a listless evening, a lush park. When the golf-links are swathed in reels upon reels of moonlight on a summer night, with the moonbeams dancing a soft bullet on the silvery stream close by, Shillong appears to be a planned harmony of divine creation.

At Jaiaw, in the north-west part of the town, there is the Welsh Mission Hospital, reputed to be the best in the State. It has not only the most up-to-date scientific equipment, but also the most generous and cordial mental equipment of its self-effacing doctors



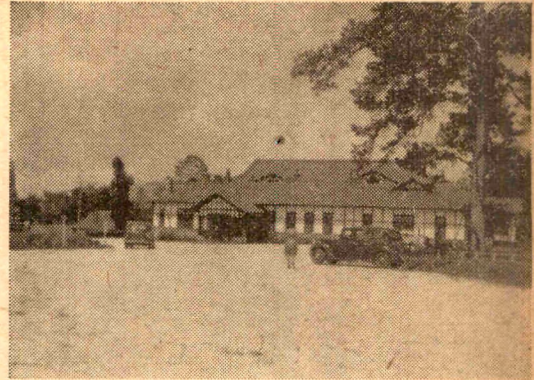
and nurses. The Civil Hospital, the Reid Chest Hospital, the Ganesh Das Hospital, and the Pasteur Institute are the other important medical centres of Shillong.

Happy Valley, the military headquarters of the State, is just over a league from the town. As the wind goes on telling ghost stories, rows of whistling pines escort a beautiful, motorable road to this lively valley of enchanting loveliness.

The many picturesque roads criss-crossing the town are like blue ribbons thrown over piles of green silk. Besides these roads which number nearly forty and the two main roads leading to Gauhati and Dawki, there are four roads running to places of importance within the hills district. One is the Shillong-Cherra Road, leading to Cherrapunji, 33 miles away, through captivating scenes of exquisite natural beauty. Cherrapunji is admired by all for its Mawsmai Falls and is famous the world over for its heavy rainfall. It is the second rainiest spot on God's green earth. Another road is the Smit Road which runs to the headquarters of the Syiem of Khyrim State, about seven miles from Shillong. In Smit village every year is held the Nongkrem Dance, the national festival of the Khasis. A third road leads to Jowai, the subdivisional headquarters of the Jaintia Hills. There is still another which, branching off from the Shillong-Cherra Road, goes to Mawphlang, fifteen miles from Shillong.

Owing to the apprehension of earthquake whose visitations are not infrequent, most of the houses of the town are built of planks and reeds covered with plaster, after the manner of the Japanese.

Though many houses are seen cropping up in the Laitumkbrah and Nongthymmai (the word means new colony) areas, no scientific town planning has been so far attempted.



Shillong Club

It is necessary that the roads of Shillong be made broader. They should not be allowed to push a careless soul onward to his mortal destiny. The Barabazaar area which is a desperate heartache to anyone with any sense of cleanliness, has to be kept neat and sanitary. But then this progressive town is still very young. It dropped its swaddling clothes only the other day. One feels with Clifford Laube, the American poet, that

*"It is wrong that a town be rashly judged  
By the reek and the smoke around it curled.  
Surely the windows of Eden were smudged  
That morning God started the wheels of the world."*

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## PHALLIC CULT OR SEX-BELIEF

BY AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B. (Cal.), SAHITYA-RATNA (Ald.)

From time immemorial man has traced a mystic connection between human sex-life and all generative phenomena. It is believed that in pre-historic times the Asuras were worshippers of the Phallus or the *linga*. A pre-historic *lingam* is illustrated by Foote and an object resembling a *lingam* has been found at Mchen-jo-daro. We can know from the epic literature that in the beginning, that is before adopting the outward form of worship of the Aryans the Asuras were devotees of Mahadeva who represents *lingam* or phallus and thus they were the worshippers of the Phallic emblem. But this mysterious connection between sex and life was not without meaning. The phallic cult (*lingam* and *yoni*) refers to the creative energy of the powers of nature; in Oriental symbolism it is one of the expressions of the intense life and

ends in absorption into the godhead. To the cultured Hindu the phallus is only suggestive of the philosophic concept that God is a point, formless, or that He is the One. Throughout oriental literature the *lingam* has been used metaphorically to express true relationship between the human soul and God. Even in these days we find among savages that fruitfulness and plenty are mystically traced to sex, and thus during a good harvest season and at the time of sowing they hold festivals in which promiscuous intercourse forms a prominent feature. The vitality of sex-belief is further illustrated by the tendencies of modern Freudians who maintain that all human activities are motivated by sex and that the Libido is the primal source of all teleological energy.

The phallic cult or the *linga*-worship is common



throughout the world. In India, it is most probably of Dravidian origin. The Siva-worship of India had one element in common with the primitive worship of the early Dravidian people, which is the worship of the phallus and the dedication of the virgins to the worship of the god. It might be said that the second element was brought by the Dravidians from their original home in South-West Asia. Some scholars have found references to the worship of the phallus in the Vedic age in a particular passage of the Rig-Veda.

Nandi, in the background. Having completed the creation he turned *yogi* and the phallus became his emblem. There are, indeed, many mythical stories behind Siva's adopting the symbol of *lingam*. Siva is the destroyer-god but when he is the god of fecundity he is then worshipped in the shape of the *linga*. The earliest *lingas* existing do not anti-date the Kushan period. They are of the kind known as *mukha lingams* with one (*ek mukha*) or more faces (*chatur*



Chaturmukha Lingam (Brahma) from Java



Chaturmukha Lingam from Java

*Siva-linga* is, perhaps, the most common object of worship in every corner of India. It is an aniconic symbol which has taken the place of quasi-anthropomorphic symbols of Northern India; but in all probability the symbol is originally derived from the votive stupa of Buddhism. 'The ideas of the cosmic tree or pillar, and the churning stick of Vishnu the phallic symbol also stands for the pivot or the axis of the cosmic forces; it is at the foot of this *lingam* that we can get the joy of creation at the summit, the bliss of Nirvana.' But the *Siva-lingam* does not seem to have been known to Patanjali, nor does it appear on the coins of Wema-Kadphesis on which the god Siva is represented holding the trident, with the bull,

*mukha-lingam* is more common; the gods being Surya, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva). At Gudimallam, near Renigunta, north Arcot District, exists one of the most interesting and important monuments of pre-Kushan Brahmanical art extant, the *Siva-linga* known as *Parasmamesvara*, which is still worshipped. This is realistic phallic emblem, five feet in height, with a figure of Siva carved on its lower side. Judging from stylistic grounds Rao has assigned this *lingam* to the first or perhaps, the second century B.C.

Along the roads of Greek and Roman antiquity, i.e., almost everywhere in those countries there might be seen images of Priapus at every field's end; and so in India today we may come across very often the little cylindrical boundary marks, more or



less ornamented, which are the *lingas*. This cult, however, is in no way the same as that of the Sakti, which often involves orgiastic practices. But according to one authority, 'Along with the worship of Sakti and Siva was also that of the *linga* and *yoni*, as evidenced in the realistically modelled and unmistakable figures in stone of both found in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan, together with numerous ring-stones.' Indeed, three types of cult stones are brought at Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa, the baetylic, the phallic and the *yoni* ring-stones of which the smaller specimens carried and worn as amulets are more numerous than the larger ones which were objects of worship. At Bhita, we come across a *pancha-mukha* (five-faced) *lingam* which may be assigned to the first century B.C.

Along with these we should mention the combination of male and female elements in the person of Siva, a mixed being who united the characteristics of the god and of his Sakti, Uma, under the name of *ardha-nari*. This fact is so curious that an image of Ardhanarisvara is unmistakably described by a Greek author, Stobaeus (500 A.D.), quoting Bardasanes, who reports the account of an Indian who visited Syria in the time of Antonius of Emesa, i.e., Elagabalus who reigned during 218-222 A.D. The *lingams* in Pallava period, at Ataria Khera, Nagod State, in Rajasimha temple and in the Brahmanical temple at Pariharpura Kashmir, and the *linga* shrines at Badami and Ellora and in the new capital of Mysore are worthy of notice.

The sex-belief has played a vital role not only in the religion of India, other countries of the world are not without its tinges.

The Temples of Venice in Greece were dedicated to the goddess Venus and the chief source of income in those temples was the institution of sacred prostitutes who were hired out to visitors. According to Strabo, 'There were about one thousand prostitutes living in the temple of Venus in Corinth.' In Babylon, once a woman entered the temple of Mylitta, the goddess of fertility, she was not allowed to depart till she found a customer and paid fee to the goddess. This reminds us of many temples of India which had their complement of Devdasi-slaves of gods. Such usages were considered highly proper and sacred, and the high and the low had to conform to the priestly code. Phallus worship and the cult of Venus were introduced into Rome from Egypt, Greece and Syria. There the phallus was called the *Mutinus*; the symbol was placed in a small chariot and driven through the towns and villages, the people accompanying it with lascivious songs and dances. Even the most respectable people with families used to crown the figures with flowers.

The ancient Egyptians worshipped the phallus of Osiris. The genitals of not only human but even of animals were worshipped by the Mediterranean

people. Priapus, a phallic god, introduced into Greece probably from Egypt, derives his name from Apis, the bull-god of Egypt. Sometimes the phallus of goats and asses were worshipped because of the strong sex-nature of those animals. Judaism and Christianity tried their utmost to separate sex from religion but in spite of their vehement opposition sex-cults thrived in monasteries, nunneries and orders of knighthood.



Chaturmukha Lingam from Bihar

In Java, the *linga*, Siva's emblem, is the symbol of fecundity. It is made with three sections, square, octagonal and cylindrical, and is set up on a richly ornamented pedestal with a stone hollowed out to receive waters of ablution. That the Japanese worshipped deities in the shape of male and female genital organs is clear from Fuso-ryakki, a historical work, dating 339 A.D. The phallic cult is still maintained in Japan and such like temples are the Ebishima-jinja at Ishikoshi, to the north of the city of Sendai, and the Iwato-jinja in the Island of Shikoku. In Cambodia, the king-god is always represented by a *lingam*. But this



does not appertain to any particular king but embodies the divine fiery essence incarnate in every king and essential to the welfare of the kingdom. A little to the south of Ankor Thom lies 'the three-storied pyramid known as Phnom Baken,' a typical prang where a *lingam* has been found in a shrine with an inscription of Yasodhisvara; during the reign of Suryavarman's successor a victorious general set up a golden *lingam* to worship the king's "invisible personality." The Cham kingdom was predominantly Saivite and in the temples the Hindu god was always worshipped in the form of a *linga*. In Champa, Siva was represented both as a human figure as well as a *linga*-form; a *mukha-lingam* of Sambhu is found in Po-nagar.

Thus we find that almost in every part of the world the phallic cult or the sex-belief had struck deep its root in the minds of the people; the *linga* meaning 'the creative energy of the powers of nature' was equally honoured by the people of different countries. The ideas connected with sex-symbolism in Hindu art and ritual are generally misinterpreted by the Westerners because they take them out of the environment of social life. Sir Monier-Williams has justly remarked when he says:

"In India, the relation between the sexes is regarded as a sacred mystery as is never held to be suggestive of improper or indecent ideas; and we must not look upon this symbol with our Western Latin tradition."

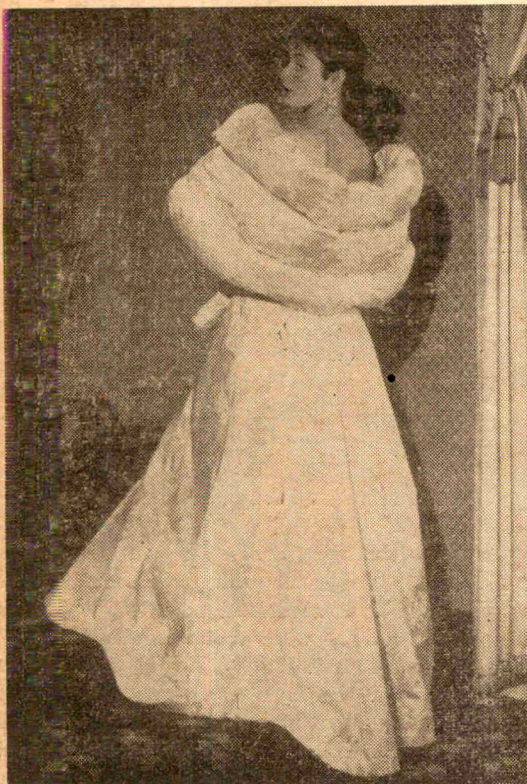
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## FEMININE FASHIONS FROM FRANCE

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

The very name of France brings to our minds the romantic phrase: "ever-new fashions." France is universally acknowledged as the home of fashions and elegance and is justly proud of its heritage.

So many novel changes take place in French fashions almost every hour that it is impossible for one to keep pace with the speed. There comes a sudden change in the hair styles, in the length of



The expensive dress created this year by Lanuin Castillo



The proud and lovely wearer of the 'eaglet'



garments, in hats and even in shoes. No other women in the whole world seem to be more fashion-minded than the French.

The leading Parisian fashion specialist, Lanvin-Castillo, has created another sensation this year. The typical thrice-folded coat with lovely skirt of the same type of luxurious cloth gives a "new look" to the wearer. No jewellery, except the ear-rings, is needed to complete the ensemble. This smart evening dress has already captured the hearts of the French women and is soon likely to be popular elsewhere.

The fashions, of course, have got to change from season to season to suit the occasion and taste. The close-fitting masculine dress, either blue striped pant and bush-coat or the long coat and pant, with a matching fur hat, is common in winters.

A new type of hat, the "eaglet," has lately been designed this year and is particularly favoured by the aristocrats. Woven with diamonds and glittering stones, it looks superb and bewitching. To the fashion-conscious woman, the "eaglet" is at once a necessity and pride.

France leads the world fashions and there is no exaggeration in saying that even the most glamorous film stars of the West are indebted to the fashion-designers of Paris. In luxurious hotels and glittering restaurants, in streets and cinema houses, in art-galleries and seaside resorts of France we can see the display of fashions at its best.\*

\* Photos by courtesy of Director, French Government Tourist Office, Bombay.



Fashion for winter sports (1955-56)

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## MORE AFRICAN STUDENTS ENROLLING AT U.S. COLLEGES

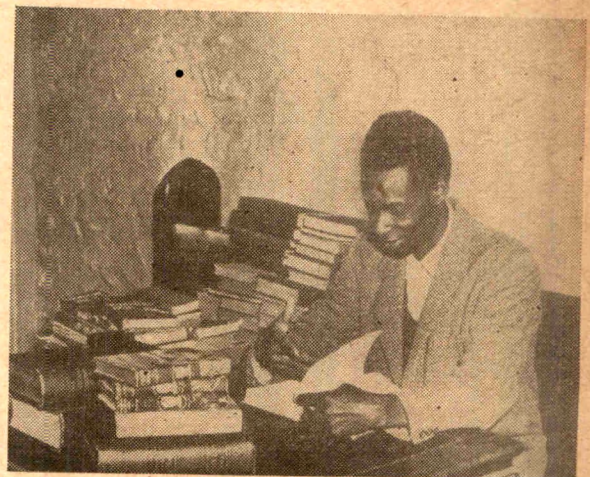
Young Africans in increasing numbers are looking to American colleges and universities for completion of their higher education, according to preliminary figures reported at the beginning of the 1956-57 academic year.

While it is too early yet to compile complete statistics, college administrators throughout the country are predicting a sizable increase this year in the number of African students enrolled in U.S. institutions of higher learning, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

In the 1955-56 academic year, some 1,400 African students were enrolled, a four-fold increase over the number reported in 1949.

Several factors have contributed to this growth, according to educators who have made a study of the trends. One has been an increase in the number of scholarships offered by American schools to African students.

Typical of the scores of colleges participating in this "peoples-to-peoples" sort of educational program are Ohio Wesleyan University and Oberlin College,



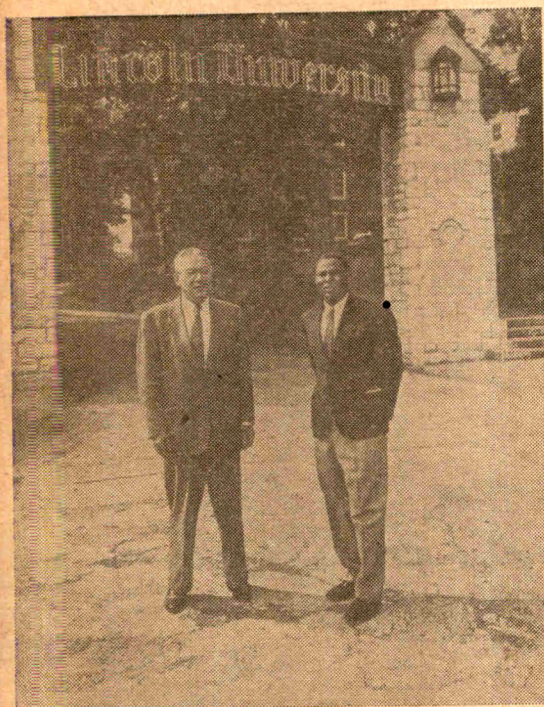
Michael Ochuba of Oba, Nigeria, reading books in the first library in his home village in Nigeria





Harvard University in the nation's capital at Washington is one of the most popular U.S. Universities for foreign students

both located in the central State of Ohio, which are now offering scholarships to girls students from East Africa.



Dr. Horace M. Bond, President of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, touring the campus with Damson K. Njirii of Kenya

The Institute of African-American Relations, a private organization dedicated to promoting friendly relations among the peoples of the two areas, has offered to pay transportation costs to the United States of students who are accepted under the program.

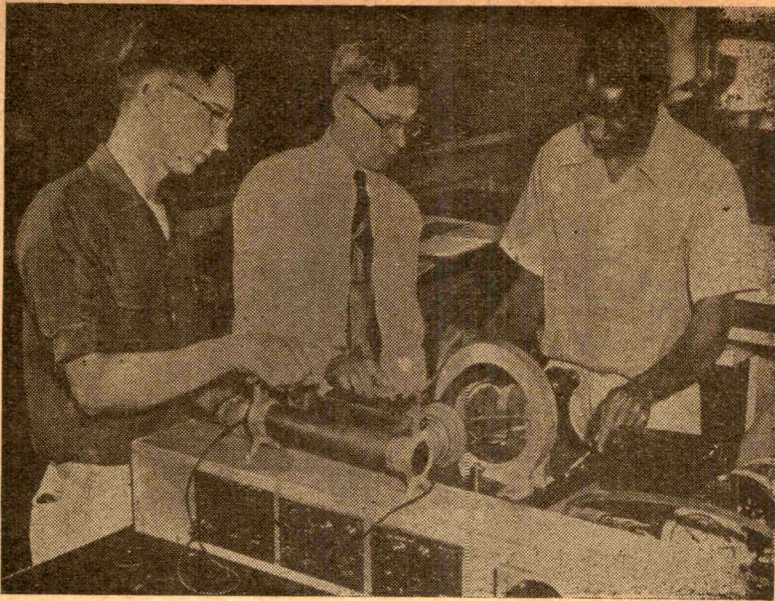
Another factor has been the launching of educational programs by various African governments themselves. Typical is Western Nigeria, which is planning 600 overseas scholarships. Many of these will be for study in American schools, according to J.A.O. Odebiyi, Western Nigeria's Minister of Education, who is now visiting schools and educational associations in the U.S.

Still another factor has been the growing popularity of industry-sponsored programs. Newest of these was started this year by the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board. Under this program, 37 students arrived here in September to begin college work on scholarships provided by the Board. Others will follow in future years.

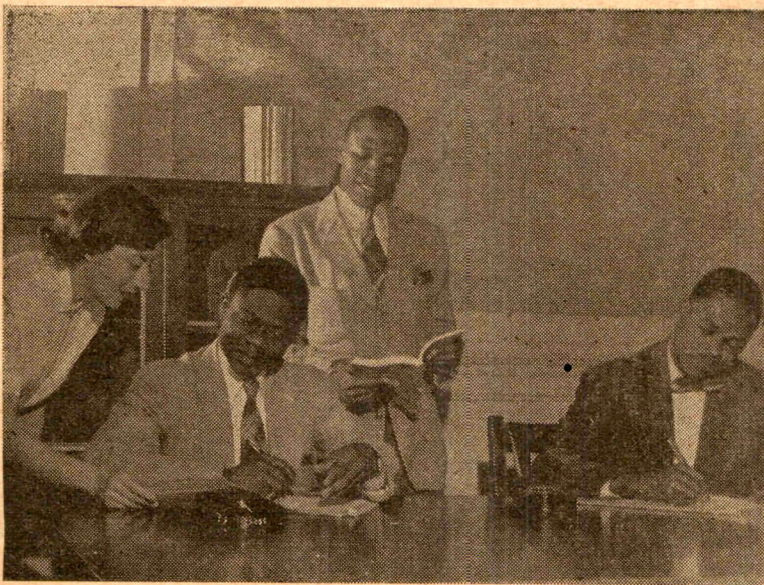
There are also hundreds of African students here under private auspices or who for reasons of their own elected to pursue their higher studies at U.S. educational institutions. Perhaps the most unusual of these is Miss Bertha Akim, first girl student in the U.S. from Tanganyika. She came to the U.S. in September under scholarship funds provided by a group of students at Mount Holyoke College, a 119-year-old institution in the north-eastern State of Massachusetts.

The Mt. Holyoke students, hearing of Miss Akim's desire to enroll at a U.S. girls' school and her difficulty in arranging the funds required, appeared on





Students watch Michael Ochuba of Oba, Nigeria, adjust an electric motor in the workshop at Stout State College in Wisconsin



Many of the African students enrolled at U.S. colleges are preparing for careers as teachers in their home countries

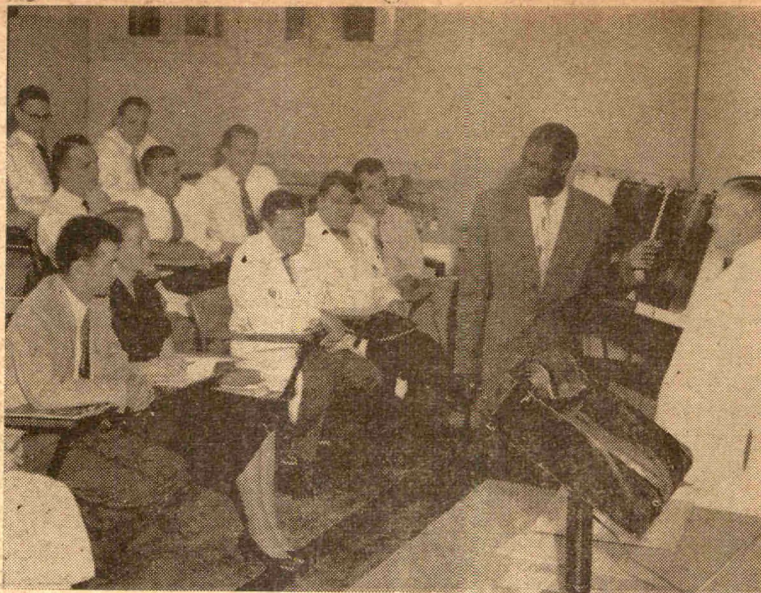
several radio and television contest programs, made personal appearances, and in various other ways raised the necessary funds. As a result of their interest and activities, Miss Akim is now enrolled at Mt. Holyoke as a full-fledged student, and candidate for a degree.

Another and perhaps the single most important factor in the increased number of African students in

the U.S., can be attributed to the activity of returning alumni. Their accounts of their experiences and achievements have aroused an interest in the U.S. and its educational system. Among many students back home, a curiosity has been aroused which can be satisfied only by first-hand experience.

Whatever the reason, African students are coming





Most African students have earned excellent marks in their studies



Michael Ochuba, an African honor student at Stout State College in Wisconsin, joins a table tennis game in the student recreation centre

to the U.S. in increasing numbers—some to devote their entire time to study, others to travel extensively to broaden their knowledge of the country. Many work during vacation periods, some to help defray expenses, others to get below the surface, to see the 'how' and 'why' as well as the 'what' and 'where' of the American way of doing things.

There are indications that their numbers continue to grow, and that this "peoples-to-peoples" approach will contribute greatly to the broadening of the base of understanding and amicable relations between the peoples, young and old, of the world.—USIS.



## THE POETRY OF WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS

By PROF. S. HALDAR, M.A., D.Phil.

THE English literary tradition has maintained a sense of incompatibility between the theoretical and the practical; that is to say, what it has established in mere abstract principles has not been quite in agreement with what it has achieved in practical, positive, realistic and concrete form. What I would emphasise would mean the fact that the English literary tradition has been most occasionally the final aesthetic affirmation of what we really mean by a strong sense of antagonism between the theoretical calculations and the practical realisations. There could be no example far more living, convincing and glaring than, perhaps, William Wordsworth who has boldly asserted:

"Between the language of prose and that of metrical composition, there neither is, nor can be, any essential difference."

His own practice has brought home to us the error of this statement. With due adherence to his theory, he very often tried to avoid the poetic diction and carry out his purposes entirely in such poems as 'The Thorn' or 'The Idiot Boy,' with the result that he produced mere verses, which by no means of language or critical generosity can be called poetry at all. His noblest poetry is great and magnificent only when it has violated his principles or theories and therefore, finally, it strikingly illustrated the truth that his theories were powerless to repress or subdue his spontaneous instinct and emotional passion as supported by his poems like 'The Tintern Abbey' and 'The Immortality Ode.' Bernard Shaw is another illustration towards the confirmation of this reality.— "For Art's sake alone, I would not face the trouble of writing a single sentence." But, in spite of this theoretical statement, Bernard Shaw has been a declared artist and the art of his representation has, by no means, been less in value and importance than the legacy of his thought to the future generation. He has sacrificed his artistic genius to the altar of his mission for the mental and moral illumination of the world at large and there was no one else, perhaps, better than Bernard Shaw himself who had observed:

"It is not my fault, reader, that my art is the expression of my sense of moral and intellectual perversity rather than of my sense of beauty. I had better have written a beautiful play like *Twelfth Night* or a grand play like the tragic masterpieces."

The real fact is that the artist in Bernard Shaw was ingrained in him and it was deliberately relegated to the background due to the constant consciousness

to his function as a propagandist to throw the search-light on the traditional yet wrong values of the larger humanity in thought. Many of his dramas, say, *Saint Joan*, *Pygmalion* and *Candida* have been the expressions of lyrical exaltation, substantially in the dramatic form, of Shaw's fervent faith in the evolutionary creed of human generation. Bernard Shaw is a born artist and none but a true artist could have clearly remarked:

"I have found a happiness in art that human life has never given me. I am intensely earnest about art. There is a magic and mystery in it that you know nothing of."

But the truth lies in the fact that there had been a constant conflict between Bernard Shaw, the propagandist and Bernard Shaw, the artist and finally, the former won the race. In spite of his strongest sense of art, Bernard Shaw had produced dramas which are really propagandist in purpose and journalistic in spirit and therefore, he has been an excellent and striking study of the incongruity between the theoretical statement and the practical achievement and that is, doubtless, the characteristic importance of the English literary tradition.

All literature is more or less symbolic in the sense that it is the partial representation of the inward truth and reality in the medium of language. Language has, therefore, been the proper medium, rather the only symbol for the expression of feeling or passion whatever or whichever the poet has felt, thought and penetrated. Language is, so to say, the representational symbolism for the inspirational intensity and the emotional exuberance that float up into the poetic mind. But poets, sometimes, go deeper down into the mysteries of the universe and penetrate right into the mere deceitful appearances. This higher understanding into the depth of the mysteries of the ultimate reality cannot be adequately expressed merely through the commonly known language; on the other hand, the depth, penetration and profundity require of a poet, other than the linguistic possibility, some convenient mediums which are, essentially in fitting with his more secret and mysterious understanding that can hardly be explained away by means of material logic and science which is more in concern with the visible, tangible and experimentable on the tables or in the laboratories. Perhaps, there could be no enemy more dangerous and destructive than the material science to the symbolic representation, to the deeper penetration of poetic imagination which is, really, in fact, a

positive and definite insistence on the Ideal Beautiful beyond the physical world of sense and impression. In its most fundamental spirit and ultimate analysis, symbolism is essentially mystical and therefore, metaphysical in its approach to, and apprehension of, the most Contemplative Beautiful which plays, with its most ardent and passionate devotee, what we commonly understand by 'hide and seek'; yet that helps him towards the way of his realisation of the inscrutable and the mysterious significance that can never be fathomed out by means of the laws and the principles of the material sciences like physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology and economics.

Perhaps, the greatest and the most regrettable gap that has ever been created in the whole range of English literature and which any genuine sympathiser or lover of English literature is very palpable to discover, is that it has been marked by a conspicuous absence of what we really mean by a truly symbolist poet. Sometime, it is advocated that Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde are to be regarded as the powerful exponents of the symbolic art, having within the range of their command, a strong sense or belief in the existence of the Ideal Beauty just beyond the visible world of the physical reality. Rossetti's 'House of Life,' where he creates a strange and mysterious view of love and where, again, he brings, even, his religious subjects into his scope of Ideal Beauty; and Walter Pater's 'Renaissance,' where he has proclaimed art as the end of life, because it gives "a quickened, multiplied consciousness," are sometimes regarded symbolic. Rossetti and Pater were, at bottom, religious in character and temperament; their peculiar and strange view of love and art was to them an adequately powerful means to the realisation of the Beautiful, the Original, the Supreme and the Universal beyond the background of the world of sensuous experience. This was the basic principle of the 'Aesthetic Movement,' championed by them, with the utmost zeal and energy, to realise in their literary achievement. This was a kind of challenge to the materialistic philosophy of their contemporaries, deeply absorbed in the philistine and mercantile pursuits of life. Instead of this positive accent on the Ideal Beautiful, they were essentially impressionists: they were highly satisfied or rather pleased with the sense-impressions which they met and experienced, and they gave them aesthetic expressions without having any attempt to exalt and transcend them to the height of the mystic apprehensions and thus, their convictions, theories and doctrines became less transcendental, less exacting and less mystical; yet this power of transcendentalism has been the main miracle of the symbolists in the real sense of the term. Why the English poets had not been able to attain the best of the excellence of the symbolists may be explained away by means of

two reasons. The English poets have been decidedly the most intense throughout the history of the world literature; psychologically, they are very much reserved in their feelings and passions, which are, almost always, preserved in the subconscious of their mind, and as soon as they get any opportunity to reach to the level of the conscious, they automatically become all the more powerful, violent and intense and the power of this intensity makes them psychologically impossible to adhere to what they have already formulated out as mere principles or theories in consultation with their practical reason and intelligence. Secondly, the English poets are, by spirit, protestant and by nature, are very fond of challenging the law and the order and therefore, this natural inclination makes them impossible to submit the mystic solitude and the metaphysical penetration which lie far beyond the jurisdiction of material science.

Any movement in literature can hardly be defined in adequate measure. It is an ultimate resultant of as many principles, theories, influences and personalities as it could manage to think out. Passion flows too wild, feeling floats too strong, imagination flies too high and personality becomes too alert. A single or a solitary definition fails hopelessly to include or rather comprehend all the truth, reality, meaning and substance which tend to impregnate that particular movement. There could be no illustration, perhaps, far better than the Romantic Movement in the early part of the nineteenth century England which has definitely been a kind of bold challenge to all the power or the capacity which a categorical definition could command within its limitation to put into a single phrase or a bracket, satisfying, embracing, including and comprehending of its tenets or aspects which are so manysided, so vast and so large in range or possibility or potentiality. Yet the impossible happened to be the possible, a single definition happened to be all the more gratifying, justifying and sustaining; that is to say, what is very occasionally unthinkable appeared to have been easily thinkable in actual reality in the last decade of the nineteenth century history of the French literature. The most popular literary movement known as the symbolist in the very common sense of the definition, championed by the well-known poets like Baudelaire, Verlaine and Mallarme, was doubtless, a strange, peculiar, and ultimate harmonization between the merely abstract principles and concretely practical achievements; because in that particular period, there had been points of much similarity and agreement amongst the environmental conditions responsible for the creative activity in literature out of the irresponsible imaginative flights, and at the same time, poets were more or less equally conscious to the same psychological reality and truth. This apparently unexpected analogy between the poetic impulses and the congenial ground

for them to work upon, was really a very strange experience and an unprecedented phenomenon in the field of the French literature. In the field of the artistic rather symbolistic activity, Baudelaire was important in so far as he managed to exalt the integral values of the symbols, Verlaine exploited them as the artistic means for the instinctive response and realisation, and Mallarmé raised them to the range of the metaphysical intentions. In our approach to it, it is all the more worthwhile for us to bear in mind that Mallarmé happened to be the most representative of all that is important, significant and characteristic of the movement. Why the symbolist movement has grown up so admirably well enough over the field of the French literature in the last decade of the nineteenth century is a matter of much curiosity and investigation as well. The French mind is decidedly and deliberately more rational, having more of the command over its passionate urge and less of the susceptibility to the flood of the emotional intensity; that is to say, reason rather than emotion is the dominating ingredient of the French mind which makes the French poets possible to achieve a happy balance between the intellectual restraint and the passionate exuberance. Apart from this psychological truth and reality which is the peculiar characteristic of the French mind in general, there was another very important reason which helps to the success of the Symbolist Movement, that is to say, a conscious revolt against the scientific realism of the contemporary life which lost much of its faith or conviction in the traditional religion of Christianity and which hoped to find out a substitute of it in the field of the scientific truth. Against this general background of the material engrossment, Baudelaire, Verlaine and Mallarmé conceived a world of Ideal Beauty more real, more lasting and more inspiring and to this strong conviction, that is to say, a strong reliance on a world of 'Contemplative Beauty, all of them contributed largely with a deliberate disregard for all other beliefs, conventions, customs and traditions. The equality of the French mind and temperament coupled with the equality of their common conviction in a particular period helped to the growth, development and culmination of this great movement in the French literature. For the creative activity in the field of literature, neither mere genius nor mere environment is sufficiently enough; on the contrary, it requires both of them simultaneously to meet together and there could be no better or grander opportunity than when the genius and the environment are found to be befriended together. This was the miraculous happening of the last decade of the nineteenth century French literature. And that is, probably, the most important reason as to why the Symbolist Movement in the French literature in that particular period was so successful, so admiring and

so inspiring. What is a rarity in experience became a reality with the French Symbolists; that is to say, helped by the fertility of the atmosphere and backed by their psychological penetration, the French Symbolists attained to the wonders of success, which is unequalled, unapproached and unrivalled in the history of world literature.

William Butler Yeats has been a paradoxical phenomenon. Midwifed by the Irish parents, nursed by the Irish atmosphere and baptized by the English language, he became partly naturalised as an Englishman. But, yet, strangely enough, he was a splendid outsider from the English literary tradition. Why this has been a paradoxical possibility with him demands for one a curious investigation. Before the actual advent of Yeats over the field of the English literature it is very interesting to note that the Victorian poets like Tennyson and Browning had with them a literary convention, mainly based on moralising tendency and didactic import which tended to be a disease with all of them. 'In *Memoriam*,' *'The Princess'* and *'The Locksley Hall*,' Tennyson had sought to preach a terrible conflict between the science and the religion, the domestic love as the highest virtue with the woman, and the democracy as the political cacophony of the absolute meaninglessness. In almost all of his dramatic monologues, Browning had taken recourse to lecturing on some particular sermon or doctrine by means of the dramatic characters with a sense of objective detachment. The tendency to teach or moralise or sermonise has finally degenerated into a mere mechanical mannerism which is, doubtless, disastrous to art and poetry. The Victorian poets became, so to say, marked by the artificiality, insincerity, impurity and theatricality which resulted into a birth of what we generally understand by the literary chaos or crisis or tyranny. But the geniality is bound to follow the artificial, the cosmos is bound to be the inevitable aftermath of the chaos and the disorder is sure to give place to the order and that is the automatic law of Nature against which nothing can prevail. Against the background of the literary crisis was a gradual yet conscious revolt to replace poetry to its legitimate throne. It was the last decade of the last nineteenth century that was favoured by the Georgian poets who brought with them certain altogether new and peculiar characteristics. This movement had made for the romantic affinities and was largely marked by a dreamland atmosphere of the tranced aloofness. But it had with it a very dangerous defect which may be called a lack of a satisfying balance between the intellectual equipment and the emotional intensity, mainly because of the undue predominance of the latter over the former. Amidst this general crisis in the field of the English literature, appeared William Butler Yeats who could not extend his hearty welcome to the tyrannical rule



over literature. It was to him for a double reasoning. His own upbringing was in a direct opposition to his unchallenged acceptance and his own ideal about art and poetry was antagonistic to the English literary tradition. In his early childhood, he was brought up amidst the unspoilt landscape and the unsophisticated peasantry of Ireland. The machine-civilization which thrives well upon the destruction of the human spirit had not, as yet, ravaged their natural and simple life. The Irish peasantry had not, as yet, learnt the deceptive quality of humanity. The gentle and genial impressions that were stamped upon the tablet of his mind by the sincere, passionate, natural and spontaneous peasant life, he could, by no means, abandon with the gradual growth of his age. Again, it is very important to remember that Yeats had formulated, by himself, a set of principles about art and poetry, which he fervently desired to translate into his practical achievements. This is, to say, he longed for a very satisfying balance between his theory and his practice. But the background of the contemporary English literature was not at all in favour of the fruition of his cherished desire; because it was for literature an age of crisis or rather a period of decadence. Even so, the English literary tradition, which, as I have already mentioned, had been a final result of the incongruity between the practical realisation and the theoretical proclamation, was not congenial to the immediate realisation of his abstract theorisation. Temperamentally and circumstantially as well, he had to abandon the English literary tradition and look beyond England and found in France what he needed in mind.

This was a very happy coincidence between William Butler Yeats and the French Symbolists like Mallarmé, Baudelaire and Valéry. This was a sort of natural sympathy between the ideal and the ideal that the Irish and the French poets should meet together. This is a kind of grand lesson for mankind that in the field of ideals, there could hardly stand either narrow provincialism or keen nationalism. This may be possible for the imaginative sympathy and the idealistic unity between them who were closely connected for their theories or ideas about art and poetry. About poetry, Yeats had a definite theory of his own. It was a part of larger experience, which a poet is privileged to realise, by means of his communication with the spiritual world that lies beyond the world of physical sensations; it was a kind of higher truth of the invisible revealed to the poet; the poet is an intermediary between the seen and the unseen and poetry is the record of what is revealed to the poet through his communion with the spiritual, the metaphysical and the invisible. Perhaps, this has been, nowhere, so better expressed than here, in the following statement, made by Yeats himself:

"All art has the purpose of those symbolic

talismans which mediaeval magicians made with complex colours and forms, and bade their patients ponder over daily and guard with holy secrecy; for, it entangles, in complex colours and forms, a part of the Divine essence."

This notion, formulated by Yeats, regarding the theory of poetry, has been closest in affinity with that of Mallarmé, who was similarly concerned with a special aesthetic experience, almost identical with the mystic communion of a saint with God, and who sought, again, to convey, through the language of his poetry, that supernatural experience beyond the physical world. Similar is the notion of Baudelaire, as indicated in his sonnet, 'Correspondences':

*"La Nature est un temple on de vivants piliers  
Laissent parfois Sortir de confuses paroles;  
L'homme y passe a travers des forêts de symboles  
Qui l'observent avec des regards familiers.*

*"Comme de longs échos qui de loin se confondent  
Dans une ténébreuse et profonde unité  
Vaste comme la nuit et comme la clarté  
Les parfums, les couleurs et les sons se répondent."*

Briefly, it may well be concluded that all the apocalyptic poems and mystical literature are far more deeply interfused with a sense of the spiritual beyond the jurisdiction of the material and without this mystic apprehension, they become absolutely hopeless and utterly meaningless.

A symbolist poet is a pendulum between the selection and the rejection. All subjects, however attractive or popular they might be, may not be given a royal invitation by the symbolists. The realistic or scientific notion of art is in complete hostility with the symbolist imagination, because this very view of art is a definite denial to the contemplative ideal world which is the very central truth of the symbolist mysticism. William Butler Yeats has very deliberately advanced a list of the forbidden themes to the realm of symbolism:

"A return to the way of our fathers, a casting-out of descriptions of nature for the sake of nature, of the moral law for the sake of the moral law, a casting-out of all anecdotes and of that brooding over scientific opinion that so often extinguished the central flame in Tennyson and of that vehemence that would make us do or not do certain things."

This very idea about the forbidden themes has also been inculcated, with a fuller emphasis by Paul Valéry:

"L'historic, la science, ni la morale, ne gagnent point à être exposés le langage de l'âme. La poésie didactique, le poème historique ou l'épique, quoique illustrées et consacrées par les plus grands

poetes, combinent etrangement les donnees de la connaissance discursive ou empirique, avec les creations de l'etre intime et les puissances de l'emotion."

Yeats and Valery have, both in their arguments, made a terrible warning to the omnivorous capacity of those poets who think anything or everything to be the worthy subject of their creative imagination. But Yeats had been more generous and liberal in limiting the range of his subjects. He admits anything having the poetic possibility may be recommended as the poetic materials and even the politics which the French Symbolist like Mallarme had abhorred with all of his vehemence may not be omitted from the field of the real poetry, provided the poet knows his responsibility fully well.

William Butler Yeats has made a distinction of his symbols into the emotional and the intellectual. By means of the emotional symbol, he has meant to suggest an indefinite power of intensity which can exalt, enthuse, inspire and transpire, and instantaneously creates an atmosphere of tranced aloofness. Perhaps, nowhere so briefly, clearly and pregnantly has he expressed the very exact nature of his emotional symbol as here in his own statement:

"All sounds, all colours, all forms, either because of their pre-ordained energies, or because of their long associations, evoke indefinable and yet precise emotions, or as I prefer to think, call down among us certain disembodied spiritual powers, whose foot-steps over our hearts we call emotions and when sound and colour and form are in a musical relation, a beautiful relation to one another, they become, as it were, one sound, one colour, one form, and evoke an emotion that is made out of their distinct evocations and yet is one emotion."

This emotional symbol of Yeats has, at least, one great advantage over the French symbolist like Mallarme in particular, who was exclusively concerned with his aesthetic experience, pure joy and ideal beauty beyond the physical world. Perhaps, the greatest weakness of Mallarme is the undue advantage of his obscurity. His metaphysical apprehensions or intuitions are essentially mysterious, personal, private and confidential. The very technique of communicating them to the readers has also tended to make them all the more obscure and unintelligible. He had made no attempt to analyse, or explain the mysteries of his thought-contents by referring them to the common, matter-of-fact and the physical world. The final result has made him an unfortunate victim to obscurity more than required of every poetic achievement, because of the fact that obscurity is the inevitable and undeniable condition of all art and poetry. But Yeats has been fortunately excused of this sense of over-obscurity of his emotional symbols, because

he has brought them closer to the ordinary, limited the use of symbols exclusively to the expression of the emotions and isolated the emotions as the special field for the symbols.

"I will arise and go now and go to Innisfree,  
And a small cabin build there, of clay and wattles made  
Nine bean-rows will I have there, a hive for the  
honey-bee  
And live alone in the bee-loud glade."

—*The Lake Isle of Innisfree.*

Perhaps, nowhere so well has been expressed the emotional intensity of home-sickness as here in this particular poem. The language has been surcharged with the emotional evocation and intensity of feeling. In spite of its geographical ambiguities, the Lake Isle of Innisfree has been the emotional symbol of ideal land for the poet to escape into it for the enjoyment of the better and the purer life.

The symbol of Yeats becomes all the more emotional especially when he writes about the Rose in particular and in his factory the Rose produces an effect which is, in the main, emotional in intensity when the Rose stands for the symbol of the spiritual love and the ideal beauty:

"Far-off, most secret, and inviolate Rose,  
Enfold me in my hour of hours; where those  
Who sought thee in the Holy Sepulchre,  
Or in the wine-vat, dwell beyond the stir  
And tumult of defeated dreams."

—*The Secret Rose*

An oppressive consciousness to the frets and fevers of modern life and a consequent fervent longing to escape from them by retiring into a primitive life away from the machine-civilization has been very frequently struck by the poets of today. Matthew Arnold has struck this note of weariness in his poem, "The Scholar Gipsy" and suggested happiness in a simpler and more primitive life:

"But fly over paths, over feverish contact fly!

\* \* \* \*

Thy hopes grow timorous and unfixed thy powers,  
And thy clear aims be cross and shifting made  
And then thy glad perennial youth would fade  
Fade and grow old at last, and die like ours."

Likewise, William Butler Yeats suggests that the human child would escape the ferment of the woes and miseries of the mortals:

"Come away, O human child!  
To the waters and the wild  
With a faery, hand in hand  
For the world's more full of weeping than  
you can understand."  
—*The Stolen Child.*

The fairyland, unhaunted by the fretting of the present, is an emotional symbol for the ideal land of bliss and happiness and beatitude.

There had been a conscious revolt for under-rating the emotional symbols of Yeats who sought to create an atmosphere of escape-art in his earlier days when he used to live alone in his "Ivory Tower" where the echoes of the busy world would pass with gentle and delicate involutions. The hostile critics are of opinion that a deliberate respect for the emotional exuberance necessarily involves an unreasonable allowance to the sentimental nonsense divorced from the active life and its clamorous facts. In the language of Compton Rickett who has observed, "Mr. Yeats is essentially a dreamer and his dreams seem wrought out of

"The dreams the drowsy gods

Breathe on the burnished mirror of the world

And then smooth out with loving hands and sigh."

The critical attitude, thus made against Yeats, tends to betray definitely enough, a lack of penetration and depth of understanding. It is, really, too shallow and too hollow. Art is not an escape from life, rather it is an escape into life, higher, better, nobler and wiser. An artist is a creature, not only of higher truth and greater reality, but also of his own environmental consciousness which, sometimes, proves itself ferriously against him and makes him restless and comfortless. He fervently longs for an emotional and imaginative flight into a more comfortable world to live alone, talk alone and carve alone his verses. This sense of aloneness approximates largely the tranced aloofness to be artistically identified with a proneness to the aristocratic habit of living of an artist, out of his irresponsible imagination to the crowd around. Art is an instinctive shell through which the artist must flow out his inspirational intensity and seek out his aesthetic affirmation.

For a decent life, a normal man requires, not only the art of science, but also the art of living, and the best experience of life is enjoyed only when both of them meet together. Hence, the importance of the escape art for the larger humanity in thought. Man is not an animal to remain satisfied with his physical gratifications; but he is gifted with a soul which requires for his appeasement something that cannot be adequately defined. This eternal craving of human soul for something indefinite, remote, unattainable, wistful and nostalgic has very well been expressed by Yeats:

"Perhaps the self-same song that found a path  
Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,  
She stood in tears amid the alien corn;

The same that oft-times hath

Charmed magic casements, opening on the foam  
Of perilous seas, in faery land forlorn."

—To A Nightingale.

Auden is highly appreciative:

"There must always be two kinds of art, escape art, for man needs escape as he needs food and deep sleep; and a parable art, that art which shall teach man to unlearn hatred and to learn love. High-browism, well, another term, which goes with escapism, Ivory Tower and unsocial art. The artist like every other kind of high-brow is self-conscious, that is to say, he is all the time what every one is some of the time, a man who is active rather than passive to his experience."

Macneice adds to the Audenesque appreciation:

"Yeats' early poems which many would take as typical escape-poetry, were very much adulterated with real life than the beery puerilities of Messrs. Chesterton and Belloc."

About the intellectual symbols, Yeats has himself remarked:

"There are intellectual symbols, symbols that evoke ideas alone or ideas mingled with emotions. . . . If I say, 'white' or 'purple' in an ordinary line of poetry; they evoke emotions so exclusively that I cannot say why they move me; but if I bring them into the same sentence with such obvious intellectual symbols as a cross or a crown of thorns, I think of purity or sovereignty. Furthermore, innumerable meanings, which are held to 'white' or to 'purple' by bonds of subtle suggestions, alike in the emotions and in the intellect, move visibly through my mind and move invisibly beyond the threshold of sleep, casting lights and shadows of an indefinable wisdom on what had seemed before, it may be, but sterility and noisy violence."

Mallarmé could not contribute to this idea of the intellectual symbols for which Yeats had a great regard. Mallarmé confused the possible distinction between music and poetry, he believed that the effect of music could be easily achieved in poetry. It was a belief, not only with him, but also with the French symbolists in general. To them it was a glorious task to achieve in poetry what a great musician, say Wagner, could achieve out of his musical notes. This desire to attain the musical evocations in the poetic creations was confined, not only to France, but also it went beyond to Germany and England. While glorifying music and its possibility in adequate measure, Verlaine writes out:

"De la musique encore et toujours  
Que ton vers soit la chose envolée  
Qu'on sent qui fuit, d'une âme en allée  
Vers d'autres cieux à d'autres amours.



"Que ton vers soit la bonne aventure  
Epars au vent crisper du matin  
Qui va fleurant la menthe et le thym  
Et tout le reste est littérature."

And while attempting to conclude that there is very little distinction between music and poetry, Mallarmé says:

"Quir indiscutable rayon—comm les traits  
deront et déchirent un meandre de melodies: On la  
Musique rejoint le Vers pour former, dequis Wagner,  
la Poesie."

But both Mallarmé and Verlaine are wrong. The endeavours to bring to poetry what is exclusively the right of music is an utter impossibility. However melodious in purity and musical in sonority, poetry may be, it can never hope to usurp the honours of a musician. Poetry is a congregation of words, words are the jewels in poetry and the poet is a jeweller. Just as a jeweller hammers out his spades for the purpose of ornamenting his jewels, so also the poet twists his words and impregnates them with ideas. Words are limited in meaning and that words cannot be divorced from their associative meaning is an unalterable truth. Mallarmé failed to understand this important truth which Yeats understood well enough. Therefore, his theory about the intellectual symbols, or the symbols of ideas, carries depth and validity and proves itself more encouraging and more advantageous over the French symbolists in general and Mallarmé in particular.

About the influences working upon the marked change of Yeats from the emotional to the intellectual symbolic style, Mr. Henn has concluded:

"The beginning of the change in style, is usually ascribed to the period 1910-1912; his phrase 'years afterwards,' is deliberately vague. It should be linked to what he called the 'Body of Fate,' physical circumstance, such as, the friendship with Synge, the political embroilments of 1909-1914, the reading of metaphysical poetry, the love and bitterness from his affair with Maud Gonne, as much as to any deliberate assumption of a new role; although in view of his highly conscious artistry this aspect cannot be overlooked. But statements, such as, these are of interest in considering his conception of style."

There is no shade of doubt that Mr. Henn has emphasised, within this narrow compass, all the important factors, responsible for the development of the later manner or style which led Yeats to his intellectual symbolic representation of thought and conception. Yet Mr. Henn has made a very grand omission which none can ignore while evaluating the importance of the latest style of Yeats. Really it is very unfortunate of Mr. Henn that nowhere has he touched

upon the Indian influence, the importance of which Yeats himself has frankly acknowledged and which may be regarded, "in considering his conception of style," not less important than any of the factors which Mr. Henn has mentioned. I propose here to discuss this much-neglected yet very powerful aspect which contributed largely to the development of his intellectual symbolism.

In one of his letters to Rabindranath Tagore, Yeats wrote to his great friend, in 1931, from the new tower which has, now, been the only symbol of his intellectual solitude:

"Since we met, I have married. I have now two children, a boy and a girl and feel more knitted into life; and life, when I think of it, is separated from all that is not itself, from all that is complicated and mechanical, takes to my imagination an Asiatic form. That form I found first in your books and afterwards in certain Chinese poetry and Japanese prose writers. What an excitement it was this first reading of your poems, which seemed to come out of the fields and the rivers, and have their changelessness."

"High-sorrowing songs, a tranced aloofness and a bitter mysticism ruffled into inwardness by trafficking events had led Yeats to a new door of imagination." Yeats had come down from the "Ivory Tower" and climbed up the "Winding Stair" and learnt the art of facing the world. The phrase "knitted into life," used by Yeats in his letter to Tagore and the influence which Yeats got from Tagore's poems led Yeats to the new door of intellectual relevance and gave him the impact of how to interweave life with the very texture of art and hence his very significant declaration:

"Now I shall make my soul  
Compelling it to study  
In a learned school  
Till the wreck of body  
Slow decay of blood  
Testy delirium  
Or dull decrepitude."

—*The Tower.*

and he began to load his imagination with facts and therefore:

"I declare this tower is my symbol; I declare  
This winding, gyring, spiring treadmill of a  
stair is my ancestral stair  
That Goldsmith and the Dean, Berkeley and  
Burke have travelled there."  
—*Blood and the Moon.*

• The tower which has now been the intellectual symbol with Yeats has been used for as many purposes as he could manage:

"I summon to the winding ancient stair  
 Set all your mind upon the steep ascent  
 Upon the broken crumbling battlement  
 Upon the breathless starlit air  
 Upon the Star that marks the hidden pole."

—*A Dialogue of Self and Soul.*

The most characteristic feature of his intellectual style has, perhaps, nowhere, been so well expressed as here:

"Before I am old  
 I shall have written him one  
 Poem may be as cold  
 As passionate as the dawn."

—*The Fisherman.*

Perhaps, the best example of his latest style:

"Although I can see him still  
 The freckled man who goes  
 To a grey place on a hill  
 In Grey Connemara clothes  
 At dawn to cast his flies  
 It's long since I began  
 To call up to the eyes  
 This wise and simple man."

—*The Fisherman.*

The earlier Yeats might have embroidered "the fisherman" with Gaelic legends and thus might have described him as a mystic figure. But the later Yeats has discarded all of those extra foliages and described "the fisherman" as he is, because Yeats is, now, "admitted into life."

"Poetry is made with the poet's quarrel with himself," says Yeats and there could be no better illustration of the practical application of this theory than Yeats who has himself been an excellent "quarrel" between the soul and the self, between the heart and the mind, between the poet and the philosopher. In this battle, he has temporarily submitted to the altar of the philosopher in him. With Yeats, philosophy has not meant merely a hard and abstract system of theories or principles, rather it was a kind of profound meditative reflectiveness over the universe. To this direction of his philosophic inclination, Yeats was, doubtlessly, influenced by the Buddhistic system of the Indian philosophy, which gives much stress upon the annihilation of the body and the flesh and the attainment of *nirvana* through the purer contemplation of the exact relation between the earth and the individual. The greater realisation of the absolute nothingness of the physical world which is no better than a mere appearance or an illusion or a mirage leads man to the spiritual comprehension of the Oneness of the Supreme Reality beyond Time and Space.

Yeats believed that this Ultimate Eternal Reality can be attained through the intellectual effort and hence his farewell to Muse:

"It seems that I must bid the Muse go back,  
 Choose Plato and Plotinus for a friend,  
 Until imagination, ear and eye,  
 Can be content with argument and deal  
 With abstract things."

and, therefore,

"A starlit or a moonlit dome disdains  
 All that man is  
 All mere complexities  
 The fury and the mire of human veins."

—*Byzantium.*

and, again,

"Though leaves are many, the root is one,  
 Through all the lying days of my youth,  
 I swayed my leaves and flowers in the sun,  
 Now I may wither into the truth."

But the eternal poet in Yeats triumphs over the philosopher in him and therefore, there is no withering of the truth:

"Never had I more  
 Excited, passionate and fantastical,  
 In imagination, nor an ear and eye,  
 That more expected the impossible."

—*The Tower*

and the poet in him becomes pleased enough to live in the new tower of his imagination:

"I am content to live it all again,  
 When such as I cast out all remorse,  
 So great a sweetness flows into the breast,  
 We must laugh and we must sing,  
 We are blest by everything.  
 Everything we look upon is blest."

—*A Dialogue of Self and Soul.*

The poet in Yeats finally accepts the world as it is and attains to "an astringent joy and hardness" by means of his power to transcend the world of physical limitations. This supreme power of art brings Yeats nearest to the Shakespearean air of circumstance which enables an artist to enjoy the intensity of his unique experience of rare moment.

"... From this romantic dreaming verse, no one could have foretold that Yeats would develop into a strong personality. He seemed to have rid himself of individual characteristics and to have sunk himself in scenes of fairy life. Even the

melancholy which pervaded this and the next volume, *The Countess Cathleen* (1893), seemed more like the reflection of some universal Celtic despair than the personal feelings of a young poet. At this period, Yeats looked like a good pupil of William Morris, a poet of escape, the singer of music, 'in the deep heart's core,' but not in any way typical of new movements and new ideals. He might well have stayed in this manner and repeated the success which he won with 'The Lake Isle of Innisfree,' if he had not come to London and heard the call of new ideas in the air."

In spite of many truths which Mr. Bowra has sounded in this particular passage, and which must necessarily be sounded as regards Yeats, he has very unfortunately committed three great errors for which, he can never be excused.

"From this romantic dreaming verse, no one could have foretold that Yeats would develop into a strong personality." But morning shows the day as childhood shows the man. It would be wrong to suppose that Yeats in his full maturity was compensated for the loss of legendary dreams by realism, or that his Celtic Twilight days were untouched by the thirst for knowledge. The poetry of Yeats never admitted this monism or the watertight compartment between his earlier and later developments.

"He might well have stayed in this manner." But the poets can never arrive, unless a greater circumstance is imposed upon them from above. It would appear to us that Mr. Bowra is one of those theorists who want to find out the terminal points in art and poetry. But otherwise is the practice and different is the experience.

"If he had not come to London and heard the call of the new ideas in the air." But merely influence is unproductive; it requires for its virility the fertility of the soil; however powerful or favourable the external influence may be, a land divorced from fertility cannot yield crops; influence may appear helpful to the outward development of only what has already been dormant or it may be helpful to the germ, already in existence, to grow into a flourishing tree. It is, therefore, far better to say that the germs of "a strong personality" had already been in the mind of Yeats, it was just germinating in his "romantic dreaming verse," and "the call of new ideas in the air" was just a favourable climate for the fuller development of the "strong personality," dormant in him.

In this part of my discussion, I would propose to prove that one could have foretold, "Yeats would develop into a strong personality" even "from his

romantic dreaming verse"; Yeats might not "well have stayed in this manner" and "the call of the new ideas in the air" could not have received any response from Yeats, had there not already been in existence the germs of "the strong personality" in his earlier verse.

Yeats who dreamt, "a Druid dream of the end of days," lived till the last and saw

"Under the boughs of love and hate  
In all poor foolish things that live for a day  
Eternal beauty wandering on her way."

—*The Rose.*

Charming us in many of his latest songs like,

"Seek out reality, leave things that seem"

—*Vacillation.*

"The aesthetic mysticism" which is characteristically important of his later period, as clearly indicated by his "Supernatural Poems" in "A Full Moon in March" has much earlier been suggested in his earlier verse:

"My rhymes more than their rhyming tell  
Of things discovered in the deep  
Where only body's laid asleep."

—*To Ireland in The Coming Times.*

"The spiritual identification" which we much admire in his later period as revealed by "Words For Music Perhaps" has already found its parallelism in his earlier poem:

"I have been many things  
A green drop in the surge, a gleam of light  
Upon a sword, a fire-tree on a hill  
And old slave grinding at a heavy quern  
A king sitting upon a chair of gold  
And all these things were wonderful and great."

—*Fergus and the Druid.*

Therefore, the argument—"From this romantic dreaming, no one could have foretold that Yeats would develop into a strong personality"—carries no weight or validity. In our conclusion, the later development of Yeats is no more or no less than the natural and inevitable prolongation of the earlier germination. Hence, the significance of the argument of Macnaghten:

"Mr. Yeats is the best example of how a poet ought to develop if he goes on writing till he is old. I am not one of those who have nothing to say for his earlier poems and everything to say for his later poems. He is a fine case of identity in difference."



# THE ANCIENT INDIAN ART TRADITION

By PROF. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.,

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THE development and progress of Art is a very accurate index of the evolution and culture of a society. A study of Ancient Indian art tradition is useful as it suggests to what glorious heights the culture of Ancient India had risen. It is a tradition worthy of a great country, of a great people, holding still greater promises for the future.

Art in Ancient India was resplendent and replete with life. Life, in all its aspects, and in all its glory, was the main object of Art. Art is life. It is not a blind copy of life, but a sensible appreciation of it. Emerson, the American sage, once wrote:

"There is, in every nation, a style which never becomes obsolete."

In India, this characteristic style was to manifest India's wonderful religiosity and divinity. Art has been the hand-maid of religion. Its main endeavour has been to familiarise on earth the best gifts of religion. If everyday life was mundane, the life depicted in art aspired to be something higher and nobler than this. It does not mean that art was not true to life. It simply means that although the mundane everyday life was depicted, it was not depicted as just ordinary common-place life, but as something uncommon. Ordinary everyday life was portrayed in an extraordinary manner with religious motifs, ideals, and symbols. Thus Art idealised life and gave it a new dignity and divinity, for life to the Ancient Indians was divine and sacred. All people were 'the children of the immortal' *Amritasya Putrah*.<sup>1</sup> The object of Art was to elevate, never degrade mankind. One might say with Wordsworth that it shed 'A Light that never was on Sea or Land.' The famous French critic, Buffon, says: "Le style c'est l'homme" or "The style is the man." Here we may say "The style is the nation," for, in most cases we do not know the individual artists, we only know the school to which a particular art belongs. It is interesting to note that this feature of our past art tradition to create something more than ordinary everyday life finds support with the famous contemporary European critic Romain Rolland, who writes: "C'est le rôle de l'artiste de créer le Soleil, lorsqu'il n'y en a pas."<sup>2</sup> That is to say, 'It is the role of the artist to create the sun (star), when it is not there.'

That the Ancient Indian art tradition was fully mature and had a long period of historical growth becomes clear by a study of its technique. It is also

clear that this art was extremely well disciplined. There was no immaturity about it. Thus Vatsyana lays down the rule:

*"Rupaveda pramanani bhava lavanya yojanam, shadrisham varnika vanga iti chitram sadangakam."*

The six canons stressed: 1. knowledge of appearance, 2. correct perception, measure and structures, 3. action of feeling on forms, 4. adding grace to make artistic representation, 5. similitude, and 6. artistic technique in handling the brush and colours. Art had to deal with the various *mudras* and the famous nine *rasas*: *Sringara* (Love), *Hasya* (Humour), *Karuna* (Sympathy), *Vira* (Heroic), *Rudra* (Furious), *Bhayanaka* (Terrifying), *Vibhatsa* (Disgusting), *Adbhuta* (Wonderful), and *Santa* (Peaceful). Thus there was artistic discipline at every stage. Art chose to be disciplined in its own peculiar way. The artist was also disciplined. He must be a *Yogi*, *Brahma*, the supreme artist, who created the Universe was the supreme *Yogi*. All work of art and superior creation must proceed from the highest discipline of the mind, *Yoga*. Jeannine Auboyer gives expression to it by stating:

*Intermédiaire entre l'humanité et la divinité, l'artiste était une sorte de prêtre . . .*<sup>4</sup>

That is to say, 'Intervening between Humanity and Divinity the Artist was a sort of Priest.'

He was the high-priest of Art.

Another important feature of this wonderful art tradition was its profound unity. It stood for 'unity,' it encouraged unity, and it was rooted in unity. A familiar art motif was to depict the union of *Purusha* and *Prakriti*, which being the source of all life, represented the great 'unity' of life itself. Not only this. The union of the Greek and Hindu art traditions in Gandhara, of the Scythian and Hindu art traditions in Mathura, of the Northern and Southern art traditions in the Andhradesha, and of the fusion of Jain, Buddhist, and Hindu art traditions in Ajanta, Ellora, Badami, Barhut, Sanchi, and many other instances form a unique feature of artistic unity. Giving expression to this wonderful unity in Indian as in all Oriental Art, the celebrated French historian and critic Jeannine Auboyer writes:

"En Occident la culture greco-latine a habitude a considerer le domaine de l'art comme la reunion de plusieurs arts soigneusement compartimentes. . . . En Extreme-Orient au contraire, les différentes branches de l'art sont solidaires les unes des autres et ne sont intelligibles que l'une par l'autre. C'est en quelque sorte, un art total. L'unité profonde de

1. *The Basic Writing of America's Sage*: By Linceman. Chapter on Art and Criticism, p. 117.

2. *Svetasvatropanishad*, II, 5.

3. Romain Rolland: *Jean Christophe—Las Foire Sur la Place*.

4. Jeannine Auboyer: *Les Arts de L'extreme-orient*, pp. 6-7.

*l'art extreme-Oriental reside dans son etroite connexion avec l'univers.*"<sup>5</sup>

That is, 'In the West the Graeco-Latin culture is habituated to consider the domain of Art as the reunion of several arts carefully compartmentalised. . . . In the Far East, on the contrary, the different branches of Art are conjointly liable the one to the others, and are not intelligible other than the one with reference to the others. It is in some sort, a total Art. The profound unity of the Far Eastern Art resides in its intimate connection with the Universe.'

Although discipline was a peculiar feature of this Art, it had a considerable amount of creative freedom, and daring originality. Thus, with great insight, Mr. Henri Martin writes:

*"L'originalite, la variete, le mysticisme sont les trois caracteres generaux de l'art Indien."*<sup>6</sup>

That is, 'Originality, variety, and mysticism are the three general characteristics of Indian Art.'

Indeed, without liberty and progress there can be no Art. The famous Beethoven used to say:

*"La liberte et le progres sont le but dans l'art, comme dans la vie tout entiere."* Or, 'Liberty and progress form the goal in Art as in entire life.'

It shows the release of the human spirit in a thousand creations of art. This freedom expressed in the 'daring romanticism' of Ajanta art, which Miss

Christiana. J. Harringham called 'amazing and unique,' produced an art for which there is no parallel in world history. It is 'throbbing with vitality and action,' pulsating with life. This freedom combined with the language of symbolism, and in the service of religion and philosophy created wonders. This freedom in its own joy of creation, sometimes so far forgot itself as to verge on madness even. "Great Art is as irrational as great music. It is mad with its own loveliness."<sup>8</sup> Henry Martin writes:

*"Quant a la sculpture ornementale, elle semble animee d'une sorte de frenesie."*<sup>9</sup> That is, 'As to ornamental sculpture it seems to be animated with a sort of frenzy (madness).'

Art had complete freedom. But no licence of any sort. Freedom was used with philosophic detachment. "The fly that touches honey cannot use its wings."<sup>10</sup> So the artists who in Khajuraho, Bhubaneshwar and other places depicted life in all its aspects and with astounding frankness, were themselves not commonplace mediocres, but high-priests of art. Their object was, in all probability, to sublimate what is commonplace, ignoble, and even vulgar in life.

Thus the study of the Ancient Indian Art tradition is both inspiring and instructive. This wonderful art tradition with its great unity, and its sublimated aesthetic sense, has inspired the artists and students of art in this country from time immemorial, and will do so for all time to come.

5. *Ibid*, p. 5.

6. Henry Martin: *L'art Indien et L'art Chinois*, p. 5.

7. Quoted in—Romain Rolland: *Vie de Beethoven*.

8. George Jean Nathan: *House of Satan*.

9. Henry Martin: *L'art Indien et L'art Chinois*, p. 5.

10. *St. John of the Cross*. Quoted in Aldous Huxley: *Perennial Philosophy*, p. 294.



# STEFAN ZWEIG AND EMIL LUDWIG

## A Study in Contrast

By DR. V. S. NARAVANE

On the twenty-third of February the world of letters commemorates one of its gloomiest anniversaries. It was on this day, fifteen years ago, that Stefan Zweig and his wife departed from life of their own free will.

Why did Zweig choose the path of Chatterton and Ernest Toller, of Mayakovsky and Virginia Woolf? To his readers, millions of them in thirty languages, he had come to represent all that is positive and affirmative. In his personal life he was certainly no misanthrope. Perhaps, no other writer had such an enviable set of friends as Zweig had. Rilke and Hoffmannsthal, Freud and Adler, Verhaeren and Andre Gide, Richard Strauss and Toscanini, Romain Rolland and Maxim Gorky, Henry Barbusse and Upton Sinclair—such are the names that recur again and again in his autobiography. And from all these distinguished friends he received not merely the praise that flatters but also the love that satisfies.

Nor did he work under duress, driven by want. He wrote because he enjoyed writing. If he had suffered under Fascism, others had suffered much more. At any rate he had escaped the ghetto, the concentration camp, the bailiff's court. Why, then, did this doyen among humanists embrace the negative solution?

This is no ordinary mystery, just as Zweig himself was no ordinary individual. The psychology of suicide is as ambiguous as the metaphysic of existence itself. Rash, indeed, would be the critic who claims to unravel the precise sources of Zweig's despair from a study of his works. Nevertheless, if one delves underneath the verve and animation, even the exuberance of his writings, one does feel that there is something 'not right,' some imbalance somewhere, an undertone of doubt that can be far more shattering than downright agony.

To understand this doubt in its completeness, one must look at Zweig primarily as a biographer. Without detracting from the immense power of his novels and stories, it will be conceded that his fame will endure longest as a biographer. The only other biographer of our age whose works have given pleasure to so large a number of readers, is Emil Ludwig, perhaps, closely followed by Andre Maurois. But, whereas all the biographies written by Zweig are also partially autobiographies, there is very little of Ludwig himself in his works. Zweig's pessimism—perhaps, it would be more accurate to call it sadness—is reflected in his choice of themes no less than his treatment of the subjects chosen. On the contrary, the twenty volumes of Ludwig tell us very little about his own world-view, or even his basic attitudes.

The contrast between Stefan Zweig and Emil Ludwig is, in fact, one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of modern literature.

### LIMITATIONS OF A 'PORTRAITIST'

In the early thirties Emil Ludwig's fame was at its highest. Nor would it be fair to deny either his range or his flair as a narrator. Goethe and Bismarck, Napoleon and Jesus, Stein and William the Second, Voltaire and Rembrandt—there seemed to be no limit to his interests. And if the biographer's task is to make his subject live, to retain the drama and conjure up the atmosphere of a vanished age, Emil Ludwig's worldwide popularity was well-deserved.

Moreover, he treated his heroes with abundant sympathy, and this came as a welcome relief from the aloofness of the 'objective' biographer. Ludwig demanded, and rightly, a measure of reverence without which no historical personage can attain stature; and the reader, in his gratitude for the excellent fare offered, mustered the reverence asked for.

But, when we have said all this, we have, perhaps, exhausted Ludwig's strong points. He can be interesting, even gripping at times, but one rarely returns to his books. One feels that only the surface layers of a personality have been uncovered. The stage is elaborate, the settings lavish, but the inner drama does not register. We have a strange foreboding, after reading the first few chapters, that the essentials are being kept back from us. Take the study of Goethe; it is, undoubtedly, fascinating to be told why Lili was supplanted by Charlotte in the poet's affections; but surely it would be more satisfying to be told why the Mephisto of the later "Faust" is so different. Likewise, we are intrigued to find Napoleon, while still a student at Brienne, noting down details about the island of St. Helena in his diary. The irony of history, revealed in such episodes, haunts us like something out of Sophocles. And yet the six words uttered by Hegel—"I saw the Absolute on horseback"—tell us more about the meaning of the Napoleonic drama than the four hundred pages of Ludwig's book.

The fact is—and here the contrast with Zweig is most clearly seen—that Ludwig is content with being a portraitist. Nor does he conceal his aim. Again and again he tells us that he is attempting a profile. Even when he draws the full face, however, it is flat like a photograph taken with a blazing sun behind the camera. The shadows have been eliminated, and the details show in all their disconcerting sharpness. The picture lacks modelling and is, therefore, incomplete. Stefan Zweig, on the contrary, never leaves out the third dimension, even though the focussing may not be so sharp. He is, we feel, not a portraitist at all, but a sculptor of rare insight. And let us remember that the medium in which he sculpts is more resilient than



marble, more plastic than clay, more obedient than ebony—for he is a sculptor in words!

#### SOME FAVOURITE DEVICES

But let us return to Ludwig for a little while. Let us see something of his technique, his methods. In his introduction to *Genius and Character*, Ludwig openly proclaims himself a disciple of Plutarch's, and quotes with relish the latter's words: "I record, not history, but human destiny." No clearer analysis could have been made of Ludwig's own deficiencies. He is haunted by the concept of destiny; and since many of his subjects were essentially the products of historical forces, his impatience with the facts of history lands the writer into dangerous stratagems. For the idea of destiny is like a packing-case on which the words "Glass—with care" have been printed in bold letters. Ludwig ignores the warning and treats this brittle commodity with recklessness. For the sake of the drama that is associated with the 'sense of destiny,' he is prepared to set his facts to forced labour.

One of his favourite devices is the use of the present tense. To speak of a historical figure in terms of 'there he sits,' 'now he thinks of his childhood,' and so on, creates an illusion of reality, at least of contemporaneity. Ludwig's *Napoleon* opens with the sentence: "A young woman is sitting in a tent, wrapped in a shawl." His *Goethe* opens thus: "In a fancy-shop at Leipzig stands a sixteen-year-old student, choosing among powder-puffs and ribbons." The study of Balzac begins with these pen-pictures:

"The garret lies in the silence of the night; the oil-lamp is burning on the broad table; behind the green shade a man with an enormous head is bent over his papers."

In hands, less skilful than Ludwig's, a device like this would be transparently puerile. The veil of Time can be drawn only by a creative act of imagination, not by changing tenses.

Another stratagem is the use of contrasts. Here again Ludwig endorses the Plutarchian practice of contrasting a Roman with a Greek, and comments:

"By matching a Roman with a Greek, Plutarch can make evaluations totally devoid of prejudice."

He forgets that to be 'totally devoid of prejudice' may sometimes be the result of a total absence of any philosophy of life.

Incidentally, others too seem to have followed Ludwig's advice. John Cournois's biographical studies are collected in a volume entitled *A Modern Plutarch*. Here Anatole France has been 'matched' with Mark Twain, Gauguin with Thoreau, George Sand with George Eliot. The results are ludicrous in the extreme. Janko Lavrin uses somewhat the same method in his study of the French and Russian novelists, with better success, be it conceded. Now, granting that the method may help bring out sharply certain

features of character, its repeated use can only lead to forced and far-fetched conclusions, as witness Ludwig's own "matching" of Goethe with Schiller.

By transcending these devices and brushing aside the outworn Plutarchian approach, Stefan Zweig surpasses Emil Ludwig in every essential department of the biographer's art. This does not mean that the latter was not successful in his own way. Perhaps, his greatness lay just in this—that he *could* use these devices without slipping into banality. But Zweig's greatness lay in having dispensed with them.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ZWEIG'S THEMES

And now, perhaps, we are better equipped to take a closer look at Stefan Zweig's work as a biographer. Just because he is interested in the deeper conflicts that converge upon the lives of exceptional individuals, just because his approach is psychological rather than descriptive, Zweig has no need either to dramatise or to search for anecdotes. With supreme confidence he steers clear of the two extremes represented by the scientific biographer at one end and the historical novelist at the other. Unlike the former, he is not obsessed with facts for their own sake, facts which are no better than statistics, facts which bear no intrinsic relationship with the individual's psychological development. Unlike the latter, he takes no liberties, he is painstakingly accurate. And unlike both of them he condenses his material, reduces it to the very minimum. Prolixity he avoids like poison. "Today I am supremely happy," he once wrote to a friend, "for I have just cut down a paragraph."

The choice of his themes is anything but accidental. He is not drawn towards a character simply through a passing whim, or through a chance encounter in the corridors of history. His characters are the media of his own self-expression. To understand his pervasive melancholy one must note with utmost clarity the significance of his subjects. If we try and call up the central figures of Zweig's biographical works, what a gloomy procession will emerge! None of these can be described as a fundamentally care-free individual. In every case there is greatness, or at least distinctiveness; but there is also something that oppresses, something that weighs down. Whom do we find in the world of Stefan Zweig? We find Balzac, a veritable Prometheus chained to his desk, with the vulture of usury plucking his liver out; Verlaine, ending his days in a mental clinic; Nietzsche, burning himself out in the flame of his own intellectual energy; Stendhal, born a century too soon, disdainfully rebuffed; Fouche, history's most conscientious turncoat, developing betrayal into a fine art, ending his last days brooding over his own countless treacheries; Marie Antoinette and Marie of Scotland, tragedies of parasitic royalty and dynastic jealousy; Castelli, greatest of free thinkers, hounded to his destruction and burnt alive by Calvin; Dostoevsky, prince among epileptics,

victim of his own spiritual earthquakes; and above all, Erasmus.

It is in his *Erasmus* that we find the art of Stefan Zweig brought to bear, with amazing penetration, on a subject that had a truly personal appeal for him. It will be no exaggeration to say that this book tells us, in some respects, even more about Zweig than his autobiography, *The World of Yesterday*. The affinities between the great fifteenth-century rationalist and his twentieth-century biographer are patent. Like Zweig himself, Erasmus lived in an age of great progress and great misery, of science and unreason, of knowledge and superstition, of kindness and cruelty; an age of scaring hope and black despair; a baffling, self-contradictory age. Again like Zweig, Erasmus was a conscious cosmopolitan, a humanist, a pacifist in an epoch of perpetual warfare, a man who refused to align himself with dogmatists of any camp, who refused to accept that fanaticism of one sort can best be nullified by putting in its place fanaticism of some other species. "To burn a man because he does not agree with you," said Erasmus, "does not gain you an adherent. It only kills a man!"

Like Stefan Zweig, again Erasmus was not a hero;

nor was he a martyr or a leader. His actual influence was negligible. His voice did not prevail. Like Socrates before him and Spinoza after him, he was vanquished and, what is more, he knew it.

"History, however, has no patience with the vanquished. She is partial to men of passion, to the immoderate, to the adventurers. No wonder, then, that on the immense canvas of Reformation Europe Erasmus occupies a back place."

We do not see him bound to the martyr's stake; his face is not disfigured by passion; he is armed with no sword; he mounts no pulpits and stirs no multitudes. "And so history pities this quiet servitor of the humanities, and passes him by with her nose in the air."

Such was the tragedy of Erasmus, and also of Stefan Zweig. History pitied the one, and there is every indication that she will soon pity the other. Unlike his predecessor, however, Zweig refused to wait for pity. He dreaded it much more than sorrow, even failure. "Beware of pity," he had warned his friends; and, rather than face it, took a decision which—though it cannot be condoned—can at least be partially understood.

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## GURU NANAK (1469—1539)

By PROF. BALWANT SINGH, M.A.

GURU NANAK's was India's hoary, time-hallowed gospel of God-realisation and self-perfection, through the Yoga of *Simran*, *Japa* or *Nam*, as Guru Nanak loves to call it. It is a technique and a way of life for self-realisation and self-divinisation, amid the flood of physical activity. Not the renunciation of the world but renunciation of desires, passions and attachments, that is, living the life of the spirit on earth as householders, is the essence of his gospel. The recognition of Brahma or God as one's Self and the Self of the universe and of all beings, finds constant expression in his poetic compositions which are set to sweet, musical melodies or *rags*, which remind one of Shelley's famous line, so that singing we soar and soaring we sing. His compositions are interlarded with the great Upanishadic truths and the discerning reader pities those who call him unlettered. How could those who are innocent of the Upanishadic or ancient Indian spiritual lore gauge the vastness and profundity of his knowledge of the eternal spiritual truths? His compositions show his mastery of the Hindu spiritual lore and of Islam. Not unoften his references to Jainism and Buddhism are revealing and startling. He was a great poet, well-versed in music and possessed of a rich store of scholarship. Undoubtedly he was one of the most

learned men of his times. A genius as he was he musically sang in popular language what was formerly the property of a few gifted persons in the seclusion of the hermitage and the cloister. The Sikhs have failed to interpret him properly and poor Macauliffe's translation of his compositions is dull and drab, too literal and too prosaic.

Guru Nanak's familiarity with the Upanishadic truths would be evident from the following extract from the Taittiriya Upanishad and Guru Nanak's elucidation thereof in his own poetic words:

"From terror of Him the wind blows,  
From terror of Him the Sun rises,  
From terror of Him the fire, Indra and death  
Perform their respective duties."

(*Taittiriya Upanishad*)<sup>1</sup>

Now mark Guru Nanak's words in *Asa di War*, one of his well-known compositions:

"Winds do blow in awe of Him,  
In awe of Him do rivers flow,  
In awe of Him doth fire blaze,  
In awe of Him the Earth abides,  
In awe of Him doth Indra work,  
In awe of Him Death's Angel works,  
In awe of Him are Sun and Moon,

In awe of Him do Heavens stand,  
Function all in His awesome Will,  
God alone is free of fear,  
God alone doth ever abide,  
Formless, Fearless, Peerless He."

It is not possible to reproduce through a translation Guru Nanak's ambrosial sweetness or his superb poetic art.

Mere mechanical *Simran* was not Guru Nanak's ideal. Moral life must be the foundation of spiritual life. The following is my English version of the concluding portion of his unique, artistic composition of *Japji* and will illustrate this point:

"Be thou chaste in thought and deed,  
Bear all that comes from God,  
Let Reason be thy light of life,  
And spiritual lore thy constant guide,  
Fear of God and life austere,  
Ever keep and hold them dear;  
Let love of God and Love of Man  
Be thy nectar sweet of life.  
Live in God and love Him ever,  
By His grace thou wilt be saved."

In homely words, Guru Nanak preached his gospel:

"*Nam japo, wand chhako, kirt karo, aye gae di sewa karo, langar chalao, sat sangat karo, kirtan karo.*"

"—Ever love and remember God, share what you have with others, earn your living by the sweat of your brow, serve those about you, feed the poor, associate with good, devout people and sing God's praises."

By instituting congregational worship and community-kitchens, he sought to banish casteism and untouchability. By choosing his life-comrades, one a Hindu Jat and the other a Muslim, he preached by example and precept Hindu-Muslim unity and brotherhood.

Not ritual and ceremonial, nor philosophical or metaphysical hair-splitting but the change and purity of heart and constant communion with God were the essence and core of his gospel. Frequently he uses the mystic words *Nam* (Communion with God within) *Sunh* (Sinking of the mind within Self, so that thought-waves would cease), *Sehaj* (Constant blissful awareness and shock-proof peace and poise of mind) and *Raj Yoga* (Self-divinisation while living the life of a householder). These were not new things. The Indian sages were aware of them. Like the author of the Gita, Guru Nanak stressed *desireless action* in a spirit of dedication.

Of God's attributes such as the following Guru Nanak sings in colours and paints them in song:

He is life of all life,  
Light of all light,  
Beauty of all beauty,  
Music of all music;

He is Love and Truth,  
Knowledge and Bliss,  
He is Thought behind all thought,  
One in all and all in One.

The idea of *One in all and all in One* runs like a thread through all his compositions. On this central idea he builds his great edifice of Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man, which in the fullness of time is sure to lead to a synthesis of all religions, so that Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man would be a common link to unite men of all creeds and climes. The United Nations Organisation gives promise of the fulfilment of the Poet's dream of the Federation of the World and Parliament of Man. The idea of Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man would develop into a universal religion of humanity. Humanity is moving to this consummation, this "far-off Divine event." Buddha's, Christ's, Nanak's dream would then be realised.

According to Guru Nanak sincere, ardent *Simran* or *Nam* is the golden key to God-realisation, so that those who live, move and have their being in God, could as householders, shed all infatuation or attachment to worldly objects and transcending the influence of the pairs of opposites, grow desireless *karam yogis* and thus rise above the feeling of pleasure or pain. This is deliverance, liberation or *mukti* in life, which ardent seekers after God could attain here and now, without waiting for the illusory hereafter.

Guru Nanak insists on Self-surrender to God and Self-surrender means full freedom from all care and worry. For elucidation I would quote Mahatma Gandhi's illuminating words:

"A child has never cared for anything. It knows instinctively that it is being cared for by its parents. How much more true should it be with us grown-up people? Never imagine the worst: God is a God of mercy and if we must imagine, it is best to imagine the best. An ideal votary of God never imagines anything. He takes note of things as they happen and reacts to them, as if propelled by the great mechanic, even as a piece of machine in good order responds automatically to the call of the mechanist. A votary of God consciously becomes like a machine in the hands of the Master Mechanic."

This is the essence of Self-surrender, which forms an essential ingredient of Guru Nanak's gospel.

The following stories from Guru Nanak's life rendered into English by me, would throw some more light on Guru Nanak's ideology and way of life:

# 1

## GURU NANAK'S SENSE OF THE DRAMATIC

As the Master left the home,  
A comic sight he did present,  
A coffin round his neck he wore  
And a bony garland,



On his brow a saffron mark,  
 On his feet a shoe and sandal,  
 Leathern shoe and wooden sandal,  
 And the garment green and white,  
 Semi-white and semi-green,  
 On the head a Qalandar's cap.  
 Symbols of a mystic mind!  
 Reckling not of taunts and gibes,  
 Spurning praise and blame alike,  
 Of this stuff are heroes made.

At Haridwar, the sacred place,  
 Bathed by the glorious Ganga,  
 Flapping hands to make a cup  
 They flung the pearly, limpid water  
 In the east and up on high,  
 Oblations to the gods and fathers,  
 To reach the Hades and the Heaven.  
 Behold, the Master turning West,  
 Working with his might and main,  
 Throwing Water to the West,  
 Never ceasing, never resting,  
 And the face was full of fun!

It was indeed, a rare sight,  
 That turned the gaze of those who saw,  
 "What are you at," surprised they said,  
 "What are *you* at," rejoined the Master.  
 "Oblations do we offer all,  
 To the gods and those deceased,  
 In the distant land of Hades."  
 "I do *water* but the fields,  
 The farm I left at Kartapore."  
 "How could and would the water reach,  
 Thy distant farm and fields afar?"  
 "As the water flung by you  
 Would reach the land of Hades afar."  
 And the eyes were opened wide,  
 As the Master sang of God,  
 The God in Man and all it means.  
 The lamp was lit and light was great.

## 2

"GLORY TO HIM WHOSE GLORY WE ARE"  
 There came a host from far and near,  
 To see a wonderful, beautiful sight,  
 Nanak bowed at Lehna's feet,  
 With folded hands and bended head,  
 And sweetly said to Lehna thus,  
 "Lehna, thou art Angad now,  
 A limb of limb and part of me,  
 Hold aloft the torch I held,  
 And preach abroad the Name of God;  
 To be at one with Soul Divine  
 Is the end and aim of life."  
 And as the Master laid his head  
 At the feet of loved Lehna,  
 Lehna's heart was filled with anguish.  
 "Holy Nanak bowing low

At the feet of lowly Angad!"  
 This the torment of his soul.  
 The Master saw the anguished heart;  
 In accents low and loving said,  
 "I bowed not at the feet of Angad,  
 I bowed to Him who dwells in thee,  
 Who dwells in man and bird and beast,  
 And is Life and Light of all."

## 3

GURU NANAK AND THE JASMINE FLOWER  
 Multan, a town of saintly fame,  
 Full of saints, reputed saints,  
 Form of saints, without the soul,  
 Full of Self and Selfishness,  
 As the Guru near'd the town,  
 Fear and flurry shook them all,  
 "He might, he might, eclipse us all."  
 A cup of milk was sent to him,  
 To show, the town was full to brim,  
 With sweet, good souls, *he* need not come.  
 He saw the sign and softly dropped  
 A little, tiny floweret  
 Of Spotless, white jasmine,  
 To show to them who sent the milk,  
 That he'd dwell like jasmine,  
 To cause no pain, to give delight,  
 To do no harm, to live to serve.  
 Meek and humble, sweet and pure,  
 Thus to live, and thus to be,  
 This indeed, is Nanak's creed,  
 This indeed, the soul of it.

## 4

AT ONE-MENT WITH GOD  
*(As indicated by the Guru)*  
 In the blessed state of Nam,  
 When the self is lost to us,  
 We cease to think, we do not think,  
 No thought of pleasure, pain or grief,  
 Hopes and fears cease to be;  
 Silence deep, no sense of self,  
 The self is merged in greater Self,  
 Like a drop in shoreless sea;  
 The little self is lost to view,  
 And is merged in boundless Bliss,  
 We rise above self-consciousness,  
 A state of super-consciousness,  
 No feeling then of 'I-ness,'  
 Nor of Heaven, nor of Earth  
 Nor of any thinking thought,  
 Oneness only with the One,  
 Wedlock of the Soul and God.  
 He alone doth know the bliss  
 Who hath tasted nectar sweet  
 Of Nam, the blessed Nam, indeed,  
 Of which the Master sang so oft  
 The sacred apex of his creed.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**HISTORY OF THE CANDELLAS OF JEJAKA-BHUKTI:** By Nema Sadhan Bose, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London). Published by K. L. Mukhopadhyaya. Calcutta. 1966. Pp. 213 and one map. Price Rs. 10.

It is a welcome sign of the times that the intensive study of the dynastic histories of Ancient India which was started many years ago by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and other scholars is keeping pace with the recent trends towards preparation of full-scale histories on the subject. In the scholarly and well-documented work under notice, the author has attempted with commendable judgment and thoroughness to trace the history of a dynasty which played no mean part on the stage of northern Indian history during the interval between the death of Harsha and the conquest of the country by the Muslim Turks. The work consists of eight chapters of which the first five deal successively with the origin and early history of the Chandellas, their rise to power, the attainment of their zenith, their temporary decline and revival and their final collapse, while the following chapter describes their system of administration. The seventh chapter describes the state of society and religion, as well as the art and architecture in the kingdom under their rule, while the concluding chapter attempts an estimate of their historical significance. Aptly enough a map of the Chandella kingdom along with the neighbouring powers is given at the beginning of the work, while three appendices, a genealogical table, a select bibliography and a complete list of inscriptions with an index bring it to a close. Dr. A. L. Basham of the School of Oriental Studies (London), contributes an appreciative Foreword.

Without detracting from the undoubted merits of this work, we may make a few remarks. In cautiously accepting R. V. Russell's hypothesis of descent of the Chandellas from the Hinduised Bhars, the author has not cared to consider the general criticism (G. S. Ghurye: *Castes and Races of India*, pp. 113-14) that the theory of the foreign and aboriginal origin of the Rajputs is not supported by the data of physical anthropology. The author's account of the administration as well as the state of society and religion, under the Chandellas would have gained in weight by comparison with the parallel pictures of the conditions prevailing in the contemporary States of Northern India. In his account of the Chandella administration, the author has ignored the interpretations of the fiscal terms *bhagabhogakara* and *haranya* suggested by the present writer in his work *Hindu Revenue System*. The author's attempt to explain away the references to degraded Jaina and Buddhist monks in Krishnamisra's *Prabodha-chandrodaya* drama does not

carry conviction. His failure to add a few illustrations of the typical specimens of Chandella architecture and sculpture deprives his account of much of its concreteness. The complete absence of diacritical marks is regrettable.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI:** By Nirmal Kumar Bose. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. xxiii + 311. Price Rs. 2.

Mahatma Gandhi writes in his *Foreword* (Amki, Noakhali, 30.1.47): "The selections made by the professor show the thoroughness with which he had gone into his subject." Even to a casual reader of the book, this utterance of Gandhiji will appear apt and appropriate. The Gandhian literature is vast and varied. To make selections from this huge literature is no doubt a Herculean task. Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose took upon himself this task of selection in 1934. Since then the literature was added to in various aspects. Prof. Bose has brought the selections down to 1942 with some casual additions from Gandhiji's later writings. In his Preface, Prof. Bose has tried to unfold and explain briefly the spirit of Gandhian literature. He writes:

"Gandhiji has never written merely for the pleasure of writing. Thought and writing have always been tools with him for more efficient action. They have been used either to clear a knotty problem in his own mind or i that of his co-workers. His writings, therefore, do not exactly give a correct representation of what he actually is, but what he always tries to be. It is a record of ideals and aspirations, which have confronted him from time to time, and also how he has been able to meet them more or less successfully in the course of life's experiments. The reader should approach this book of selection with that reservation in mind. Then he will be able to gather whatever help he can in the pursuit of his own ideal."

The book has been divided in eighteen chapters, besides the Introduction and the Index, namely, I. God, II. Discipline for the Realization of Truth, III. Fundamental Beliefs and Ideas, IV. Gospel of Work, V. Industrial Organization: Old and New, VI. The Distribution of Wealth, VII. A Chapter on 'Class War', VIII. The Congress in Relation to the Classes and the Masses, IX. Political Self-government, X. India's Freedom: Ways and Means, XI. Non-violence, XII. Duty in the Midst of World Wars, XIII. Satyagrahi, XIV. The Life of the Satyagrahi, XV. Religion and Morals, XVI. Women's Problems, XVII. On Education and XVIII. Miscellaneous.

Mahatma Gandhi is known to the moderns as a first-rank patriot who led freedom movement for more than two decades. But he was a first-class thinker, too.

There was no sphere of our national life which did not attract his attention. He was an idealist to boot. He placed an idealism before the nation, unique in character. Nay, his ideal of Non-violence has come to stay. Even, peoples, other than Indians, are now trying to act up to the spirit of non-violence. How far their common endeavours will be successful in avoiding the Third World War, let us wait and see. This book should be a constant companion for every Indian, and also for others who wish well of mankind. We commend this book to our readers for repeated perusal.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

**THE PHILOSOPHY OF JNANADEVA:** By B. P. Bahirat, M.A. Published by the Pandharpur Research Society, Pandharpur (India). Price Rs. 6.

The book under review is an attempt at exposition of the main tenets of the philosophical system of Jnanadeva, the eminent Maharastrian saint. He has a just claim for being recognised as a good philosopher and an eminent poet. His *Jnaneshwari*, a commentary on the Bhagavadgita, needs to be understood by the serious students of Indian philosophy. His masterly work on philosophy is *Amritanubhava* and it contains an elaboration of his metaphysical position. His treatise is written in Marathi and as such inaccessible to those who do not know this rich language of the South. It is a pity that the metaphysical position of this great thinker has remained unknown to us for such a long time. May be, it is due to the acts of omission of two of our eminent chroniclers of the history of Indian philosophy, viz., Dr. Dasgupta and Dr. Radhakrishnan. Jnanadeva lived in the thirteenth century and it was he who first wrote an original metaphysical treatise in Marathi.

Jnanadeva's philosophy presents a consistent world view vis-a-vis the Absolute, the ground of all existence and reality. He is a Vedantist and his way of thinking differs from Samkara in that he recognised *maya* as a real cosmic Force. His theory of *chidvilas* is certainly a departure from Shamkara and he advocates for a path of 'loving devotion and selfless activism.' The Absolute's power is the power of love. Love is identified with godhead wherefrom everything flows spontaneously. To realise this Fountainhead of divine love one must take to the path of *bhakti* or supreme devotion. Therein lies salvation for mankind. Thus Jnanadeva wanted to improve upon the concept of the Absolute as held by the Samkarites and the Shaivaites of Kashmir. Absolute was not only knowledge and power, He was something more. He was Love.

The author deserves a word of praise for presenting to the English-knowing people the life and philosophy of this little known master of the thirteenth century. The importance of such a book cannot be over-emphasised. We would only suggest to the author a more careful scrutiny of his evaluations and a more detailed ratiocination before any conclusion is actually arrived at. Many of his conclusions seemed to be abrupt and drawn post-haste. Mere dogmatic assertions do not carry much weight in a philosophical treatise. Samkara's position should have been more carefully scrutinised and the considered opinions of Erc. P. T. Raju and Dr. Pendse should have been rejected less summarily. The style of the author is halting and leaves room for improvement. We congratulate the publishers for their neat printing and nice set-up.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

**INTRODUCTION TO THE BHAGAVAD-GITA:** By D. S. Sarma, M.A. Published by International Book House, Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay-1. Pp. 69. Price Rs. 2-4.

The learned author of the booklet under review is a distinguished professor now in retirement and well-known writer of nine excellent books on Hindu religion and culture. Some of his books are widely read and warmly appreciated throughout India by the reading public. The present book now in second and revised edition was first published in book-form in 1940 under the title *Krishna and His Songs*. In the same year it appeared in the form of several articles in the *Aryan Path* of Bombay.

The booklet, divided into eight short chapters, discusses clearly the God of the Gita, Karma Yoga, Bhakti Yoga, Jnana Yoga, Swadharma and other interesting subjects. When Arjun was perplexed about his duty in the battle-field of Kurukshetra, Sri Krishna pointed out to him clearly the doctrine of Swadharma which is undoubtedly the Gospel of the Gita. According to this popular scripture the natural aptitudes and endowments of a man cannot be ignored in any scheme of spiritual discipline. They are to be neither suppressed nor indulged but wisely controlled and properly directed. If that is done dispassionately man advances steadily in the scale of evolution and finally attains salvation.

Prof. Sarma's writing is wonderfully elegant and impressive. The title of the booklet is literally correct and meaningful. Hence, this booklet deserves wide publicity and careful perusal by the primary students of the Gita. To the reader of this interesting introduction, the Gita will certainly appear in a new light and new meaning.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**MARXISM:** By Dr. K. P. Mukerji, M.A., B.L., D.Phil. Published by the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon, Ltd., Colombo. Pp. 74. Price Re. 1-8.

In these few pages Dr. Mukerji has examined the theories and effects of the Marxian philosophy on modern mind and society. Marxism is the most commended and worst condemned philosophy and economics in the present-day world, and any discussion of the subject is welcome to general readers who want to know Marxism in its true perspective. At the beginning the author discusses the philosophical aspect of the Marxian theories and comes to the conclusion that while Hegelianism is consistent in itself, Marxism does not stand "logical scrutiny and as such it is not tenable and acceptable as a true theory explaining dialectics as a materialistic philosophy unlike that of Hegel's. According to the author, Marx is a scientist and his failure comes from his pose as a philosopher—revealer of the ultimate Truth or Reality. As a scientist Marx was a dealer in partial truths, as all scientists are.

Judging from the socio-historical aspect, the author opines that Marx's explanation of social evolution and the interpretation of history is also defective. Besides Marxian theories have become more or less dogmatic in the hands of his disciples unthought of by Marx or Engels. In the words of the author, "If mechanistic materialism is an illusion, dialectical materialism is a contradiction in terms." "Marx explained everything except himself and the martyr."

The author finally discusses the politico-economic aspect of Marxism. When the ideal of "from each



## HINDI

according to ability and to each according to needs, is attained the State will become superfluous and will just wither away." This is the highest phase of Communism. Here also Marx's theories are vulnerable and as such are not acceptable. At some points, particularly in regard to "withering of the State" Marx's opinion agrees with that of Tolstoy, Kropotkin or even Gandhi in spite of the fact that their other differences are as wide as ever.

Yet Marx is a strong force in the world, stronger than any we had in the past. It is not for the contribution Marxian theories have made to existing knowledge of philosophy, history or economics and other allied subjects but for the deep sympathy Marx has shown to human problems of the down-trodden and the neglected together with the idealism he preached for the common man and woman irrespective of national and economic differences that divided people in the existing society, that Marxism has come to stay. With all its modifications and varied interpretations as made by Lenin and Stalin a new society and a new civilization are being created in the Soviet countries by conscious efforts of man. This is a phenomenon which has its reactions on the rest of the civilized world, which in its turn is getting transformed in spite of its conflicts with the Communistic ideals of the society. Thus Marx's contributions are of greatest importance to the modern thinkers of social and political sciences. Marx's theories have the force of a religion and as such it is having tremendous influence in our times. About the lasting contribution of Marx, the author mentions the following: (a) recognition of the necessity of improving the secular lot of the common people, (b) the emphasis on the idea of unearned increment and need of a better distribution of national dividend, (c) idea of Stateless society and an international outlook, and (d) positive indication about man's ability to make conscious history.

The book in a small compass deals with the various aspects of Marxism and although not a sympathetic or biased study of the subject, is an admirable criticism and analysis of Marxism which the students of Marxian philosophy and general readers interested in the subject will find illuminating, interesting and thought-provoking.

A. B. DATTA

## BENGALI

**MAMAR DESH:** By Amar Kumar Datta. To be had of Barendra Library, 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price 12 annas.

Hunting desperately for an entertaining one-act comedy that could be easily staged by college-students, we at last came upon one *Mamar Desh* (My Uncle's Land), on the pages of the *Prabasi*, Magh, 1360 B.S. The innocent comic note of the play greatly delighted us and our students successfully presented it before an appreciative audience. We had many enquiries since then about the play and now we are gratified to note that it has come out in the form of a neat booklet. A decent comedy of this type is so rare in Bengali that it cannot fail to attract the notice of interested readers and observers. The play is composed of very amusing situations caused by the 'printer's devil.' The characters are vivid with all their individual traits and mannerism. Short and balanced, witty and restrained, it deserves recognition as a piece of good light literature.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

**REED KI HADDI:** Compiled by Vishnu Prabhakar. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 147. Price Re. 1-8.

This is a collection of eight one-act plays by some of the leading present-day playwrights in Hindi—Dr. Ramakumar Verma, Shri Udayshankar Bhatt, Shri Upendranath "Ashk", Seth Govind Das, Shri Hari-krishna Premi, Shri Satyendra Sharat, Shri Jagadish-chanda Mathur and the compiler, who has also contributed an informative preface pertaining to the history of one-act-play-writing in Hindi. The themes covered by the playwrights are mostly social but there are also historical as well as political ones, the silvery thread which runs through all, being, however, the intensely human note. The plays are all A-1 and stageworthy, so fluently fine (or finely fluent?) is their diction, so vivid their *milieu* and so quick-witted and concretely cognate is their dialogue. All the playwrights have, indeed, touched great heights and, thus made a distinct and valuable contribution to modern Hindi literature, with the result that the Hindi one-act play has today come to stay.

**SHRI GITA CHAUPAI:** By Dhannalal J. Agrawal. Available from the author, Sanskrit Gnana-shala, Nasik. Pp. 151. Price Re. 1-4 and glazed paper Re. 1-8.

This is a very commendable translation into Hindi *Chaupai* (quatrains) of the *Bhagavada-Gita*, ideally suited for individual as well as congregational recitation.

**GANDHIJI KI SANKHSHIPT ATMAKATHA:** Abridged by Mathuradas Trikamji. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-9. Pp. 260. Price Re. 1-8.

This is a Hindi translation by Shri Kashinath Trivedi of an abridgment of Gandhiji's autobiography, made originally in Gujarati by the late Shri Mathuradas Trikamji. It is intended primarily for students and youths who are sure to find the book handy, easily readable and inspiring.

G. M.

## GUJARATI

**SAGVINI GAZALO:** By G. M. Sagvi. Printed at the Excel Printers, Bombay. 1951. Cloth bound. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 100. Price Rs. 2.

Fifty-four *gazals*, in the style of the *gazal* writers of the present days are printed in this small book. They bear promise of development and are potentially of value, showing that the writer has ideas which are progressing in the right direction, e.g., No. 13. Who knows?

**SULAKSHANI NARI** (Well-behaved Woman): By Pirojshah Palanji Damri. Printed at the Bhavnagar Samachar Press, Bhavnagar. 1951. Paper cover. Pp. 88. Price not mentioned.

Mr. Damri is a student of Gujarati literature though a Parsi and is fond of collecting and publishing noble thoughts culled from it. Before this he has published a book called *Golden Advice and A Tray of Flowers*. In the book under notice he has collected from the poetical works of the well-known Kavi Dalpatram Dahyabhai (K.D.D.) and a few other pieces as to how a woman should behave in order to become a virtuous and a well-mannered woman.

K. M. J.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*Some Aspects of Economic Growth in Underdeveloped Countries:* By Prof. J. L. Dholakia. Published by Prof. P. G. Mavalankar, Hon. Director, Farold Laski Institute of Political Science, Mavalankar's Haveli, Bhadra, Ahmedabad-1. Pp. 87. Price Re. 1.

*We, The People of India:* By Prof. K. N. Vaswani, author of *Glimpses of Ancient Glory*. Bharat Sevak Selections, No. 5. Pp. 64. Price not mentioned.

*Some Problems of National Planning:* By Raghuraj G. Published by Priti Rani, Gokulpeth, Nagpur-1. Pp. 93. Price Re. 1-8.

*A Model Administrator:* By Ranji Shahani. Published by Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay-1. A brief sketch of Shri Morarji R. Desai, the man and his achievements. Pp. 32. Price Re. 1.

*Towards a Socialistic Order:* By Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. Second edition. 1956. Pp. 66. Price As. 8.

*The Socialistic Pattern* (In terms of the Congress Resolutions): Edited by Shriman Narayan. Second edition. October, 1956. Pp. 38. Price As. 6.

*India and China:* By Shriman Narayan. A comparative study. Pp. 27. Price As. 4.

*Tunisia:* By Miss Mukul Mukherjee. Pp. 23. Price As. 4.

*Personal Behaviour:* By Sri Prakasa. Pp. 19. Price As. 3.

*One Week with Vinoba:* By Shriman Narayan. Illustrated. Pp. 58. Price As. 8.

All the six pamphlets mentioned above are published by the All-India Congress Committee (Publications Department), 7, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.

*Our Second Five-Year Plan:* Pp. 72. Price As. 6.

*Foreign Aid for the Plan:* Illustrated. Pp. 22. Price As. 8.

*Iron and Steel:* Illustrated. Pp. 16. Price As. 6.

The above three pamphlets are published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Old Secretariat Delhi-8.

*Public Libraries for Asia:* The Delhi Seminar. Unesco Public Library Manuals Series No. 7. Published in 1956 by the Unesco, 19 Avenue Kleber Paris-16e. Illustrated. Pp. 165. Price \$1.50, 7sh. 6d 400fr.

Contributions to this book bring out the main problems peculiar to the public library movement in Asia and propose practical solutions. Public library statistics for 20 Asian countries are also given.

*A Guide to Bibliographic Tools for Research in Foreign Affairs:* Published by the Information and Publications Office, The Library of Congress, Washington-25, D.C. 1956. Pp. 145. Price \$1.10.

This bibliography is compiled by Helen F. Conover to serve as a guide for initial steps in reference work relating to international studies of current affairs of the world. It contains bibliographies, manuals, indexes, surveys and other publications of value to the American librarian or student doing preliminary research on the political and economic scene abroad.

*Documents Related to the Implementation of the Geneva Agreements Concerning Vietnam:* Published by the Press and Information Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Indian Culture in Indonesia

H. I. S. Kanwar writes in *The Aryan Path* :

One of the earliest references to Indonesia is found in the Ramayana, which mentions Suvarnadvipa, or the Isle of Gold (meaning wealth-producing land), and Javadvipa thus: "With all your efforts reach Yavadvipa, adorned with seven kingdoms, the island of gold and silver, rich with mines of gold."

The writings of Ptolemy, the ancient Alexandrian geographer and astronomer, reveal that there were Indian colonists and traders not only in Burma and Malaya but also in Indonesia and Indo-China. Ptolemy mentions that the island of Iabidiu (the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit name *Javadvipa*, modern Java) thus: "Iabidiu, which means the isle of barley, is said to be of extraordinary fertility and produces gold in abundance."

In spite of the fact that the Hindu *shastras* were believed to forbid emigration, Indian traders ventured across the Bay of Bengal to ply their trade in gold, ivory, rhinoceros horn, cloves and camphor. Stories of the fabulous wealth of Indonesia soon spread in India, creating great interest. Indian scholars familiar with Sanskrit accompanied the traders to study the land in all its aspects. Then a strange thing happened; the inhabitants appreciated the doctrines of these scholars so much that by gradual stages they found themselves converted to Hinduism and Buddhism.

How did this happen? Some historians relate that Indonesia received wave after wave of immigrants from the mainland of Asia.

The first distinct wave occurred around 3,000 B.C., when the immigrants appear to have come from Yunnan in South China and, spreading south, to have branched off into two streams, one moving to India along its eastern coast and the other through Burma and Malaya and finally to Indonesia and the Moluccas. The second distinct wave was about 300 B.C., when the adventurers came down the same route, this time fanning out as far as New Guinea, where to this day Indonesian culture flourishes. With the lapse of time, the culture of the two waves fused together into Indonesian civilization, which existed until the impact of Hindu civilization transformed it.

Similarly, during the first thousand years of this era, there were four or five waves of colonization by Indian adventurers all over the East. Though scattered, their colonies were "mainly on strategic points and on trade routes." Sailing down the west coast of Malaya, they reached Singhapura the "Lion City," Sumatra and Java.

That Indonesia was a highly civilized and flourishing state has been confirmed in both Indian and Chinese documents, which mention that Davavarman, a king of Java, sent an ambassador to China in 132 A.D., and in return received a golden seal and a violet ribbon from the then Chinese Emperor. An earlier Chinese record, dated about 20 A.D., includes

a description of Indonesia, referred to by the Chinese chronicler as "Je-tio." Another document, the *Niddesa*, dated about the late second century, mentions the places which a navigator might visit along the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, and, when dealing with Java and Sumatra, mentions places with strange designations such as "Sankupantha" (which could be climbed only with the aid of spikes), "Chhatrapantha" (where umbrellas were to be used as parachutes for descending) and "Sakunapantha" (to which birds served as guides).

The above facts are confirmed in the writings of that famous Chinese traveller, Fa-Hien, who visited Java in 414 A.D. and recorded that the inhabitants were either Brahmins or pagans, and that there were even a few Buddhists. In western Java are several Sanskrit inscriptions dating back to the third and fourth centuries. One refers to the Hindu king Purnavarman, ruler of the State of Tarumangara in western Java, comparing his foot-prints with those of Vishnu, and another to the digging of the Gomati and Chandrabhaga canals. There also exist in western Java ancient shrines dedicated to Brahmanical gods. The inscriptions are said to be in the script called the Pallava Grantha.

In the fourth century, when the Shrivijaya Empire came to exist, several Indian scholars visited Indonesia. A most notable visitor was Shrijnan Dipankar, who met there Acharya Chandra Kirti, the eminent Buddhist scholar, and declared Shrivijaya the headquarters of Buddhism in the East. Prince Gunavarman, another eminent Buddhist scholar and missionary, ventured from his native Kashmir in 420 A.D. to spread his gospel in Indonesia. His activities were mainly confined to Sumatra, owing to which Buddhism flourished there in a purer form. In 423 A.D., Gunavarman spent some time in Java en route to China. The teachings of these Indian scholars were an important influence in the emerging of Buddhism as the predominant faith in Indonesia by the sixth century, and gave rise to a more refined culture.

Right up to about 1400 A.D., for almost a thousand years, Buddhism and Brahmanism flourished side by side.

Hinduism and Buddhism acting as unifying forces, the power of Indonesia grew rapidly. With the conversion of all the princes, their petty squabbles disappeared. From this emerged the mighty Shrivijaya Empire which flourished for about seven hundred years. A great naval power based on trade and commerce, it reached its peak in the eleventh century, then holding sway over Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Malaya, the Philippines, part of Indo-China, Formosa, Ceylon and south-eastern India. It was a home of culture and learning, where Chinese scholars on their way to India stayed for considerable periods, collecting Buddhist manuscripts and studying Buddhist philosophy, and thus acquiring Buddhist knowledge prior to landing in India. The revenues of some villages in



Bihar were devoted to the support of a Shrivijaya house in the Buddhist University of Nalanda.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, Java completely conquered the Sailendra Empire of Shrivijaya, later becoming the seat of the Hindu Empire of Majapahit, which had risen in east Java to spread over Indonesia. During the rise of the Majapahit, there were internal conflicts amongst the various potentates, the weaker ones being eliminated, which in a way aided the unification of Indonesia. There was rapid expansion of trade, commerce and naval power, so much so that many neighbouring lands, including Thailand, came under its sway. The Majapahit Empire had a highly centralized and efficient form of government, which evolved excellent systems of taxation, customs, tolls and revenue. There were colonial, commerce, public-welfare, health, interior and war departments, and a supreme court with two presiding judges and seven other judges. Trade was mainly with India and China and its colonies. This empire lasted nearly two hundred years, attaining its peak from 1355 to 1380. Soon after, decay set in following the famine of 1426, and the empire vanished in the same way as its predecessor, its doom being hurried on by the ever-growing force of Islam in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

When the Hindu colonists and Buddhist missionaries set foot in Indonesia to introduce Indian culture they found a flourishing Indonesian culture, and, when the two cultures met, their fusion resulted in a new culture comprising the best of both. As a consequence, the art of Indonesia is a mixture of Hindu-Buddhist and Hindu-Javanese arts which have been used to express the ideas deeply rooted in the native ancestor cult. It was but inevitable that, initially, art in Indonesia should be predominantly Indian in character, but later it gradually adapted itself to native ideals.

Several ancient monuments and inscriptions and traditions existing in Indonesia, especially in Java, are a living evidence of the influence of Indian culture. A Malay inscription, dated 684 A.D., of Mahayana Buddhist ruler of Shrivijaya named Jayanasa, speaks of the Vajrayana school of thought developed in Bengal in the mid-seventh century, whose first preacher was Saraha, once head of the Nalanda University. It is the earliest evidence of Mahayana Buddhism in Indonesia. Since Anangavajra, a son of Gopala, the founder of the Pala dynasty of Bengal, appears to have been a contemporary of the Sumatran Jayanasa, it is, indeed, amazing that the new doctrine should almost simultaneously become prominent at places far apart.

There is the interesting Janggal inscription in central Java, dated 760 A.D., recording the consecration of the Maharishi Agastya. From a later inscription in Javanese, dated 863 A.D., mentioning Agastya's descendants as having settled there, it appears that the Maharishi may have ventured across the Bay of Bengal in the early Indian colonization period.

At Kalasan, also in central Java, exists an inscription, dated 778 A.D., said to be in a North Indian script, recording the erection of a temple of the Mahayana goddess Tara. Since a similar script was in vogue in far-off Nalanda about the ninth century, there is evidence to show that this worship could have come only from the Palas of Bengal, a fact supported by another inscription in the same script at Kelurak, which refers to the Rajaguru's arrival

from Guditvipa (the old name for Bengal) to "purify with the holy dust of his feet" the Sailendra king of central Java. Noted archaeologists, taking into consideration inscriptions of the same period in Java and Bengal, opine that the Sailendra king wedded the daughter of the Bengal king Dharampala, named Tara, who was eventually influential in having the temple of Tara built at Kalasan. All this suggests that Shrivijaya received Mahayana Buddhism from Bengal.

The oldest monuments of Java are the Hindu temples in the Dieng Plateau, dating back to the beginning of the eighth or even the late seventh century. The Mahayana Buddha Temple of Borobudur is a marvel not only of Indo-Javanese but also of temple architecture. The entire life of Buddha is depicted in rare sculptures and reliefs for the benefit of the worshippers, who were mostly illiterate. The temple covers a whole hill carved into a *stupa*, its walls adorned with exquisite bas-reliefs relating the Mahayana legends, which are so planned that as one moves from the lower to the upper storeys there is a feeling of rising to higher spiritual levels.

In the ninth century one finds the grand Brahmanical temple of Prambanan with its wonderful stone reliefs from the Ramayana legends, a tradition carried down to the thirteenth century, as shown by the Panataran group of temples in east Java representing similar Ramayana scenes, though in the Javanese shadow-figure (*wayang*) style. The Mahabharata stories, with the Krishna legends, also appeared in sculptured figures, puppets and shadow-plays based on the Javanese versions which inspire the Indonesians even today, after their conversion to Islam. In the

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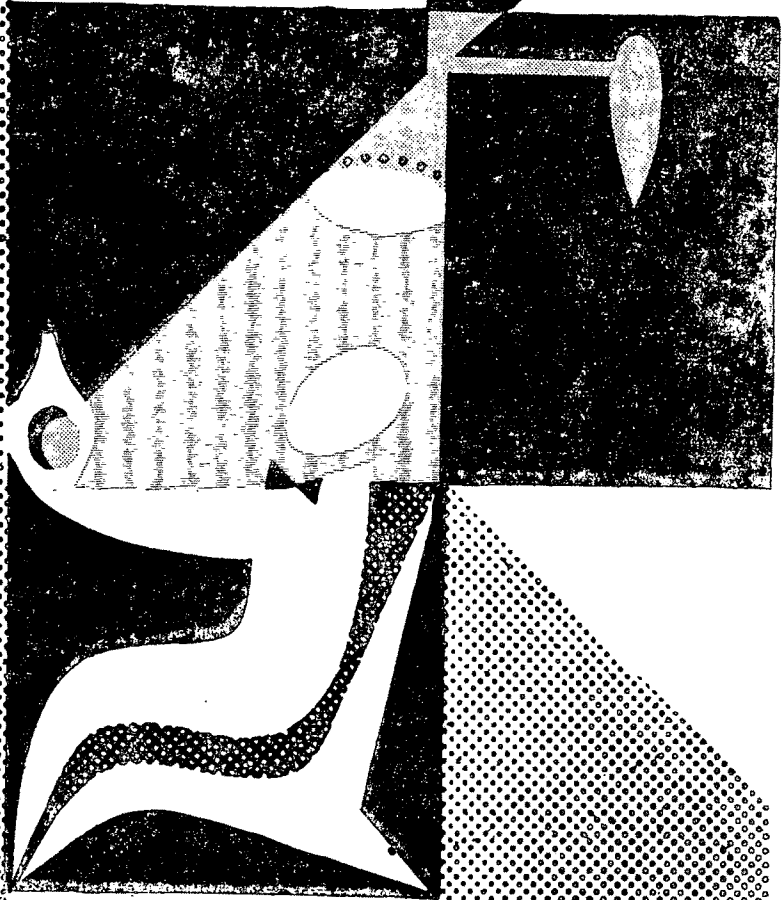
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second half of the ninth century, Hinduism again became the predominating faith in central Java; but Buddhism and it continued side by side. During the last centuries of the Hindu-Javanese period, when the mystical and magical ideas of the *Tantras* began to influence Buddhism as well as Hinduism, strong tendencies towards a syncretism of the two religions made themselves evident.

The art, language, literature and political and social institutions of Java bear an unmistakable impress of Indian ideas to this day. The spirit of Javanese poetry, drama, music and dancing is close to the Indian, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata having played a very important part in the development of these fine arts. The epics of the Hindus as well as many of their Puranas are still available in Javanese versions. Some of the scientific and medical texts of India are among the literary remains of ancient Java. Shiva was a popular deity of the ancient Javanese; as was also Shakti or Devi. Images of Ganesha and Kartikeya have been unearthed in Java. Vishnu with his carrier Garuda is represented in the sculptures found there.

The influence of Borneo is attested by several Sanskrit inscriptions of the fifth century, acknowledging gifts of gold and cows to Brahmins, who were an important element of the population there. Brahmanical rites and ceremonies found great favour at the court. Sandstone images unearthed in Borneo include those of Hindu gods—Shiva, Ganesha, Nandi, Agastya, Brahma and Mahakali. A few are of Buddhist figures. Mention may also be made of the seven gold figures of the Buddha and several Bodhisattvas recently discovered in West Borneo. Their exquisite style and workmanship are characteristically Indian.

The greatest living monument to the influence of Indian culture is the wonder isle of Bali. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, when Islam spread over Sumatra and Java, its march halted on the shores of Bali. Instead of erecting mosques to Mohammed, the people continued to build elaborate stone and brick temples to their Hindu gods—and still do.

There is a large number of shrines to Shiva, Visnu and Brahma in Bali.

In Indonesia, the Indian immigrants are still known as "Orang Kaling," a survival of the name Kainga, by which the people of Orissa were known. In the third century, the Kalingas and the Andhras of Orissa and Vengi laid the foundation of Indianized States in these islands. The expansive movement of Indian culture had its heyday in Java, the Hindu basis of whose culture has been a marvel of India's cultural colonization. It was a prince of Kalinga who inaugurated this movement by founding a Hindu State in Java in the first century. Later there came into existence another Hindu kingdom in central Java, which was called Ho-Ling or Kalinga, after the name of the original homeland of the colonists. The Saichandra dynasty, which became so famous in south-east Asia, is believed to have come originally from Orissa, which then was a stronghold of Buddhism despite the ruling dynasty being Brahmanical.

One of the greatest tributes to the influence of Indian culture and art in Indonesia is paid by Havell in his book *The Ideals of Indian Art*:

"Indian art in Java has a character of its own which distinguishes it from that of the continent from whence it came. There runs through both the same strain of deep serenity, but in the divine ideal of Java

we lose the austere feeling which characterises the Hindu sculpture of Elephanta and Mamallapuram. There is more of human contentment and joy in Indo-Javanese Art, an expression of that peaceful security which Indian colonists enjoyed in their happy island home, after the centuries of storm and struggle which their forefathers had experienced on the mainland."

### Annus Mirabilis—The Year of Wonders *The Maha Bodhi* writes editorially:

Sixty-five years have passed since Anagarika Dharmapala founded what was then known as the Budh-Gaya Maha Bodhi Society, thus inaugurating the great movement for the revival of Buddhism in the land of its birth. Searching the rolls of the Society's history, we find that almost every one of these five-and-sixty years is distinguished by some great achievement or other, some forward step by means of which we were brought a little nearer to our goal. But never, we feel, was any single year so filled with events of far-reaching significance, with what promise to be enduring solid achievements, as that which has just passed over our heads; never has the pace of our advance been so rapid; never before was it possible to do so much in so short a time.

Three events of 1956 stand out as being of very special importance and significance. First, of course, there was the inauguration, in May, of the celebrations held to commemorate the 2500th Anniversary of the Parinirvana of the Lord Buddha. These celebrations, which were sponsored by the Government of India, reached their climax in New Delhi last month, and even now have by no means exhausted their momentum. They will, in fact, continue until next May. Second, on October 14th the great Scheduled Caste leader, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, embraced Buddhism at Nagpur along with half a million followers. Third, as though to bless all that had been accomplished this year, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and His Holiness the Panchen Lama arrived at the end of November in New Delhi, whence, after participating in the 2500th Buddha Jayanti celebrations, they have gone on pilgrimage to the holy places. These events, together with a multitude of hardly less important associated events, have undoubtedly made a deep impression on the minds of at least the thinking section of the Indian public. Buddhism, they now realize, has become a factor to be reckoned with in Indian affairs. Indeed, it is by no means devoid even of global significance. There are people in India who feel uncomfortable in the presence of such facts. Some of them have attempted to stem the rising tide of Buddhism. But their efforts have met with no success. Doubtless the historians of the future will aver that the year 1956 marks the real emergence of Buddhism as a spiritual, cultural and social force in India. If that be so, this year may indeed be described as "The Year of Wonders."

### Nepal—Impressions and Reflections of a Visitor

Bishop Alexander Mar Theophilus writes in *National Christian Council Review*:

Nepal is the only country in the world at the present time which is ruled by a Hindu ruler with absolute authority. It has been the avowed intention



of those in authority in the country to keep it as a State in which the earlier religions will not be 'contaminated' by the inroads of foreign religions. The new penal code is known to stipulate that a Nepali citizen who embraces a foreign religion is liable to be punished by imprisonment. In spite of the fact that Nepal was almost cut off from the rest of the world by the Himalaya mountains, about two centuries ago the Roman Catholic Church went into Nepal and started work in Patan near Kathmandu. But they were expelled from the state on being suspected of taking part in politics. Ever since that time no one has been permitted to propagate any other religion besides Hinduism and Buddhism which are regarded as native to Nepal. One of the famous temples in Kathmandu called Pasupati temple is reputed to have been founded by Sri Sankaracharya from India many centuries ago. Gautama Buddha, it will be recalled, was born in Nepal. Buddhism is having a revival in Nepal and the neighbouring countries.

At the present time Nepal is steadily coming into contact with the rest of the world. She is now a member of the U.N. and as a result of this, member-nations of the U.N. are getting admitted into Nepal for development purposes and technical aid. Nepal is very badly in need of development on Economic, Educational and Health lines especially. The U.S.O.M. has been working in Nepal since 1951 helping with Agriculture, Teachers' training and other development programmes. The Indian Army has been invited to help in training the Nepalese Army. People

from India are allowed to pursue business and trade within Nepal. Many Nepalese come to India for education in the Universities. The Colleges in Nepal are all affiliated to the University of Patna in India.

Till recently communication with Nepal from India has been across the Himalaya mountains. Even now the easiest route from Kathmandu to certain places in Nepal lies through parts of North India. Communications to many places within Nepal are yet to be developed. But in recent years there are plane services to Kathmandu from Patna and a few other places. A road also has been constructed across the mountains which are now negotiated by jeeps and trucks.

The need for reaching Nepal with the Gospel was felt by Christians and Missions in India for many years past. The avowed opposition to the preaching of the Gospel had to be faced. There were many missionaries working on the borders of Nepal waiting prayerfully for an opportunity to reach Nepal with the Gospel. As a result of their work some of those of Nepali origin, living in places like Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Raxaul, on the border of India, have accepted Christ and they also have been praying for an opportunity to take the Gospel to Nepal. Though of Nepalese origin and speaking the Nepali language, many of them are Indians by citizenship. When it came to be known that Nepal would welcome missions of help along development lines, those concerned had more hope. Plans were made to send a Medical Mission to Nepal.

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### Swami Vivekananda to Modern Youths

In the course of an editorial article *The Vedanta Kesari* writes :

The meeting of Vivekananda with Sri Ramakrishna in 1880 A.D. is considered as a meeting of the modern with the ancient, of the West with the East, of energism with contemplation, of humanitarianism with spirituality. Narendranath Datta, as Vivekananda was called, born in an aristocratic family of Calcutta in 1863, was robust and turbulent as a boy, with a sharp memory and a keen power of observation. He was brought up in a religious and cultural environment. As a budding youth, he became the representative of modern youths having the intellectual conflict born of the clash of the two opposing ideals of the East and the West but he became a seeker after Truth with a strong moral character, mainly because of the Brahmo influence. The meeting with Sri Ramakrishna changed the whole course of his life. He renounced the worldly life, travelled throughout India and with the encouragement of a few Madras youths went to America and had the phenomenal success in 1893 in the Parliament of Religions of the world and raised the status of his country by placing her in the role of the teacher. His success caused a great emotional upheaval and roused the dormant qualities of all his countrymen. He passed away too early at the age of 39 in 1902 and within five years of his passing that energy burst forth in the form of volcanic eruptions of the Revolutionary Movement to free the country from foreign yoke under Aurobindo and Tilak. The Indian National Congress also was vitalised. From that time onwards hundreds of youths received inspiration from the clarion call of this 'patriot-saint,' and there followed the Renaissance of life and letters in almost all the provinces of India.

Vivekananda's love for the youth is unbounded. To him youth was a stage full of promise and possibilities. He wanted a band of fiery youngmen sacrificing their lives for the regeneration of the country. The harmonious development of the hand, head and heart is necessary. He wanted youngmen with muscles of iron and nerves of steel. To encourage the boys to pay close attention in acquiring more physical fitness, he said that they could understand the Gita better by playing football. The idea is, with better health and

consequently with improved faculty of thinking, the life-giving messages of the Gita could be assimilated better. Is there any use of all the training unless there is the nervous association of all the energising ideas? Our education is successful only when the ideas we know from our books and from our elders enter into our very veins and impel us to contemplate on them and finally induce us to action. Our routine is too much overcrowded with theoretical information, undigested and unconnected with life. The age-old tradition of India is to combine study with contemplation, work with meditation. The modern education is off its balance because of the lack of this calming and soothing influence. The occidental educationists and their prototypes in India must learn this grand lesson from the educationists of ancient India called *rishis*. Swami Vivekananda wanted for this purpose to regenerate the ancient *gurukula* system with the *brahmacharya* ideal of austerity, piety and continence for the students. In fact, the conception of the four stages of life (*asramas*) is a grand gift our forefathers gave to the moderners. As a student one is to prepare oneself for the future life. Youth is a stage of enjoyment sanctioned by *dharma* which is equivalent more or less to the modern conception of ideal civic duties. The third stage is to retire from the family and to be more conscious of the outside world and the ultimate values of life, which Bankimchandra, the composer of *vandemataram*, interprets as philanthropic and social activities to suit modern conditions. In the fourth stage one is to retire from all worldly activities and enjoy the well-earned rest devoted wholly to the contemplation of God. Life spent with constant awareness of the higher values will save us from frustration which is inevitable if we are too much self-centred. The secular West is not yet able to find a suitable substitute for this. Swamiji wanted us first to be thoroughly acquainted with our ancient culture and then to march towards the grand future which, he saw in his vision, is sure to come. In fact, the predominating note in his life is a love for India and its cultural heritage. Hundreds of youths visit nowadays the foreign countries who might be the cultural ambassadors of their country. But alas! few boys know about themselves and their fathers. World gives scant recognition to the weak defeatists with inferiority complex. Most often, we forget this little truth.

## GANDHI MARG

GANDHI MARG is the organ of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. The First Number in English and in Hindi is being brought out on January 30, 1957. It is meant to be an Open Forum for Gandhian students all over the world. The first Number contains articles from leading Western writers like Horace Alexander, Reginald Reynolds, Arthur Morgan, Roy Walker and Wilfred Wellock, besides contributions from eminent Indians like Kakasaheb Kelekar, Governors Pattabhi Sitaramayya, R. R. Diwakar, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and others. Rates of subscription are given below :

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## America and Asia

Bhabes Chandra Chaudhuri thus comments on American and Asian relations in *Unity*, January-February, 1956:

The most remarkable trend of the post-war world is the rapid liquidation of colonial rule. This set the entire colored world in ferment. Though correlated largely with periods of long travail of subjugation, this was, no doubt, hastened by the standard of revolt against "the white man's supremacy," that Japan raised, however unsuccessful she might have been and how great must be her sufferings in consequence of her final defeat. And the most historic event in the United States-Asian relations, in the estimation of experts, seems to be the unequivocal declaration of Independence of the Philippines by America, on July 4, 1946,—which rang the bell, so to say, for a strategic retreat of colonialism to cover and for keeping safe as far as possible and as long as feasible the lifeline and mainstay of capitalism: trade monopoly and political hegemony. The American tradition of opposition to absolutism and imperialism has nowhere found a more concrete proof than what the above event performed in creating strong bonds of sympathy between the Asians and colonial people. Fewer people, indeed, have suffered more from outlawry of both customs and overlords than the Asians. So, when the United States threw in her lot against the dismemberment of China by the European Monarchies; assured the Filipinos that the American meant real Independence to them because independence is their real breath; raised their voice against abuses of the relics of colonial regimes in Asia or freely disavowed her extraterritorial designs in China or made the liberation of Korea an object of World War II, surely they won the warmest greetings of a firm handshake of the Asians.

But against this happy background of a closer democratic bond between these two continents—old and new—there looms large the deepening spook of Communism that threatens verily to make clean sweep, as it were, of all those weapons which had formerly kept the Asians in shackles—the instruments of feudal hegemony, monopoly, vested interests, and the like—and contrive to harness Asia's will only to subserve imperial rule!

This, then, constitutes the very core of the Asian problems at the moment; but as recent history shows, the United States, has by playing her roles positively, so far, in different areas—be it in Japan, Korea, Formosa, the Philippines or Indo-China—met it effectively and well. There is no gainsaying the fact that since the end of World War II, the United States has made mammoth investments in the above countries on problems in production and administration otherwise seriously jeopardized by lack of sound morale and solvency. In Korea, for instance, the United States has made sacrifices beyond all calculation, viz., "150,000 American casualties, 25,000 American lives, in addition to 15 billion American dollars in defense of the independence of the Republic of Korea." (*World Progress*, January, 1954). In Formosa, her aid to the National Government of China has been no less spectacular in

maintaining the *status quo* of an independent Asian country, by providing free Chinese aspirations to which they can rally to express through deed and words their devotion to national freedom and the ancient glories of the hallowed land of "Chunk Kuo"; while in Indo-China, as is commonly known without her moral and economic support and intelligent leadership it would not have been altogether easy for the French and the associated states to cry "*Pax*" with General Li Mi's Army in Viet Nam! "The U.S. Aid" to Indo-China, to quote *World Progress* October, 1953, "came to \$800,000,000"—a fact which definitely confirms the notion, commonly held, that America not only adores "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" but lifts up her "Lamp" as well, to those otherwise marooned in the far-away tempest-tost Asian shores. No doubt, in some quarters in Asia foreign aid is viewed with suspicion. The Asians have had in the past some "hard-hearted dealings" with their own capitalists and with those from the outside. They prize their national traditions, as do others, too highly to be swept away from their moorings by a foreign culture, under the spell of what the leftists might call "Dollar Invasion!"

But, however much either looks upon the other with uneasy feelings, Asia cannot conscientiously throw away her new transpacific "cousin" by resorting altogether to the alternative of her economic development planning under the mailed fist of the totalitarian spook, in the present political phase of the Eastern hemisphere.

The United States, it is noted, "allotted \$2,158,377,000 for economic assistance to friendly nations during the fiscal year 1954, which ended June 30, 1955. If such act on the part of the proverbial Uncle Sam is interpreted as being akin to Judas' tears by the multi-voiced Communist Gestapo, it cannot but rouse deep-seated resentment against the Iron Curtain ways of looking at things "with open eyes but minds blind!"

But the free Asians now do realize to the core that the only method to stop the Communist rot, which thrives well on misrule, ignorance, and poverty, is the certain infallible remedy of ending colonial rule wherever it is—Asia, Africa, or America. And nowhere does one find better support of the above fact than in the decision, on May 17, 1954, of the U.S. Supreme Court, declaring "that segregation in public schools is a violation of the Constitution"—thus glorifying America's position in pressing for the thorough ending of colonialism, which stood so long as a blot on world culture. Looking again beneath the surface of the Indo-American *entente cordiale*, one must also notice how both these countries have long been working heads and hands together, to hasten the end of colonialism.

While the war was still going on, it was emphatically made known that Western democracy was not fighting the totalitarian Axis-powers only to make the world safe for "colonial empires!" And the world was full of glee and rejoicings when the British decided to quit from India, Burma, etc., and agreed with Lord Samuel that nothing so much became Britain in India as the manner of its going! Then the Netherlands followed this historic example, relinquish-



ing its rule for good and all over Indonesia, and gradually we find how on July 20, 1954, India and the Vatican announced the end of Portuguese rule over Roman Catholic Congregations in India. On October 13, 1954, the Joint Declarations by France and India wiped out French-Indian Settlements by merger in India, in the last sweep of this epoch.

India, therefore, as one can understand—just to avoid the grave strains created by Britain's hasty departure and just to recoup the shattered economy of this sub-continent and provide a livelihood for about 350 million souls of her own homeland,—piously believes in the policy of the Aid Program by democratic means—as contrasted with the ruthless totalitarian methods of the Iron Curtain.

It is again the fear of what an Asian war would do to shatter her under-industrialized economy, and thus make for the Communists' chances of success, that underlies the guiding motive of free India's policy at this critical juncture, *viz.*, in unequivocal pursuit of the concept of a "secular democratic state," which she pledged to undertake in her constitution on January 26, 1950. For war, in India's opinion, would totally destroy the life of her baby democracy, which she is avowed to nurture and bring up amid the ruins of a two-century-old British Empire. Like India, the United States, too, is flurried about the deadly effect of nuclear weapons invented by their scientists and is afraid of another war—which, if it comes true, might bring about global annihilation. Thus it seems that there is perfect unanimity of agreement existing in the basic concept of Indo-American democratic alliance, *viz.*, on the future of colonialism, the indispensability for routing Communism, the need by way of expedient adequacy for wholesale economic development by democratic ways and means, and the wish to root out the seed of war as it "strikes root in mind"—without staking the alternative of a "Surrender risk" to an alien invader.

So, when India in April, 1951, launched her Five-Year Plan of economic development, as an attack upon her age-old poverty, to attain the goals of a democratic nation, *viz.*, raising the living standards of her people, the Western Democracy, too, as a champion of free world causes, felt no hesitation whatsoever in offering her the warmth of a cordial handshake under what may be called the Joint Indo-American Programs. Under these planned ventures she received United States aid of about \$189 million, for the first three years. And, as *The New York Times* observed in a June, 1954, report, after concluding a survey of the effect of the Technical Co-operation in 79 countries, "the survey shows the miracles that can be achieved in helping people help themselves." By this aid, so the report says:

"India's food production has increased by 5 million tons; power generation by 315,000 kilowatts; 3 ships have been built; 90 locomotives manufactured; coal raised up to 4 million tons; steel 1 million tons; cloth output to 4.7 million yards; hundreds of miles of new roads and dozens of schools have been erected. Agricultural, medical and social services have been extended to 46,000 villages—the scourges of malaria and yaws have been eradicated."

Besides the above, India has acquired phenomenal success so far under the so-called Community Projects, the Bhakra and Damodar Valley Corporation Dams—which can be rightly spoken of as the jewel of the Five-Year Plan. For the Damodar Valley is India's mineral "mine," so to say, which when developed will

add enormously to her multi-purpose industrial targets of achievements. The Bhakra will be the second largest dam in the world, irrigating about 3 million acres and will generate 3 million kilowatt hours of electricity: "It will be built in fewer than 22 years and will be the work of 7,500 laborers." These, when matured, no doubt will usher in an era of unheard of plenty and well-being—and speak in their loud eminence about India's own enterprises and potentialities brought to acme only under the wholesome influence of Western Democracy!

Here in India are vast relics of history and arts which glorified its ancient capital, New Delhi, as each dynasty cried farewell to its Raj after shuffling off its mortal coil in the process of time. Here the Moguls have gone into dust after two and a half centuries of rule, but their Taj Mahal built in twenty-two years by twenty-two thousand workers still lives and glorifies their achievement as a marvel of architecture. Here also came the British and, as usual, left her shores in historic succession, leaving great monuments in Delhi and elsewhere to proclaim what may be called "England's Work in India!"

But, if India can build up her home on the democratic principle of her Five-Year Plan and various projects mentioned before, it will be what may be called a real D-Day for the achievement of the United States-Asian understanding and good will, in this epoch, in the Eastern Hemisphere. The target of the "U.S. Work in India" is the Indian farmer. Under it he will grow more food and improve his lot; he will become the source of wealth and strength by which the 350-million-strong nation grows stronger and more prosperous. This is the secret of democracy: it heals the human soul; makes him more useful, wholesome; clearer in mind, and free from want and fear. If America anywhere, then, touches Asia in closer embrace, it is in the crowning glory of individual freedom in the person—be he a peasant or a prince—by virtue of her casteless democracy.

This tradition was long ago foreshadowed by Emerson in the following lines:

My Angel—his name is Freedom  
Choose him to be your king,  
He shall cut pathways East and West,  
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### A People's Rule

The Eighty-fifth Congress of the United States of America opens on January 3. The session will open with a prayer in accordance with a custom traced back to July 4, 1776, when the representatives of the 13 American Colonies signed the Declaration of Independence. The members of that historic body had a high concern for the just deserts they believed due to every man, and the concept "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" has become a living basis for brotherhood and freedom.

The members of today's Congress are no less concerned with that concept. They are the direct representatives of the people in the branch of government which makes the laws and supplies the means of enforcing them. In this capacity it is thus to their own interest as well as to that of their constituents

and the nation itself to regard with a cool eye any threat to the freedoms so hard won in the 1700's and so carefully guarded since.

The Congress of the United States consists of two bodies—the Senate and the House of Representatives. As established by the Constitution, the make-up of the two bodies is designed to provide for full and fair representation of the people of each of the 48 States. This purpose is achieved by a system which assures adequate representation for each State as a whole and, in populous states, for local areas as well.

The Senate is made up of 96 members, two from each State of the Republic. A Senate term runs for six years. Neither the geographic size of a State nor the size of its population affects its number of Senators.

In the House of Representatives, on the other hand, the States are represented according to their

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populations. The House of Representatives has 435 members who are apportioned among the 48 States on the basis of their populations as recorded by the official Census enumeration. A Representative's term is for two years.

To be eligible for a Senate seat, a candidate must be at least 30 years old, must have been a citizen of the United States for at least nine years and must actually live in the State he wishes to represent.

Members of the House of Representatives must be at least 25 years old and must have been citizens for seven years.

The Senate's six-year term is sufficiently long to give Senators time to acquire broad experience in their work and to devote themselves single-mindedly for several years to public affairs without being obliged to campaign for re-election until near the end of their terms. These factors contribute to the basic stability and continuity of the nation's senior law-making body, as planned by the authors of the Constitution.

Continuity of the Senate's membership is further insured by the system under which Senators are elected and hold office. The terms of one-third of the members regularly expire every two years. Thus, in an biennial election year, the seats of only 32 Senators serving six-year terms are at stake. However, when vacancies occur through death or disability the governor of the State whose seat in the Senate is vacant fills it by appointment until the State's legislature directs an election be held.

Because the Senate is a continuing body and approximately two-thirds of its members at any given time have served at least two years and many members much more, precedents and traditions become increasingly important over the years as a guide to its deliberations.

The election of Representatives to the other House of Congress follows a different pattern. Representatives are elected to serve for two years. At the end of two years, each member who desires to be re-elected must submit his record to the voters of his district and abide by their vote as to whether he shall continue in office.

The two-year term for Representatives was instituted by the Constitution to give the voters a frequent opportunity to express decisive approval or disapproval of their most numerous and direct Congressional representatives. When the Constitution was being written it was a popular saying that "where annual elections end, tyranny begins."

Today, as in the past, the arrangement by which each Representative must come before the voters at two-year intervals acts powerfully in shaping national policies and guarantees that the will of the people will remain the only basic power behind the government.—*American Reporter*, January 2, 1957.

## Development of Women Education in Egypt

Fifty years ago the question of women education was raised in Egypt. In the last quarter of the 19th century with the efforts of some foreign agencies some schools for girls were opened in Cairo and Alexandria. In the year 1873, government also contributed for girls education and by the year 1900 several primary schools for girls came in picture. A teachers' training college was opened where the teachers for the primary schools for girls were trained. Most of the girls in richer families were being educated at home by French governesses. The education of the upper class was purely dominated by the French element.

The revival of learning took an everlasting shape. The provincial councils, in the year 1910, took an active part in women education. The number of girl students in central and provincial institutions reached a fairly high level. By the year 1920 the number of primary schools for girls was four.

The aim of education by this time due to political situations was to develop mental faculties, aesthetic sense and to make better citizens. The development of personality was shocked in this way. The Egyptian revolution for independence in the year 1911 brought a rapid advance of education in general and of girls in particular. This revolution brought for Egypt cultural, social, educational and economical developments and womenfolk was much influenced with it. For the first time in Egyptian history primary and elementary education was made free and compulsory both for boys and girls in the year 1923.

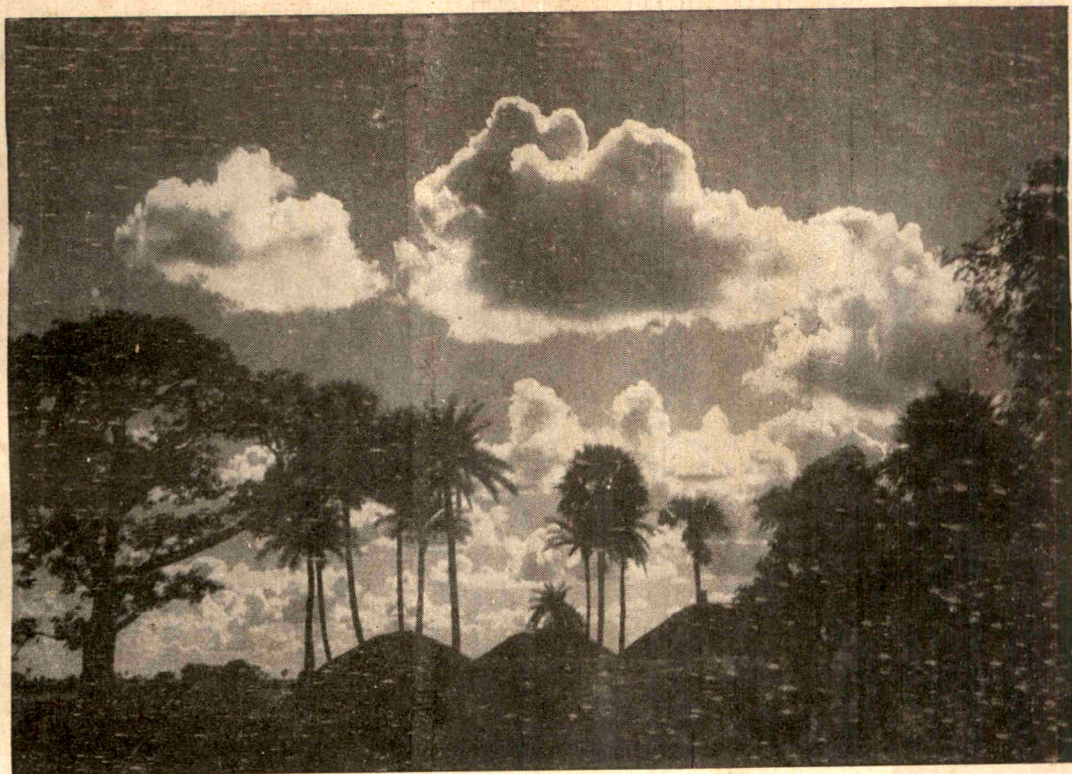
In the year 1920-21 for the first time a girls' secondary school was opened. The aims of the school were to prepare girls for cultural education, arts, science and domestic affairs. The girls were allowed to qualify themselves for the university examination. Both boys and girls were taught the same subjects. Co-education was not objected by the public. The intellectual development of women students who by now had studied medicine, science and arts in the universities was given fair chance and equality in profession.

Since 1923 women started to play an important role in social reforms. They had openly come in the field and realized the importance of education and were keen enough to remove all the obstacles.

In the year 1925, a women's college was opened which provided feminine culture and general knowledge.—*Culture of Egypt*, June, 1956.







The raft of clouds

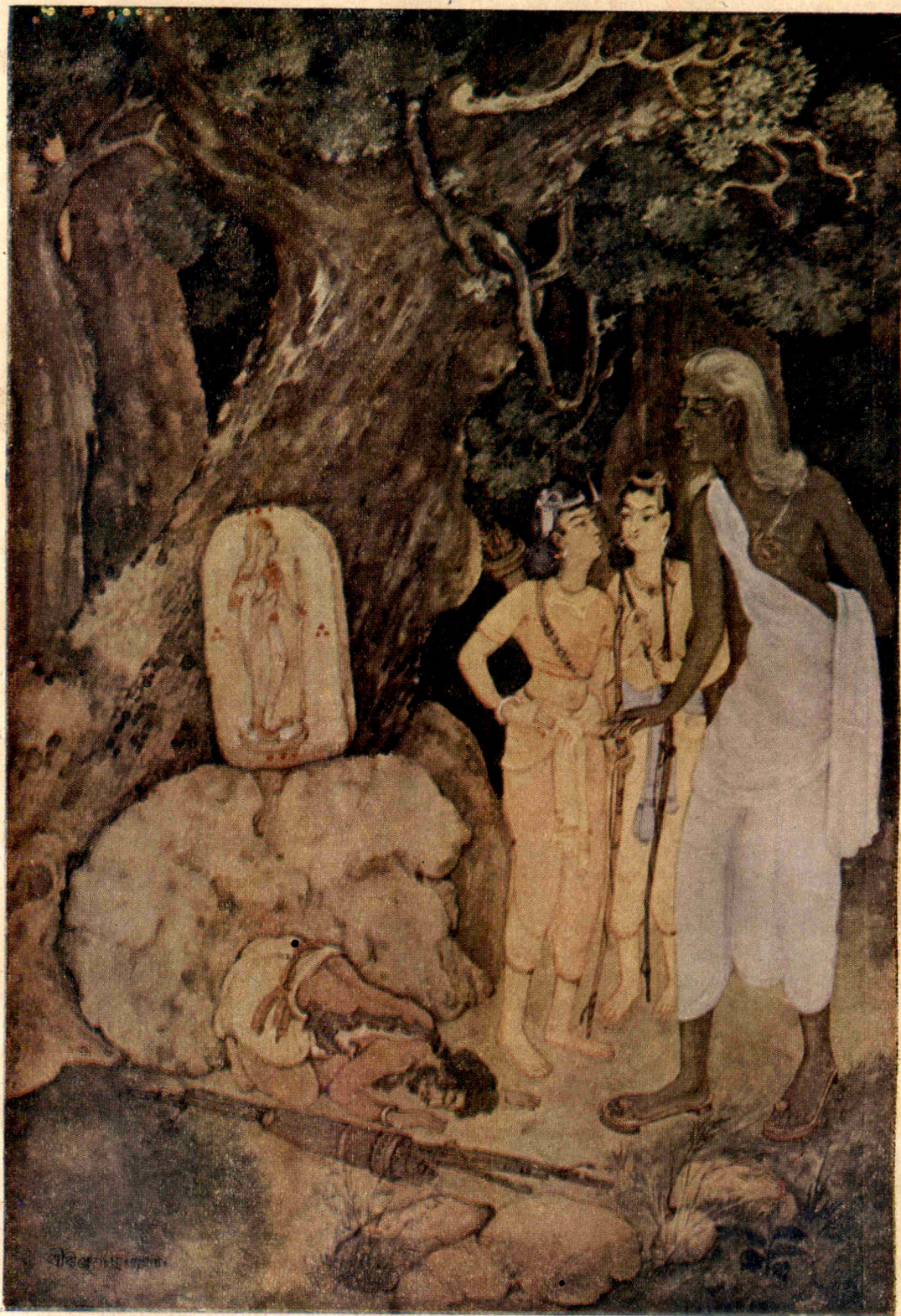
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By the waterway

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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *The Elections*

The Elections are on, all over India, and at the time of writing only a few results have been announced, most being uncontested wins. But some disturbing factors are noticeable, both in West Bengal and in some other States, where we have reliable sources of information.

In West Bengal, there has been a very large influx of anti-Congress—indeed anti-Indian—propagandists from across the border. They are well supplied with money and some of them are powerful mob-orators. Virulent propaganda is being carried on by them in Calcutta and in those districts where there are large bodies of Muslims. The Kashmir Case, with all the false statements manufactured by Pakistan regarding the persecution of Muslims, is the main plank, together with bitter communal diatribes against the present Government, drawing a comparison between what the status of Muslims in Bengal was under the Muslim League Government, prior to partition and what it is today in this part of Bengal. The so-called leftist groups are in concert with them in many constituencies.

In parts of Uttar Pradesh, where casteism is rampant, advantage is being taken of this propensity by most of the Gram Panchayet leaders. An incompetent ministry—some would use a stronger term—has placed most unworthy and corrupt men in power everywhere, and the

resultant reactions are now visibly in operation. Even those worthy Congressmen and officials who were profitably associated with the notorious Man Singh, are now openly declaring that they would exact vengeance, for the death of that dacoit and scourge, on the few goodmen who are standing for election.

In other States, too, these underground currents are adding to the strength of subversive and dissident factions. Above all stands the choice of unworthy, and in many cases notorious, candidates chosen by the Congress Chiefs, to stand for election. All these add up to a sum-total of uncertainty in or indifference to the election.

Indeed, the choice of candidates by the Congress for the present election has been a great disillusionment for those who had hoped that at least some better elements would be introduced and some of the most noxious ones would be purged. What has happened is that the standard has been still lowered and all the noble sentiments expressed at the Congress meetings has proved to be so much piffle.

Some of the old guard, consisting in the main of those who fought regardless of cost for the cause for decades and were discarded by our tin-gods who prefer time-servers, are in the campaign again, trying to turn the tide. For, if corruption is rife in the Congress, it is pestilence in most of the opposition ranks. And that is the only hope in many States.



### *Kashmir and the Elections*

Referring to the oft-repeated propaganda that Kashmir was a national issue and should, therefore, not be made an election issue, the *Vigil*, February 23, writes editorially: "Kashmir is a national question all right but that does not mean it cannot or should not be an election issue, also. Indeed, it should be more so if there are reasons to think that the Government has mismanaged the affair. It is a mistaken notion of the national interest to think that any criticism of the Government's policy and actions in regard to Kashmir is inopportune now when India is under so much pressure from outside."

The magazine goes on to add that in its view the conduct of the Government of India's policy on Kashmir had been greatly defective and as such became a legitimate issue in the elections. "For instance," the *Vigil* writes, "Kashmir has been dealt with by the present Government in a right and wise manner. For instance, we are now taking the stand that Pakistan must first purge its aggression, that is, withdraw its forces from that part of Kashmir which is under its occupation, before the plebiscite issue or any other point can be discussed. Why did not our Government take this straightforward stand from the beginning? Why did it not continue to press the original aggression charge with energy? Why did it practically allow the charge go by default by letting the cease-fire line freeze into a *de facto* partition line and by entering into all kinds of talks and agreements regarding the holding of a plebiscite before getting full satisfaction on its complaint of aggression? Why, even after these talks and agreements, when it was clear that Pakistan had no intention of withdrawing its forces from "Azad Kashmir," did not our Government notify the Security Council that India regarded the plebiscite resolutions as lapsed on account of Pakistan's failure to carry out its agreed obligations? Instead, the position now is that India finds itself actually charged with having gone back on its word."

"Heaven knows the Security Council is very far from being the place where to look for impartial judgments on moral issues. But that a charge of bad faith could at all be brought against this country by the original wrong-doer with a certain plausibility that has undoubtedly affected opinion in several parts of the world is

a serious enough matter for which the Government owes an explanation to the people. It must be remembered that the balance-sheet of this business or for that matter of any business that is related to the partition of this sub-continent is not yet closed and filed. The running account must be safeguarded, at least on India's side, against any false entry or even the appearance of one."

### *Big Business and Indian Politics*

The dangers of the direct intrusion of Big Business in the country's political life were heavily underlined by His Lordship Mr. Justice P. B. Mukharji of Calcutta High Court on February 28 while disposing of an application by the Indian Iron and Steel Company Ltd., seeking confirmation by the court of the proposed alteration of the Company's Memorandum of Association to allow it to divert its funds for political purposes.

His Lordship granted the company's application on certain condition initially for a period of six years only after which this new clause in the Memorandum of Association would lapse unless further extended by the court. Under the condition the company should ensure the fullest possible publicity of such contribution being made and the company was to show in its annual balance-sheets and Profit and Loss accounts every single contribution directly or indirectly made to any particular political party by name, the amount thereof and the date of contribution.

The *Statesman* reports: "*Prima facie*, his Lordship said, the amendment sought (by the Indian Iron and Steel Company Ltd., in its Memorandum of Association) was striking. To the cynic it appeared to be a plea of the company to have legal sanction to bribe the Government of the day, to induce policies that would help the company in business. A company's policy should be determined by its shareholders who subscribed to its capital. Such policy should stand on its own merits and on the convictions and conscience of the shareholders. To induce the Government of the day by contributing money, to the political funds of the political parties was to adopt the most sinister principle fraught with grave dangers to commercial as well as public standards of administration. Persuasion by contribution of money

lowered the standard of administration even in a Welfare State of democracy. To convert convictions and conscience by money was to prevent both democracy and administration."

His Lordship remarked that the joint stock companies were not formed to serve as adjuncts to political parties and possible source of revenue to these parties. The companies were statutory bodies working for different commercial purposes. It would induce most unhealthy competition between the different business companies by introducing a race as to who could pay more to the political funds of political parties. It would harm the interests of good business and national political life alike. It would mark the entry of the voice of the big business into politics and into the political life of the country. Individual citizens, despite their formal equality, would in reality be gravely handicapped in their voices because the length of their contribution could never hope to equal the length of the contribution of big companies.

His Lordship Mr. Justice Mukharji further added that as an effort became visible on the part of the industrial concerns to divert commercial funds to political purposes it was essential, in the interest of both commercial and public standards, to have legislative enactments prohibiting such diversion to keep the springs of democracy and administration reasonably pure and unsullied and before it was too late to control the dangers and mischief inherent in the situation.

In this connection it may be recalled that such an alteration of the Company's Memorandum was earlier obtained by the Tata Iron and Steel Company, Ltd., from the Bombay High Court.

### *Control over Public Expenditure*

With the constantly expanding scope of State participation in the various branches of national economy and production, control over public expenditure has assumed paramount importance. How to combine economy of expenditure with the maximum public welfare has exercised the minds of public-spirited statesmen in all countries. It is also a burning question in India. An article in the Annual Number of the *Economic Weekly* published from Bombay throws an interesting light on some of the related issues.

The article notes some universally-accepted principles of public expenditure which would bear reiteration in the present context of reckless spending and wastage of valuable national resources in unworthy pursuits in India. These principles are:

"(i) Every public officer is expected to exercise the same vigilance in respect of expenditure incurred from public monies as a person of ordinary prudence would exercise in respect of expenditure of his own money.

"(ii) The expenditure should not be *prima facie* more than the occasion demands.

"(iii) No authority should exercise its powers of sanctioning expenditure to pass an order which would be directly or indirectly to its own advantage.

"(iv) Public monies should not be utilised for the benefit of a particular person or a section of the community unless—(a) the amount of expenditure involved is insignificant; or (b) a claim for the amount could be enforced in a court of law; or (c) the expenditure is in pursuance of a recognised policy or custom."

When these principles are remembered it does not become difficult to lay down a sound policy for public expenditure; the control of expenditure must be entrusted to an authority independent of the executive department. Human nature being what it is it would be idle to expect an executive officer, whose interest lies in expanding his authority as far as practically feasible, to care much for economy. In fact, he does not. And therein lies the need for a policy of controlling public expenditure.

Various objections are raised against external financial control of the executive department: the most familiar being the charge that an authority independent of the executive department cannot, most often being a non-technical man, realize the needs of the department. While this contention is partly valid it is helpful to recall, as the article does, what a Permanent Secretary of the United Kingdom Treasury said in this connection. While the Finance Officer could not know the technical details of a project, "by dint of practice in weighing up facts and testing evidence and judging men, it is his business to form a layman's judgment on whether the case presented for more expenditure, however admirable it may appear from a particular point of view, is out

of scale with what can be allowed on a common-sense judgment of the things when other commitments are taken into account," the U. K. Secretary said.

Who should be entrusted with this work of financial control? The writer refers to the observations of the Haldane Committee in U.K. which said that "the supervision of each item of public expenditure by some authority not directly concerned in the expenditure itself can most naturally and effectively be exercised by the Department which is responsible for raising the revenue required." And since it is the lay people sitting in the Parliament who help raising governmental funds, the writer of the article notes, the Parliament's "financial conscience must sit in judgment on experts and that conscience is represented by the Finance Ministry as part of the Government."

The taxpayers' interests also demand that financial control should be exercised by an authority independent of the spending department. The Haldane Committee in their Report on the Machinery of Government in the United Kingdom observed that "on the whole, experience seems to show that the interests of the taxpayer cannot be left to the spending departments." These observations have particular validity in India "where in the first flush of freedom the departmental enthusiast is likely to get out of hand," the writer adds.

We strongly support this last remark quoted above. We find enormous sums being wasted by Government departments all round. If that had been passed by a company auditor, he would be in jail.

### *India's Balance of Payments*

The Reserve Bank of India's recently published "Review" of India's balance of payments reveals that during the eight years from 1948-49 to 1955-56, India suffered from adverse trade balance on current account to the extent of Rs. 889.9 crores. These years have been divided into three economic periods on the basis of payments position. The first period from 1948-49 to 1951-52 was characterised by inflationary pressures and shortages; the second covering 1952-53 and 1953-54 was a period of mild recession in economic activity; and the third period covering 1954-55 and 1955-56 was

marked by accelerated economic development at home and boom conditions abroad.

During the war there was a large increase in money incomes of the people on account of government budget deficits and balance of payments surpluses. Much of these increased incomes was held in terms of money or near-money assets since imported goods were not available and there was a variety of controls on spending in the country. This resulted in inflationary conditions which were strengthened by substantial budget deficits of the Central and States Governments during the post-war years, the Korean war boom during 1950-51 and a high level of investment, particularly in stocks during 1951-52. The inflationary spiral was further aggravated by shortages of raw cotton and raw jute following the partition of India. There was also an extreme shortage of food caused mainly by the failure of monsoons and also to some extent by the Partition. These conditions were reflected in the high level of imports during this period, particularly of raw jute, raw cotton, food and machinery. During the two years, 1950-51 and 1951-52, there was a progressively rising level of imports largely owing to price increases and in 1951-52 imports attained the highest level (Rs. 962.9 crores) during the whole of the post-war period.

Between 1948-49 to 1951-52, exports increased continuously reaching a record level in 1951-52 following the devaluation in September 1949 and the Korean war boom. The level of imports, although higher than that of the exports, showed large changes from year to year as a result of a variety of factors such as shortages of food and raw materials like raw cotton and jute. Trade deficits totalling Rs. 610 crores occurred during this period; but India also received assistance in the form of invisibles, including official donations, to the extent of Rs. 187.1 crores. The net current account deficits therefore amounted to Rs. 422.9 crores. To this draft on the foreign exchange reserves were added a sizeable outflow of funds mainly as a result of migrants' transfers and certain extraordinary payments to the United Kingdom and Pakistan at the time of Independence and the Partition.

The two years—1952-53 and 1953-54—represented a period of mild recession in economic activity. With the end of the Korean war boom and the consequent slackening in the pace



of economic activity abroad, there was a steady decline in India's exports as well as in their prices. In this period exports fell by 3.8 per cent in terms of value and by 7.4 per cent in terms of volume as compared with the earlier period. The decline was particularly marked in the case of exports of jute manufactures. The annual average level of exports during this period was Rs. 570 crores as against Rs. 593 crores during the previous period, and the annual average index of volume of exports came down from 108 during the previous period to 100 during this period.

The mild recession in economic activity in the country was mainly on account of the disinflationary policies of the Government and the lower level of investment. This factor combined with higher output, both agricultural and industrial and a somewhat tighter import policy resulted in a fall in annual average imports of about 18 per cent in value and 25 per cent in volume as compared with that of the previous period. Imports declined from Rs. 963 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 633 crores in 1952-53 and to Rs. 592 crores in 1953-54. The decline in import occurred mostly in the case of raw cotton, raw jute and foodgrains. Most of the fall was accounted for by the reduction in the volume of import as well as to a fall in prices. The trade deficit in this period was very much smaller totalling only Rs. 83.2 crores and this was mainly on account of a steeper fall in imports as compared to exports. The receipts from net invisibles rose to Rs. 80.5 crores a year largely on account of increase in receipts from private donations and from miscellaneous private and government transactions.

The last period—1954-55 to 1955-56—has been characterised as the period of expanding economic activity. During this period the pace of development activities quickened and this was reflected in substantial amounts of government development expenditure and higher level of investment. Trade liberalisation at home and abroad further increased India's trade, both import and export. Imports increased faster than exports and as a result, the trade deficit rose progressively to Rs. 109.5 crores. The net receipts from invisibles remained more or less at the same level as the previous period. The period witnessed a reverse in the trend of declin-

ing exports the value of which rose at the end of the period by a little over Rs. 100 crores as against that of the preceding period. Vegetable oils, raw cotton and tea recorded large increases in exports. The tea export reached the record figure of Rs. 147.7 crores in 1954-55.

Imports increased in value and volume during the last period. In 1955-56, the imports reached a level of Rs. 750.6 crores and in terms of volume were larger than those at the end of the previous period by 20 per cent. The composition of imports underwent a change in this period. Food imports fell to only Rs. 17.5 crores in 1955-56 as against Rs. 72.4 crores in 1953-54 and Rs. 228.1 crores in 1951-52. The import of raw jute recorded a large fall. But imports of producers' goods like iron and steel manufactures, machinery, vehicles, etc., showed significant increases.

*Capital Movements:* The figures for capital movement for the entire eight-year period indicate a persistent flight of capital on private account. The total capital movement outward was Rs. 92 crores, and of this Rs. 28.5 crores were recorded in the first year. A large part of the outflow consists of migrants' transfers after independence and as such this does not constitute outflow of capital in the ordinary course of business. But this figure of capital outflow is stated to be an over-estimate because it takes account of only certain types of transactions and does not allow for foreign investments in the shape of goods and reinvestments of profits of foreign firms. The annual average of capital on private account during the last four years was of the order of Rs. 6.7 crores. On banking account there was a total inflow of capital of Rs. 21.7 crores during the period, 1948-49 to 1951-52. However, during 1949-50, the outflow of capital stood at Rs. 20.9 crores. During the first period, the changes in the position on short-term account showed a worsening of Rs. 860 crores. This reduction in the country's exchange reserves reflects the impact of heavy current deficits and the extraordinary transfers. In the first period, the total net receipts by way of loans in the official sector amounted to Rs. 125.4 crores. Of this amount, Rs. 121 crores (Rs. 90.6 crores of the U.S. Wheat Loan and Rs. 30.2 crores received from the IBRD) were utilised for financing the First Five-Year Plan. In the first period, the total official transactions resulted in a net

outflow of Rs. 405.1 crores. This amount includes the payment of Rs. 213.7 crores to Pakistan on account of its share in the Reserve Bank and also purchase of pensions annuities for Rs. 224 crores.

In this period, in addition to the heavy withdrawal from her reserves, India had to borrow both from the U.S. Government (Rs. 58.6 crores) and the IMF (Rs. 23.9 crores). For the eight-year period as a whole, the current deficit excluding official donations stood at Rs. 387.4 crores. This deficit would rise to Rs. 471.9 crores if errors and omission are also added to this total. In addition, there was a private capital outflow for Rs. 92.1 crores. The total outgo on current account, errors and omission, private capital and official long-term transactions aggregated to Rs. 969 crores. As against this, the total receipts from official donations and official loans amounted to Rs. 223.4 crores. The net deficit requiring reimbursement from official assets and other sources thus aggregated to Rs. 745.6 crores. During this eight-year period, India's foreign exchange assets declined by Rs. 720.7 crores. There was, in addition, a net increase in foreign exchange liabilities of the country to the extent of Rs. 22 crores.

The regional pattern of India's balance of payments reveals that the share of the dollar area in India's total exports declined from 23.3 per cent in the first period to 18.9 per cent in the third period. India's imports from the dollar area declined even more sharply from 24.8 per cent during the first period to 16.9 per cent in the third period. This decline in imports from the dollar area improved India's foreign exchange reserves. India's imports from the OEEC countries increased from 11 per cent in the first period to 20 per cent in the third period and this was mainly on account of increased imports of capital goods. The share of exports, however, remained more or less constant at 10 per cent. India had trade deficits with the OEEC countries, her annual average in the third period being Rs. 80 crores.

### *Finances of Joint Stock Companies*

An article appearing in the Reserve Bank Bulletin for January 1957 analyses the balance sheets and profit and loss accounts, generally during 1950-54 and particularly in 1954, of 751 public limited companies registered in India, each with a paid-up capital of not less than Rs.

5 lakhs, and together accounting for two-thirds of the total paid-up capital of all public limited companies registered in India except banking, insurance and investment companies. According to the article, there was a sizeable rise in corporate profits and capital formation during 1954, reflecting the distinct recovery in economic activity from the post-Korean recession.

*Income and Expenditure:* Income from sales of the 751 companies, which had declined from Rs. 1,087 crores in 1951 to Rs. 962 crores in 1953, rose to Rs. 1026 crores in 1954. Correspondingly, manufacturing expenses which had fallen from Rs. 756 crores to Rs. 590 crores, increased to Rs. 636 crores. Salaries and wages went up continuously from Rs. 154 crores in 1950 to Rs. 198 crores in 1954. Managing agents' remuneration which had declined from Rs. 12.4 crores in 1951 to Rs. 10.4 crores in 1953, recovered to Rs. 11.2 crores in 1954.

*Profits and Dividends:* Profits before tax (but after provision for depreciation), which had fallen sharply from Rs. 85 crores in 1951 to Rs. 55 crores in 1952, recovered to Rs. 66 crores in 1953 and Rs. 78 crores in 1954. A similar trend was evident in provision for taxation and retained and distributed profits. Provision for taxation accounted for slightly over two-fifths of profits before tax and for dividends accounted for slightly under two-thirds of profits after tax in 1954. The major portion of the increase in profits after tax during 1954 was retained. Profits before tax in 1954 was higher than in 1953 in the majority of the principal industries. But they were lower in cotton textile, jute, sugar, paper and shipping groups. Vegetable oil experienced losses. During the whole of the five year period 1950-54, profits amounted to Rs. 347 crores, which were disposed as under: tax provision Rs. 142 crores, distribution to shareholders Rs. 130 crores and retention within business Rs. 75 crores.

The average rate of dividend on ordinary shares, which had fallen from 8.2 per cent in 1951 to 7.2 per cent in 1952, recovered to 7.5 per cent in 1953 and 8.3 per cent in 1954. The majority of the principal industries showed an increase in the rate in 1954, the outstanding rise being in tea plantations. There was no change in iron and steel industry. Cement, paper, jute, vegetable oil and shipping groups experienced a decline, which was, however, due

to an increase in the paid-up capital, and not to a decline in the amount of dividend, in cement and paper industries.

The ratio of net profits (that is, retained and distributed profits) to net worth (that is, paid-up capital and free reserves), which had fallen sharply from 9.6 per cent in 1951 to 5.6 per cent in 1952, rose to 6.8 per cent in 1953 and 7.8 per cent in 1954. The movements in the ratio of gross profits to total capital employed and to gross sales were similar to those in the above two ratios. Profits of individual industries after tax as percentage of net worth reveal that in 1954 the tea industry earned the highest percentage of profit, being 30.6 per cent of the paid-up capital plus reserves (other than taxation and depreciation reserves) and balance of profit. Iron and steel industry comes next with 18.6 per cent, followed by other plantation industries with 13 per cent, Matches 10.2 per cent and Cement 10.1 per cent, Sugar 9.3 and Paper 8.3 per cent.

*Gross Capital Formation :* The total gross capital formation of the 751 companies more than doubled from Rs. 49 crores in 1953 to Rs. 102 crores in 1954. Gross fixed assets formation accounted for Rs. 64 crores in 1954 (as compared to Rs. 48 crores in 1953), inventory accumulation for Rs. 10 crores (as against a liquidation of Rs. 14 crores) and receivables for Rs. 17 crores (as compared to Rs. 4 crores). Plant and machinery constituted nearly three-fourths of gross fixed assets formation. Increases in investment and cash were responsible for Rs. 5.6 crores each. The rise in inventories in 1954 was due almost entirely to finished goods and work-in-progress, while the fall in 1953 was due mainly to raw materials. During the four-year period 1951-54 as a whole, the total gross capital formation amounted to Rs. 307 crores, of which fixed assets accounted for a little over 60 per cent and inventories for about 13 per cent.

As regards the sources of funds, the chief feature of 1954 was net borrowing from banks to the extent of Rs. 15 crores, as against net repayment of Rs. 7 crores in 1953, this being mainly due to the building up of inventories. Additions to free reserves in 1954 were also higher at Rs. 15 crores. Depreciation provision and taxation reserves also contributed a larger volume of funds at Rs. 28 crores and Rs. 8 crores, respectively, in 1954 as against Rs. 24

crores and Rs. 3 crores in 1953. New issues rose by Rs. 1 crores to Rs. 8.7 crores in 1954, a decline in ordinary and preference shares being more than offset by an increase in debentures.

The total of gross assets of the 751 companies as at the end of 1954 amounted to Rs. 1433 crores, as compared to Rs. 1136 crores at the end of 1950. Of this, over one-half comprise gross fixed assets (Rs. 743 crores) and over one-fifth inventories (Rs. 317 crores). Gross fixed assets rose by 34 per cent during the four-year period 1951-54, while inventories increased by 14 per cent. Plant and machinery accounted for three-fifths of gross fixed assets. Finished goods and work-in-progress formed one-half of inventories and raw materials about a quarter. Receivables constituted 11 per cent, and investments and cash 5 per cent each, of the total gross assets in 1954.

As regards gross liabilities, net worth constituted over two-fifths of the total and comprised paid-up capital of Rs. 380 crores and reserves of Rs. 207 crores. Borrowings formed less than one-fifth of the total gross liabilities and consisted mainly of bank loans (Rs. 101 crores), trade credit (Rs. 55 crores), debentures (Rs. 36 crores) and mortgages (Rs. 25 crores). Depreciation amounted to Rs. 354 crores and taxation reserves to Rs. 77 crores, as compared with Rs. 253 crores and Rs. 58 crores, respectively, at the end of 1950.

### *The USA and Africa*

Africa is the third largest continent. Approximately 75 per cent of the land is either desert or grassy steppe with dense forest in equatorial region. There are about 4,000,000 white population, mainly in South Africa. Seven hundred languages are spoken. It is a continent as wide as the Atlantic, presenting almost every variety of climate and vegetation with vast potential resources. It is a rich continent where starvation is widespread and millions own no property beyond the rags on their backs. Africa has been the victim of exploitation by the old imperial Powers, like, Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and Spain. With the liberation of most of Asia, the importance of Africa as a source of profit, and cheap raw materials and as a strategic base has grown considerably. There is an endless succession of mineral deposits of almost every variety with copper, chrome, diamonds, gold, iron,



manganese, tin, uranium, etc. Africa produces 98 per cent of the world diamonds, 80 per cent of the cobalt, 75 per cent of the sisal hemp, 70 per cent of the palm oil, 70 per cent of the cocoa and chocolate, 60 per cent of the gold, 35 per cent of the phosphates, 30 per cent of the chrome and manganese, 20 per cent of the copper and 15 per cent of the coffee. Africa naturally tempts the Imperialist Powers to its shores for exploitation.

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, the great American Negro scholar, says: "Having lost the chance to exploit Asia, the West today is turning to an E. Dorado as great as the industrial revolution ever offered. And that is the new Africa of the 20th century . . . And because of exploitation of black labour on an increased and more profitable scale, all Africa today is aflame . . ." John Gunther in his *Inside Africa* declares: "Africa is our Last Frontier. Much of Asia has been lost; Africa remains. But Africa lies open like a vacuum, and is almost perfectly defenceless—the richest prize on earth." The U.S.A. intends to oust the West European Powers from Africa, and then to take their place, gaining undivided control of the vast African raw material sources.

In August 1956, the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives published a report of the Bolton Mission which made a tour of 24 African countries situated south and east of the Sahara in the last quarter of 1955. The special study mission was headed by Congress woman Frances P. Bolton. The U.S.A. has no colonies in Africa. Then why this Bolton mission was sent to study the situation in that continent? But colonies need not always be visible ones; there can be "invisible" colonial empire which is subject to the economic exploitation of the colonial Power. The invisible colonial empire of the USA is perhaps the biggest today in the world. The Wall Street exploits the peoples and natural resources of almost all of Latin America, a large number of countries in the Far East, South East Asia and the Middle East. The American monopoly capital has extended its power over these territories. In the opinion of the Bolton Mission, the USA must play a leading part in the Africa of the future. "If we do not, others will," they point out. The Mission states: "The United States, in its position of leadership in the free

world, cannot sidestep its responsibility in the unfoldment of Africa."

The report of the Mission states that Africa is of great importance to the free world, especially perhaps to the United States. Her apparently limitless raw materials, almost all of them important to the USA, would seem to offer a useful exchange; for Africa is today becoming one of the greatest markets of the world not only for all the "thousand and one gadgets we make for the easing of life, but for heavy industry as well. Surely this economic potential is one the United States cannot afford to overlook." From July 1, 1945 to December 31, 1955, the United States granted \$71,500,000 in subsidies to Africa, that is, only 0.15 per cent of the sum spent by the USA throughout the world during this period (\$45,100 million). Since the Second World War, the USA has given African countries loans amounting to \$342.7 million or 2.12 per cent of the total foreign loans for this period (\$16,140.5 million). The loans were made available chiefly through the Export-Import Bank. Private American investments rose from \$150 million at the end of the Second World War to \$664 million by the end of 1954. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development gave African countries loans totalling \$259.7 million from January 1, 1946 to March 31, 1956, or 10.43 per cent of all its loans to various governmental agencies. More than half of all these loans went to the Union of South Africa.

The Bolton Mission observes that the United States is particularly interested in seeing that the colonial question is solved peaceably because of its need for strategic military bases. All the colonial Powers of Africa are tied in with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the USA has most friendly relationships with all of them. In fact, through agreements signed with the Metropolitan Powers which control the African colonies, the United States has been granted extensive bases all over Africa and spent large sums of money in building landing fields, ports and other types of strategic bases. Notable among these bases are the jet fields in Morocco, Lybia and Liberia, and also weather observation stations in Eritrea. The Mission further states the United States is greatly interested in friendly relations with the Metropolitan Powers in so far as their ports in Africa are concerned in the

event that the Suez Canal might be closed. Such ports are Dakar, Monrovia, Abidjan, Lagos, Port Gentil, Luanda, Walvis Bay, Cape Town, Durban, Lourenco, Marques, Beira, Dares Salaam, Mombasa, Mogdishu, Aden and Djibouti. These ports are important not only for refuelling and naval supply, but also as interceptor and repair stations for submarines.

The Bolton Mission states: "Should any nations in Africa have racial disorders, these might result in the loss of the use of these bases by the United States or other free Western forces. It is to the American interest that the people in the areas where these bases are located have a peaceful Government friendly to the United States and its interests." The United States interest in the settlement of the colonial problem stems also from the fact that strategic raw materials from Africa are vitally needed in the industrial machine. In fact, the raw materials from colonial Africa supply an important segment of the United States requirements. These raw materials are uranium, cobalt, and industrial diamonds from the Belgian Congo; manganese from the Gold Coast and French Morocco; copper from the Federation of Rhodesia; uranium, chrome, vanadium and asbestos from South Africa; and important food such as cocoa from Gold Coast and Nigeria; palm oil from all of West Africa; coffee from West and East Africa; and tea from Nyasaland. Other strategic commodities are imported from the rest of the colonial areas in Africa. In line with the ever-increasing United States requirement for these commodities, the United States had made large grants and loans for the increasing development of deposits of minerals and extraction of raw materials.

U.S. monopolies have already captured a considerable share of Africa's natural resources of manganese and chrome ores, vanadium, cobalt, copper, zinc, bauxites and diamonds. The biggest American companies controlled by the Rockefeller, Morgan, Mellon and other financial groups are taking part in the struggle for the control of raw material sources in Africa. The Bolton Mission points out that the USA has certain general goals in Africa, namely, an interest in the evolution of Africa in a manner not inimical to the democratic type of government; the exclusion of influences unfriendly to the U.S. way of life; the hope of having access to the

raw materials of that continent, especially to safeguard the minimum strategic needs of the USA; to increase trade with all African countries and to exercise a moral leadership over Africa.

### *Independent Ghana (Gold Coast)*

Gold Coast was the name given to the coast of Guinea in West Africa by pioneers of trade and adventure of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who found gold to be in common use amongst the local inhabitants. The country comprises three district parts: the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories, each with its own history and characteristics, and gradually brought under a single administration. Part of Togoland adjoining the Gold Coast which had been placed under British administration in 1922 would also, as a result of a popular verdict in a referendum in May, 1956, the results of which were endorsed by the United Nations, form part of the State which from the date of its independence on March 6, 1957, would be called Ghana after the ancient African empire of that name.

Ghana has an area of 91,843 square miles almost equal to that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and has a population of about 4,620,000 of whom some 13,000 are non-Africans. The first recorded English trading voyage took place in 1553. It was not until the twentieth century that British rule was established throughout the present land and international boundaries defined.

Gold Coast is endowed with fertile lands and rich mineral deposits. Its chief product is cocoa described by Minister of Finance, Gbeblemah as the "life blood of this country." About 185,000 labourers are engaged on the production of cocoa. Gold Coast is the world's largest cocoa producer which constitute its chief export. Other agricultural products are palm oil and palm products, copra and coconut oil, coffee, grain and root crops. Timber and timber products occupy third place in Gold Coast's external trade.

The country is very rich in minerals so that mining is only next in importance to cocoa production in the country's national economy. The chief minerals are gold, diamonds, manganese and bauxite. Gold Coast was the leading gold producer in the U.K. dependencies and

in recent years yielded about 70 per cent of British colonial production.

Industrialization is still at a very early stage.

The revenue of the country amounted to £80,568,000 in 1954-55 and expenditure to £79,860.

A Legislative Council was formed as early as 1850 but it was not until 1946 that the Africans had a majority. In 1949, an all-African committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice (now Sir Henley) Cussey to draft a Constitution for the country. The Constitution was introduced in 1954 and brought the people to the threshold of self-government. After some negotiation the British Government finally agreed in 1956 to grant Gold Coast full independence within the Commonwealth on March 6, 1957.

The independence of Gold Coast with that of Tunisia, Morocco and Sudan and the re-assertion of Egyptian sovereignty mark the beginning of a new era in Africa. The full significance of the emergence of a new Africa on the world arena would be apparent only after some time but there can be no doubt about its revolutionary potentialities. The emergence of a New Asia has completely upset the traditional pattern of international politics. In view of their vast natural resources which have remained largely unexplored and the strategic situation, the impact of the newly independent African States is bound to be of far-reaching importance.

As one of the peoples regaining independence after a long interval India cannot but welcome the re-emergence of the African peoples as independent nations. It is to be hoped that the new State of Ghana would have opportunity to develop her resources free from the crushing rivalries of the power-blocs.

### *Malaya's New Constitution*

After great initial resistance the British Government agreed in the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Conference in January-February, 1956, to grant Malaya full self-government and independence within the Commonwealth by August, 1957. Following the Conference the British Government appointed a Five-man Malaya Constitution Commission in March, 1956. The members of the Com-

mission were drawn from the different Commonwealth countries. The Commission was headed by Lord Reid (U.K.), a Lord of Appeal ordinary. The other members were Sir Ivor Jennings, British constitutional expert; Sir William McKell, former Governor-General of Australia; Shri B. Malik, former Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, India; and Mr. Justice Abdul Hamid of the West Pakistan High Court.

The 60,000-word report of the Commission was published in London in the third week of February, 1957. The Commission has recommended that under the proposed constitution the Federation's Parliament should consist of a Yang-de-Pertuan Besar (Head of State), a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The Head of State would be elected for five years from among the present Malayan princes, and the House of Representatives (consisting of 100 members) would be wholly elected for a maximum term of five years by single-member constituencies on a territorial basis. The Senate would consist of 33 members, 22 of whom would be elected by the Legislative Assemblies of the States comprising the Federation and eleven nominated by the Head of State.

Under the proposed constitution Malaya would be a Federation of the present princely States of Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Negri Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Perlis, Selangor, and Trengganu, together with the settlements of Malacca and Penang, which would become States immediately before Merdeka (Independence) Day.

Elections under the new Constitution will be held on January 1, 1959.

### *Indonesia in Travail*

Since its inception, the Indonesian republic has almost constantly been plagued by internecine strife and various other political and economic troubles. The country's aspiration for national unification remains unfulfilled pending the decision on the future of New Guinea. Meanwhile, various parts of the country with differing political affiliations have put forward mutually conflicting claims for federalism and unitary State and so on. The situation has been more complicated by the participation of the Army in politics. Since the end of 1956 a revolt is on in Sumatra. Policy differences on



the attitude to the Sumatra revolt has led the three of the four parties in the Government to withdraw their support to the Central Government and to the resignation of Dr. Mohammed Hatta, the Vice-President. Dr. Sastroamidjojo's Government thus now remains more or less as a transitional government pending a political solution.

On February 21, President Sukarno of Indonesia put forward a new plan for ending the country's political evils. In a nationwide broadcast the President referred to the unsuitability of imported democracy of the West in Indonesia which had failed to represent the "true democracy in accordance with the ideals of the Indonesian people." The instability of Governments in Indonesia over the past eleven years he ascribed to the faults of such imported democracy. Every Government in the past which had tried to cope with the evils of society had to waste parts of its energy fighting the opposition. The time was now ripe for Indonesia to establish "a new governmental system, new in every respect," he said.

Outlining his plan before a gathering of party leaders and representatives of all sections of Indonesian community numbering over 900, the President called for the formation of a Cabinet representing all parties and a National Council. The Council, he said, would be composed of representatives of labourers, farmers, intellectuals, national enterprises, Protestants, Catholics, Muslims, scholars and women, the 1945 (revolutionary) generation, the provinces, Army, Navy and Air Force, the Attorney-General and senior Cabinet Ministers.

The Communists, who formed the fourth largest political party in Indonesia and who had so long been excluded from participation would also be able to join the Government under the new plan.

President Sukarno's plan has been unequivocally endorsed by the Communist Party. The ruling Nationalist Party has also announced its approval of the President's Plan. However, Mr. H. A. A. Achsien, parliamentary leader of the key Muslim Party, Nahdatul Ulama, which holds enough seats in Parliament to swing the balance of power in favour of the Masjumi, has disapproved of the President's new plan.

### *All-India Radio*

The functioning of the All-India Radio has become a subject of public comment in the context of the controversy arising out of the election broadcasts. The opposition leaders wanted the Government to arrange for broadcast of party policies by the leaders of the different parties on the lines followed by the British Broadcasting Corporation. The Government refused but suggested instead the summary broadcasts of the election manifestos of the national parties over the Radio. The opposition naturally declined this proposal. The Government, thereupon, declared that election speeches would not at all be broadcast over the radio "excepting where they make reference to important non-party subjects, national or international." The saving clause clearly provided a subterfuge for Congress propaganda and referring to this the re-emergent *Vigil* writes that it provided an example "how a good rule can be made worthless or even fraudulent by the addition of an exception clause."

In an editorial article on February 16, the *Vigil* which has resumed weekly publication since the 26th January, writes: "The loophole provided by the exception clause here is only too obvious and through this loophole government leaders' election speeches are almost everyday finding an easy entry into A.-I.R.'s broadcasts. A Minister interpolates an administrative policy pronouncement into an election speech and it is broadcast by the A.-I.R. Every reference by the Prime Minister to the Government's attitude on any aspect of the Kashmir issue, for example, is presumed to come under the category of 'important non-party subjects—national and international'."

Who is to decide what is a non-party issue? the magazine asks and goes on to point out that even Kashmir could not be regarded as a non-party issue in view of the widely differing evaluation of the manner in which the Government had handled the subject. It also refers to the fact that during the recent Suez war when British soldiers had been actually fighting in the field the Opposition leader in Britain had demanded of the British Broadcasting Corporation equal facilities with the Prime Minister to criticize and oppose the Government. Considering that most of the influential newspapers and news agencies were in the service of the Congress

for one reason or other the *Vigil* asks: "With all these advantages so overwhelmingly on its side, why must the ruling party want to corrupt A.-I.R.'s news broadcasts also for party ends?"

If the Government leaders had "something really very important and urgent to announce on any matter of general interest the device of issuing 'statements' is always there, though even that, barring very exceptional cases will be wrong during election time," the *Vigil* concludes.

### *Regional Languages and Government*

While on the subject of radio broadcasts it is also well to recall how the Government is implementing its avowed policy of encouraging the growth of regional languages, how such a policy is given shape by the All-India Radio. As our knowledge of the workings of the other centres of the All-India Radio is limited the comments are largely based on the programmes broadcast from Calcutta.

At the outset it should be noted that the programme content of the broadcasts of the Radio has greatly improved in recent times and the authorities have shown examples of remarkable originality in one or two instances. But there has also been a simultaneous decline on other fronts. Many prominent artists are dissatisfied with the manner of working of the A.-I.R. But the most noticeable deterioration has taken place in the broadcasts in the regional language—in this case Bengali. The Calcutta station makes two broadcasts simultaneously. Formerly a listener could, turning himself to one or the other band, enjoy a continuous broadcast in Bengali while a simultaneous programme might also continue to be transmitted in some other language. Considering the importance of Calcutta it was only fair that non-Bengali listeners should also get some scope for entertainment over the radio. As a matter of fact sizable programmes in Hindi, Oriya, English were being broadcast by the radio regularly. Other Indian languages also found scope through the Calcutta Station from time to time. There was a well-considered balance in the linguistic content of the broadcasts and there was practically no complaint.

All this has, however, changed now—wholly at the cost of the regional language. If one now tunes his wireless receiving set in Calcutta for a Bengali programme—particularly

at the evening time when only one has a little scope for relaxation—he is likely to be disappointed as often as not. What the radio authorities have gained through this changeover it is more than we do seem to know. But the evidence is unmistakable that a great majority of the listeners in this state has a feeling of disgust for the radio. The radio authorities also must be receiving scores of letters of complaint as would appear from the frequency with which they recur in the weekly replies to listeners' questions. The replies of the authorities as broadcast over the air are that the changes follow official policies at higher levels.

The public would naturally like to know whose formulation the new policy is as well as on what considerations it is based. They would also equally like to know how the new policy of restricting broadcasts in regional languages can be regarded as fitting in with officially avowed policies of encouraging regional languages. How is it that the linguistic minorities in independent India cannot enjoy even those facilities which were available to them under an alien rule? Does it not call for a re-examination of the bases of the present policies?

### *Socialism and the Second Plan*

From Avadi to Indore—the Congress journey has chiefly reflected in the change of its ideal from the "socialistic pattern of society" to "socialism". A natural question is therefore: how far the Second Five-Year Plan initiated by the Congress leads the country to socialism?

Discussing the socialist potentialities of the Second Five-Year Plan in the *Economic Weekly* Annual Number, which also contains a number of other articles on related issues, Prof. A. K. Das Gupta, the noted Indian economist, writes that "the broad facts are there to show that whatever the Plan may achieve—and its achievements are not to be inconsiderable otherwise—it has very little of socialistic content in it. This is not so much a commentary on the Plan as a reminder of the fact that there are conflicting values in a society which it is hard to reconcile."

Socialism implies public ownership of productive resources and the liquidation of profit earners. Public good is substituted for private profit as the motive force and inequality of incomes is reduced. This can, however, be realised in stages and indeed the Second Plan

as a matter of fact, heavily underlines this concept of a gradual realisation of socialism.

Now what does the Plan set out as its aim? No doubt the proportion of investment has been perceptibly altered in favour of the public sector from 50:50 in the First Plan to 62:38 in the Second. "Yet considering the fact that this proportion refers only to new investments and does not take account of the existing capital, the private sector is still to play a dominant role in the economy. Existing industries are not to be nationalised. On the other hand, considerable expansion is contemplated in the private sector even in respect of basic industries. Taking into account the fact that almost the entire investment in consumers' goods industries is left to the private sector, one would say that socialization of capital is still a far cry. If socialism is your goal, you do not proceed by permitting the private sector not only to persist but also to expand," Prof. Das Gupta writes.

Similarly the prospect of a reduction of the inequality of incomes is also likely to remain largely unrealized. "Even if the uncovered gap of Rs. 400 crores is left out to be ultimately filled in by additional taxes, the Plan proposes to finance 50 per cent of the public investment by loans and deficit, neither of which can be said to conform to the canons of socialism. Deficit finance, if it does anything, will raise prices and one should not expect that it will operate in favour of the relatively poor, unless adequate controls are exercised," the noted economist writes.

### *Israel and U.N. Sanctions*

The following special from the *New York Times* of February 21, shows how dependent Israel is on U.S. financial aid:

"Washington, Feb. 20—A stroke of President Eisenhower's pen could bring virtual economic ruin to Israel.

"The President, to back up any United Nations sanctions recommendation, merely would have to direct the Treasury Department to bar all dollar payments to Israel. Such payments already are barred to Communist China and North Korea under the Trading with the Enemy Act.

Such an order would hurt virtually any country, but Israel probably most of all. The reason is that Israel relies for her economic survival on "extraordinary" dollar payments—payments made by the United States Government

and private citizens outside of normal trade.

"Israel's foreign trade is gravely out of balance. In 1955, for example, imports were \$326,000,000 and exports only \$86,000,000. Many of the imports are vital not only to Israel's development but also to her economic life. They include, for example, most of her food and fuel.

"Israel covers the gap in these ways:

"United States Government aid—This includes farm surplus sales for Israeli currency, and came to \$45,000,000 in the last United States fiscal year. When the invasion to Egypt began Israel was discussing straight economic aid of \$25,000,000, farm surplus deals totalling \$30,000,000, and an Export-Import Bank loan of \$75,000,000. These are in suspension and Israel is to some extent already pinched.

"German Reparations—These come to about \$70,000,000 a year. West Germany, not a member of the United Nations, has indicated these reparations will continue.

"Sale of bonds in the United States—These amounted to \$51,000,000 last year. If President Eisenhower should order a bar on dollar payments to Israel these sales would stop.

"The United Jewish Appeal—This supplies between \$60,000,000 and \$100,000,000 a year. These remittances too would be stopped by such a Presidential order.

"Private capital investment—This runs between \$10,000,000 and \$25,000,000 a year, mostly from the United States.

"Tourism—This brings in about \$5,000,000 a year. United States tourists already have been stopped. •

"Under the Trading with the Enemy Act the President could impose almost any degree of economic sanctions he wanted. To the extent that foreign aid and tourism are in suspension, 'sanctions' already have been imposed at a potential cost of \$130,000,000. A United Nations General Assembly recommendation merely calling for a halt on all foreign aid to Israel would continue this suspension in effect, assuming the United States complied.

"A United Nations call for total economic quarantine of Israel could lead, at least theoretically, to invocation of a complete payments ban, as with Communist China and North Korea. This would cut off more than \$100,000,000 from the U. S. A. and Israel state bonds, plus whatever private capital investment was planned.



"Finally, such a complete quarantine could involve a shut-off in trade. United States exports to Israel came to \$90,200,000 in 1955 and imports from Israel to \$17,100,000.

"The United Nations could, of course, start simply with 'diplomatic' sanctions, which would mean withdrawal of recognition and diplomatic missions. If it moved to economic sanctions, it could be vague or specific. And finally, it could recommend military sanctions, meaning armed force to push Israel behind her borders."

### *Key Factor in Middle East*

The *New York Times* of February 17, gives the following summary of the situation in the Middle East Asia at that time:

"These are the essentials of the situation in the Middle East, 112 days after the invasion of Egypt.

"Israel remains in two areas overrun by her armies, demanding security guarantees as the price of withdrawal.

"The U. N. Emergency Force is deployed across the Sinai peninsula from Suez to the Israeli lines.

"Egypt again holds the canal and seems prepared to use that fact as a lever against Israel.

"The U. S. and U. S. S. R. are locked in a great struggle for leadership and influence in the Middle East—a struggle that crystalized with the collapse of Britain's position in the region and that hinges largely on what course the Arabs pursue.

"Into this intricate picture the U.S. last week moved with a caution that reflected the delicacy of its effort to assert influence in the Egypt-Israeli conflict without giving offense to the Arabs.

"At the same time Moscow mounted a counter offensive against the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East. It was plain that this broad struggle would be long and bitter—a mark of the reviving cold war.

"The Egyptian-Israeli dispute centers on two tiny specks of land—the Gaza Strip and Sharm el Sheikh—occupied by Israel since the first days of the November attack on Egypt. Egypt and the U.N. General Assembly have repeatedly demanded Israel's unconditional withdrawal. Israel has demanded as a price for withdrawal, assurances that Egypt will refrain from (1) border raids based on Gaza; (2) a blockade, based on Sharm el Sheikh, of the Gulf

of Aqaba connecting the Red Sea with the Israeli port of Elath.

"For the U.S., the dispute involves a cruel dilemma. Egypt's case commands the support of the nations Washington is most eager to woo—the Arab-Asian bloc. But this country's closest allies—Britain and France—share with Israel grievances against Egypt's Nasser Government.

"For weeks, Washington has been trying to stave off a direct test at the U.N. To that end the U.S. has negotiated ceaselessly behind the scenes. It has called on Israel to withdraw and on Egypt to give guarantees. It has advanced proposals leaving the key decision up to Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld. It has offered resolutions framed in what appeared to be deliberately ambiguous terms. One, passed two weeks ago, was so vague that the vote found Egypt and Israel on the same side—abstention."

### *Gromyko for Shepilov*

The following editorial in the *New York Times* of February 17, shows what a large section of the U.S. press consider what this shift indicates:

"Under the Russian system, *Narkomindel* (the Foreign Ministry) plays a largely technical role. Major policy decisions are made by the topmost leaders of the party, then relayed to the Foreign Minister. 'This appointment means very little to me,' Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Russia's second Foreign Minister, once lamented. 'I know that Koba (Stalin) will be making all the decisions. \* \* \* I don't even know what line to take in conversations.'

"Nevertheless, switches at the head of the Foreign Ministry can symbolize policy changes. Molotov's replacement of Litvinov in March, 1939, for example, opened the way to the reversal of policy culminating in the Nazi-Soviet pact in August of that year. Last Friday Moscow made known another switch in the office of Foreign Minister by this announcement:

"The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Shepilov of the duties of U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister in connection with other work. [It] has appointed Gromyko U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister.'

"The two men involved in the change provided a striking contrast in personality, experience and outlook.

"*Dmitri Shepilov*, 51, handsome and out-

going, is a propaganda expert, member of Khrushchev's party secretariat, and former editor of Pravda. His first public ventures in foreign affairs paved the way for the arms deal with Egypt in September, 1955, and for the Soviet-Yugoslav reconciliation in the spring of last year. He replaced Molotov as Foreign Minister last June.

"*Andrei Gromyko*, 48, dour and tight-lipped, is a career diplomat who worked his way up under Stalin and Molotov during the bitterest days of the cold war. Before returning to Moscow in 1953 as Deputy Foreign Minister, he had served as Ambassador to the U.S. and Britain and as chief Soviet delegate at the U.N. There he became known for often saying 'Nye!' and sometimes 'taking a walk'."

### *Military Aid to Pakistan*

We give below the news report of Pandit Nehru's speech at Hyderabad on February 22 :

"Prime Minister Nehru today declared that United States military aid to Pakistan and Britain's continuing support of Pakistan on the two-nation theory could lead to a dangerous situation and bring conflict in its wake.

"Shri Nehru, who was addressing over two lakhs of people here at the Fa'eh Maidan said, 'We have to remain fully prepared to meet any challenge to our freedom or any efforts to revert the course of history. Our Army is quite strong. We have weapons too and these weapons will be used when the time comes to use them to defend ourselves. But more important than this is to develop unity of hearts and to bring about an emotional integration of the people.'

"The Prime Minister devoted a considerable part of his 100-minute speech to Britain's 'strange' attitude towards free India and the flow of military aid into 'irresponsible hands.'

"Shri Nehru said that the Kashmir question acquired a special importance in the context of this U.S. military aid to Pakistan and Britain's 'old attitude' to India's freedom."

"The Prime Minister asked the people to remain prepared to meet any danger that might arise and said, 'We can prepare ourselves fully by not getting perturbed and at the same time developing unity among the people of India.'

"Shri Nehru reiterated that India in no circumstances would allow foreign troops to step on her soil.

"He denounced military pacts and military aid and said that these had increased the danger of war.

"Shri Nehru said that 'leaders of Pakistan' had openly stated that the military aid, including atomic weapons, received from the U.S. would be used against India.

"'I do not understand,' Shri Nehru said, 'with what intention, these arms are being sent to Pakistan. Is it to maintain peace in Asia? I have not understood fully these new ways of keeping peace.'

"The Prime Minister said that the U.S. Government had assured India that the military aid being sent to Pakistan would not be against India. 'We do not doubt the genuineness of this assurance of the U.S. Government. We have respect for the United States which is a great country. We have friendship with them. But I want to ask, who is going to check whether the military aid sent to Pakistan is at any time used against India or not? Would this investigation be started after it was used?'

"Shri Nehru declared that wherever this method (of giving military aid) had been followed, conflict and war had come in its wake. 'War cannot be prevented by warlike means.'

"Shri Nehru said that Pakistan was an independent country and had a right to receive military aid from the U.S. 'What right have I to tell Pakistan what to do or what not to do? But I have certainly a right to say that the result of this will be, what dangers arise from such a step and what we have to do to meet any contingency flowing from these dangers.'

"Shri Nehru said that this military aid to Pakistan had caused India anxiety and had forced her to divert funds for strengthening her armed forces. 'We did not like to do it but we were forced to do it. We are busy in building up our country and removing poverty from our midst. But this military aid to Pakistan has forced us to tighten our belts and stop some of our nation-building works to divert funds for buying armaments.'

"Britain, Shri Nehru said, had encouraged the propagation of the concept of the two-nation theory in India in pre-independence days. The British Government did it to weaken the nationalist movement and sow disunity. India ultimately accepted partition because 'we were tired of internecine conflict engineered by the British. I,

however, want to make it quite clear that we accepted partition not on the basis of the two-nation theory but on the basis of a political settlement. The issue was decided mainly in the Legislatures of Punjab and Bengal in undivided India. This was done through voting. Whether it was done rightly or wrongly is a different matter. I do not go into it.'

"Shri Nehru said that the leaders of Pakistan took no part in the freedom movement of India. They were with the British and that was one reason why Britain was today so friendly and near to Pakistan. In this freedom movement, the people of Kashmir had close connections with the Indian freedom movement.

"The people of Kashmir, the majority of whom are Muslims, had repudiated the two-nation theory all along. The Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir have many common bonds and they opposed this two-nation concept.'

"He said that it was very strange indeed that even after 10 years of India's freedom, Britain should still support this two-nation concept.

"Pakistan, Shri Nehru said, had always been a great supporter of the two-nation theory but what was odd was that this theory was sometimes also supported 'in subdued language by certain foreign countries, particularly Britain.'

"The Prime Minister said that it was really strange that Britain should try to adopt the old tactics of pre-independence days and support this two-nation theory and try to revive the old conflict. 'Were these last 10 years after freedom a dream that Britain should today again harp on the two-nation theory and place this old conflict before us, as if nothing had happened in all these years?' he asked.

"Shri Nehru added amidst cheers, 'We will never accept this two-nation theory whatever might be the consequences.'

"Shri Nehru said, 'I do not wish to say anything about the leaders of Pakistan. They are leaders of a big country. But I will say with all respect that when India, and Pakistan was also included in it then, was in the throes of the freedom movement, these leaders of Pakistan did not take part in this freedom movement. Not only this, these leaders to some extent opposed it. Our rulers at that time, the British, supported these leaders of Pakistan. This was done when our country was thirsting for freedom. It is, therefore, understandable that Britain has closer

relations with Pakistan because of this old association.'

"Shri Nehru said, 'This is understandable but I thought that the world had changed a little during all these years and it had started thinking in a new way on these questions. So I was deeply pained to know that people in England, not all people but people generally, should continue to think on these matters in the same old way as was the case before India's freedom.'

"He added, 'It appears that India's going out of possession of Britain has caused a severe blow to their hearis.'

"The Prime Minister said amidst prolonged cheers that nobody could reverse the course of history. 'If, however, any effort is made to bring about a reversal of history, then storms will arise. So this Kashmir question is important. But much more important than this are the things behind it.'

"The Prime Minister said, 'I do not want that you or anyone in India should get perturbed over this matter. But I do want you to realise that it is a complicated matter and there are dangers inherent in it.'

"Apart from this, we have to consider the flow of most modern weapons into Pakistan. Pakistani Army officers have openly stated that they have got atomic weapons also. They are not atom bombs but atomic artillery which could fire small atomic bombs. It is really very strange that these weapons are being sent to Pakistan.'

"He said, 'With what intention are these weapons being sent to Pakistan? Are they being sent to ensure peace in Asia? I have not understood fully these new ways of keeping peace,' he said."

### *The Soviet Veto*

We reproduce from the *New York Times* of February 19, a report on the Security Council moves on the Kashmir question, prior to the actual Soviet veto. It shows the actual position of the resolution:

"United Nations, N.Y., February 18—The Security Council postponed a vote on the Kashmir problem today after it had been learned that the Soviet Union intended to veto a resolution sponsored by the United States and three other nations.

"The postponement, until 10-30 A.M. Wednesday, was made ostensibly because V. K. Krishna Menon, head of the Indian delegation,



was ill and unable to deliver what was said to be 'a very important statement.'

"The Soviet threat of a veto was not made directly, but was filtered down to the delegations concerned through talks in the corridors. On the Council floor, Arkady A. Sobolev, head of the Soviet delegation, said that the resolution sponsored by the United States, Britain, Australia and Cuba raised an artificial 'hullabaloo' and that his delegation would oppose it as it stood.

"The resolution asks that the Council President, Gunnar V. Jarring of Sweden, go to India and Pakistan to try to work out a solution of the Kashmir problem. Mr. Jarring's primary concern would be the demilitarization of the disputed mountainous state. The resolution suggests that he keep in mind a Pakistani proposal to send a United Nations force to replace Pakistani and Indian forces there.

Mr. Sobolev offered some amendments that would remove any mention of a United Nations force, as well as any reference to a plebiscite. The United Nations has been attempting to arrange a plebiscite for the last nine years. India contends there is no longer a need for such a vote.

"Although Mr. Sobolev's statement that he would 'oppose' the resolution indicated a veto, some delegations remained uncertain. The Soviet Union abstained January 23 when the Council adopted an earlier 'holding' resolution. However, word was passed around that the Russians meant just what they said.

"Indian circles here were upset over the development. It was reported that during the last few days they had been asking the Soviet delegation not to use the veto. The Russians were told that India had no intention of complying with the resolution anyway, it is understood.

"India's discontent is based on several reasons, among them the fact that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is campaigning for the Indian general elections, to be held in the first half of March. Communists in India are in opposition to Mr. Nehru's Congress party and it would be embarrassing for him to have them say the Soviet Union had pulled India's chestnuts out of the United Nations fire.

"What may be other reasons for India's feelings on the matter were indicated by Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Foreign Minister of Pakistan.

Mr. Noon told the Council that Pakistan would welcome the resolution.

"Pakistan evidently holds no strong hopes for the resolution and recognizes that if India refused to co-operate it would be of little practical value. Mr. Noon said he would 'welcome' a Soviet veto, if only because it would show the American public 'who are Mr. Nehru's only friends.'"

### *Resolution on Kashmir*

We append below the text of the last Security Council resolution:

"The following is the text of the second resolution submitted to the Security Council on Kashmir by Britain, United States, Cuba and Australia.

"The security council recalling its resolution of January 24, 1957, its previous resolutions and the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan on the India-Pakistan Question:

"(1) requests the President of the Security Council, the representative of Sweden, to examine with the Governments of India and Pakistan any proposals which, in his opinion, are likely to contribute towards the settlement of the dispute, having regard to the previous resolutions of the Security Council and of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan to visit the sub-continent for this purpose; and to report to the Security Council not later than April 15, 1957.

"(2) invites the Government of India and Pakistan to co-operate with him in the performance of these functions; and

"(3) requests the Secretary General and the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan to render such assistance as he may request."

### *Pakistani Methods*

The following news-item illustrates the principles on which Pakistan relies in her attempt to prejudice the world against India. It also is a measure of American gullibility:

"The United Press of America expressing regret for the supply of news picture purported to show the exodus of Kashmir Muslims to Pakistan say that the picture in question was sent to Karachi Bureau of the UPA by the Directorate of Publications of the Pakistan

Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. There was nothing in the accompanying caption and in the picture itself to indicate that the picture was anything but spot material. Thus the photograph was accepted in good faith and the unfortunate mistake was not a deliberate move on the part of the U.P.A. to harm India's interest.

"Mr. John Hlavacek, Regional Manager of the U.P.A., issued the following statement in Delhi today :

"The Indian press has carried in full the apology from the Washington Post on the newspaper supplied by the American United Press which purported to show the exodus of Kashmiri Muslims to Pakistan.

"Although the American United Press accepts responsibility for the unfortunate mistake, the United Press of America feels that a full explanation is necessary to remove any impression that this was a deliberate move on the part of American United Press to harm India's interest.

"The picture in question was sent to the Karachi Bureau of the United Press of America by the Directorate of Publications of the Pakistan Ministry for Kashmir Affairs. Although the Ministry for Kashmir Affairs now admits the pictures were taken in 1947, there was nothing in the original accompanying caption material and in the picture itself to indicate that the picture was anything but spot material, and it was included in the American United Press picture service as such.

"It is the customary practice for United Press of America to receive photos from a number of sources, Government and otherwise. In this case also our Karachi Bureau accepted the photograph in good faith.

"However, the United Press of America already has sent its sincere regrets to the Government of India for the unintentional damage caused by the publication of the picture. The United Press of America also wishes to express its regret to the Indian public.

"The American United Press is an independent organization, not owned or controlled by any Government or the newspapers of any one country. The American United Press gives service with favour to clients all over the world on an equal basis.

"Indian editors well know the role the United Press of America played in aiding the Indian independence movement by bringing to

India an independent news report. The American United Press is proud of its record and deplores anything that reflects upon its integrity."

### *Cinema in Education*

The *New York Times* of February 15 published the following account of how the cinema is being harnessed to actual school education. Our adult education and technical educational sections may well take this pointer:

A complete course in high-school physics is being put on motion-picture film, in sound and color.

This is believed to be the first full-year course in this country to be made available on film. It is being financed by a \$500,000 grant from the Ford Foundation Fund for the Advancement of Education.

The project is designed to help schools that lack science teachers. For some time school administrators have complained that they have been unable to get enough chemistry or physics teachers. Many schools do not offer physics because they cannot get instructors.

The course will consist of eighty-one hours of films, divided into 162 half-hour classes. The first half of the course has been completed; the rest will be ready by June 1.

More than 500,000 feet of color film will be used to photograph the course in a multiple-camera set-up in a Pittsburgh studio-classroom. The complete course will consist of more than 160,000 feet of film.

### *Controversy Over Contract*

Recently there arose a fierce controversy in Calcutta Corporation over the granting of a contract for laying 72 ins. pipeline between Tallah and Palta designed to augment the supply of drinking water in the city of Calcutta. Estimated to cost Rs. 2.19 crores, this was the biggest development scheme undertaken by the Corporation in many years. The Water Supply Committee of the Corporation recommend the work of pipe-laying to be entrusted to a Bombay firm and the Corporation in a meeting on February 8 endorsed the recommendation of the committee by 34 votes to 32, the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor also voting in favour.

Before the proposal could thus be passed there was a prolonged debate in which some members of the official Congress Party even

found themselves opposing their own Party within the Corporation.

The main critic of the measure was an official member, Shri S. K. Gupta, I.C.S., Chairman of the City Improvement Trust. As the points he made seemed very pertinent we reproduce them substantially below as reported in the *Statesman*, February 9, 1957:

"The day's severe criticism of the Water Supply Committee's proposal," the report says, "came from Mr. Gupta when he spoke in support of his amendment. He agreed with the Committee that the Tallah-Palta main was a matter of such vital importance to rate-payers that nothing should be done to delay or defer it on frivolous grounds. At the same time, he added, if some legal formalities had been omitted or if the matter was doubtful, they could not simply shut their eyes to them and go ahead. Three such omissions had been pointed out by the Chief Accountant of the Corporation. These were that the financial provision for the estimated cost of the project was lacking; the size of the pipe having been increased from 60 ins. to 72 ins., Government sanction should be obtained for the deviation; and that since the estimate was likely to exceed the present calculations, further provision of funds and sanction of the Government for the increased expenditure was necessary.

"The first point had been met by the Finance Committee which had agreed to provide a loan of Rs. 1.5 crores in the next year's budget. As regards the second, the Chief Engineer did not consider the deviation as material. But as for the third the officer had promptly reduced the supervision charges from the usual 5 per cent to 1 per cent and the cost of land acquisition from Rs. 15 lakhs to Rs. 3 lakhs in order to keep the estimate within the sanctioned amount. Even assuming that very little land would have to be acquired, it had to be explained why the cost for it was assessed so high in the first instance. He suggested that immediate sanction of the Government should be asked for to the deviation of the approved specification and to the increase in the estimated cost, if any.

"One, said Mr. Gupta, who went through the proceedings of the Water Supply Committee, could never overlook the vacillation shown by it. In December, 1956, it decided in favour of

Sur Iron and Steel by a majority of five to two irrespective of party affiliation. Within two days of this resolution an associate member filed a rescinding motion and on January 10, 1957, the Committee reversed its previous decision.

"That the dice was heavily loaded in favour of the Bombay firm, from the beginning," said Mr. Gupta, "is clear from the papers circulated, and one cannot help feeling that the officers of the Engineering Department and some members of the Standing Committee have been vying with one another in making the path easy for Structural Engineers and difficult for others.

"The tender was originally called on October 8, 1955, and the box was opened on February 14, 1956, before which no one is supposed to know who are the parties who have submitted tenders. Why then was it assumed in October, 1955, when the general conditions and specifications were finalized that the tenderer would be an outsider who would have to set up a factory at Palta and need a site free of charge? Why did the Deputy Chairman of the Water Supply Committee visit the factory of Structural Engineers in Bombay in December, 1954? The information was that the Engineering Adviser to the Corporation also visited the factory at the same time. Was it scientific curiosity or was contact already established with the firm in anticipation of this contract? Why were the M.S. plates received in November-December, 1956, immediately transferred to Palta? It could be done only on the assumption that the acceptance of the tender of Structural Engineers was a foregone conclusion, even though there were two other tenderers whose workshops were in Calcutta?

"In the discussions at the Committee stage, the 'extra consideration' given to Structural Engineers by some Councillors was in strange contrast with the summary dismissal of the cases of others.

"Explaining his reasons why the tender of Sur Iron and Steel should be preferred to that of Structural Engineers, Mr. Gupta said that it was to their interest to break the monopoly and encourage the growth of competition in this particular line of work. Secondly, the efficiency of Structural Engineers was not as great as was reported and the advantage which they



had over the Calcutta firm on the ground of experience in pipe fabrication was now neutralized by the powerful combination of Kuljian Corporation and Sur Iron and Steel. Thirdly, that the so-called economy derived from the tender of Structural Engineers was a myth because the amendment to one of the clauses of the contract subsequently introduced made this economy perfectly illusory.

"Structural Engineers had experience of the first part of the work—fabrication of pipes—which accounted for less than half the cost of the project. They did not do much trench digging in Bombay. But in the case of the Tallah-Palta, main the entire 14 miles would be underground. In the matter of cathodic protection of the pipeline they were as completely innocent as anybody. The proposed to entrust this work to another firm which existed on paper and had not done any such work before. The firm would, therefore, have to depend on a London firm."

Replying to the debate Shri J. L. Saha, Chairman of the Water Supply Committee, said that M/s. Structural Engineers were given the contract because they had actually carried out similar work and their rates were economical. He said that Shri S. K. Gupta had tried only to create a bias in the House so that these tenders were rejected or at least the contract went to M/s. Sur Iron and Steel. The Corporation by sanctioning the purchase of steel plates for the pipe line in advance had gained some economic advantage, and when these started arriving, he had asked the Commissioner to stack them in the Central Municipal Workshops at Tallah. It was a matter of regret that Shri Gupta saw "motives" behind everything the departments had done.

We find it rather surprising that the Chairman of the Improvement Trust of Calcutta should think that the fabrication of the pipes was a minor question compared to the laying, and that he should not be aware that the Kuljian Corporation was only a consultant and supervisory firm and not structural engineers.

### *Unity in India*

Pandit Nehru seems to be well aware of the dissensions amongst our nationals, as the following news report of his speech at Jubbulpore on February 27 would indicate. But his

judgment on the causative factors is still far out from reality:

"Prime Minister Nehru who stressed in his speeches during his election tour of six States the vital need of forging real unity in India made a personal reference at his election meeting here late last night.

"Shri Nehru, who spoke with great feeling and emotion, said: 'Forgive me for talking to you about myself. I am capable of work and perhaps have a little intelligence. It is nothing extraordinary. But for the last thirty or forty years I have come in touch with the people of India and the people have given me their affection and love, given me their confidence. So I became Prime Minister.

"But I am something more than the Prime Minister because I enjoy the affection of the people of India. This affection is my strength and it is for this reason that I am more agile for my age for I have no doubt that this vigour comes from your love and affection.

"I have been in touch with the people of India for thirty years before independence and I too became a symbol of the unity of India.

"There is nothing special in me but the effect of my work before independence enables me to serve India better today. Perhaps I can serve India a little more than others because of this past association and comradeship with the people of India.

"I do not know what might happen afterwards when other people will be in my place who have not belonged to the Gandhi Yug (epoch).

"They will not enjoy this advantage. So I am anxious that in the next five or ten years, the country settles down firmly on the path of progress and advancement, and that the advantage enjoyed by my generation may be fully utilised in the service of India."

"Shri Nehru referred to the forces which created disunity in India and said: 'We have many problems, political, social, and economic but the basic problem is whether we are a nation or not? Our country is one geographically. But are we one emotionally? Are we bound together with emotional ties or not? There are unfortunately factors which are enemies of our nationalism. They are communalism and casteism and other things which separate our people. We have to fight them ruthlessly to strengthen our nationhood.'"

# INDIA'S CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

By ARTHUR A. WICHMANN,

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## INTRODUCTION

[The following paper by Professor Arthur A. Wichmann, Department of Economics, University of Wichita, Wichita, Kansas, was read at the luncheon session of the Fifth Annual Conference on Asian Affairs at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, held on October 12-13, 1956, under the chairmanship of the present writer. Professor Wichmann's careful analysis of the Second Five-Year Plan should be of special interest to readers in India. The paper sets forth the considered, scholarly judgment of a friend of India. The slightly pessimistic note in Mr. Wichmann's paper concerning India's ability to make good its blueprint of the Second Five-Year Plan is understandable when viewed objectively. But scholars do not make room for the intangible quality, the determination and dedication of a people. I am quite sure, just as India fulfilled her First Five-Year Plan magnificently, so will she be able to fulfil the Second Five-Year Plan. In addition to the will of the people of India, one may count upon another intangible asset, namely, the concern of the American people and the American Government to help India realize her blueprint within the framework of democratic processes. Hence I do not subscribe to Professor Wichmann's pessimistic note, but it seems to me that the readers in India should benefit from his objective analysis. —Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, Professor of Sociology, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa.]

India's current economic problems are not unique to the sub-continent. All under-developed areas commonly share these problems. India is unique, however, with respect to the value system she has adopted as a frame-work within which her economic problems have been and are to be handled. As is commonly known, India's leaders have chosen to adhere to democratic ideas in their struggle for economic development. In China, on the other hand, totalitarian methods are being utilised in the quest for economic development. Throughout the rest of the world leaders and citizens of the under-developed countries are carefully observing both India and China and are eagerly awaiting quantitative data which may permit a comparative study of the rates and absolute levels of economic development achieved under the two different approaches to the problem. Interest in the relative levels of economic development and the speed with which these levels are attained is not confined, it should be noted, to the under-developed countries. The entire Western world is, or at least should be, vitally interested in the economic experiments currently being conducted in China and in India.

It seems reasonable to assume that if India's method is more successful than China's, other under-developed nations will prefer to follow the Indian blue-print in tackling the problems of economic development. A corollary would then seem to be a closer alliance of the under-developed regions with the Western Powers as well as an increasing tendency on the part of the under-developed areas to identify themselves with the aims of the Western world. The opposite seems likely, if not inevitable, should India's experiment fail and China's succeed. The significance of the latter for the West in the event of the complete degeneration of international relations should be obvious to all.

## NATURE AND DETERMINANTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### *Definitions*

An appreciation of India's current economic problems necessitates some knowledge of the nature and determinants of economic development generally. Though it is a bit hazardous to suggest that economists, or other social scientists for that matter, can agree completely upon anything, it is highly probable that most economists would equate economic development with a persistent rise in per capita real income.<sup>1</sup> Certainly the Government of India Planning Commission has discussed economic development in terms which indicate unmistakably that it subscribes to the definition of economic development just presented.<sup>2</sup> Key factors in or determinants of economic development are population, natural resources, capital formation, and technology. Though other subsidiary factors may speed or retard the process of economic development, it is generally agreed that the primary

1. If military prowess be the goal of development, as it might well be for a totalitarian state, then "national" might be substituted for per capita in the definition given above.

See: C. Lowell Harriss, *The American Economy* (Homewood, Ill. Richard D. Irwin, 1953), pp. 1020-1022 for a discussion of this point.

2. Government of India Planning Commission, *Second Five-Year Plan* (New Delhi, 1956), Chapter II. See also, table on p. 73 of same publication. This reference is cited henceforth as *Second Five-Year Plan*.

determinants of economic growth or development are the four factors just enumerated.<sup>3</sup>

Certain techniques and public policies available to highly developed countries in promoting economic growth are either not available at all to under-developed countries or can be used only so sparingly that meager returns if any can be expected from their use.

#### ROLE OF CAPITAL FORMATION

In a country with a growing population a persistent rise in per capita real income requires a rate of increase in the national product in excess of the rate of population growth. For the national product to rise not only must existing capital be replaced as it depreciates or is consumed but the supply of capital must be enlarged. That is to say, there must be net capital formation taking place at a rate sufficient to permit the physical product of the economy to grow more, relatively, than the population. For countries that are highly developed economically the net capital formation requirement is fairly easily met. For example, if full employment exists in the United States<sup>4</sup> but it is desired to step up the level of capital formation, tax rates may be raised<sup>5</sup> thus reducing levels of consumption. A reduced level of consumption will release resources for capital formation while at the same time the higher tax rates have provided the Federal Government with increased revenues which can be utilized for channelling the released resources into new investment.

Historically, the countries with a high level of economic development have not had to concern themselves with a deficient rate of capital formation during periods of full employment.

3. Compare, for example, the following:

(1) W. Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth* (Homewood, Ill. Richard D. Irwin, 1955), pp. 5-12.

(2) *Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan*, Editors: Simon Kaynets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1955), Ch. 1.

(3) *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 6-7.

4. For a classification of countries by level of economic development see Eugene Staley: *The Future of Under-developed Countries*, (New York: Harper Bros. 1954), pp. 16-17.

5. One might argue that higher taxes will destroy private investments, thus, on balance, no net capital formation results. It is not necessary to take sides in such an argument, however, for the tax rates might be raised regressively and if so is unlikely that the high-taxes-destroy-investment-initiative group would utter a murmur of protest.

Deficient investment outlays have plagued them, though, when under-employment and depression existed. If unemployment and depression pervades the highly developed economy, it is quite easy for the economist to prescribe the appropriate public policy remedy. Per capita real income can be raised by re-employing the currently unemployed workers, capital, and other idle productive services. Government can readily accomplish this directly by hiring the unemployed resources itself and directing their activity, or it can achieve the same results indirectly by raising its level of expenditures for goods and services. In either case employment rises, output rises, per capita real income rises, and, with higher levels of income, savings will increase thereby providing the resources necessary for net capital formation.

#### THE SAVINGS DILEMMA

Conditions confronting an under-developed economy attempting to raise per capita real income are such, however, that prescribing the techniques and policies appropriate to the highly developed economy will either fail completely or will produce side effects which may be wholly unacceptable. This is particularly true if, as is the case in India, the development program of the government is welfare-oriented and permits broad scope for freedom of consumer choice.<sup>6</sup> Typically the per capita real income in under-developed countries is very low, so low, in fact, that increasing the current rate of saving is considered impossible. Indeed, in many such countries, saving is virtually nil. This should not be surprising since per capita real income in under-developed areas is frequently well below what is considered a minimum subsistence level. Where this is true the dilemma posed is quite intractable. Per capita incomes can be raised only if net capital formation is stepped up but to do this resources now consumed must be released for capital formation. However, if consumption is reduced—savings increased—the less-than-subsistence level of living is made even lower.

#### POPULATION, TECHNOLOGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Though most under-developed countries have a substantial amount of unemployment and under-

6. See: Wilfred Malenbaum, "India and China: Development Contrasts," *Journal of Political Economy*, (February, 1956), pp. 1-24.



employment, idle resources are confined almost entirely to labour. Though of course labour is essential to capital formation and to economic activity generally, labour alone cannot create capital. Other productive services already existing, capital in particular, must be used in conjunction with it. Yet, in most instances, in India and countries with a roughly comparable level of economic development, other productive services are not available since they are not unemployed. Stout hearts, great courage, and ingenious and fertile minds are required even to confront such a dilemma, to say nothing of solving it.

The combined impact of population growth and improved technology upon underdeveloped areas tends frequently to intensify rather than to mitigate the difficulties associated with attempts to achieve economic growth. The technology of death control is singularly acceptable throughout the world. Dissimilar societies and cultures accept and adopt the major technological advances in medical science and adapt rather readily to its requirements, it seems.<sup>7</sup> The technology of birth control, on the other hand, for cultural, religious, and other reasons is much less acceptable. As a result cases now abound of instances in which phenomenal reductions in death rates have been produced over relatively short periods of time while birth-rates have fallen only slightly and, in many instances, have not changed at all or have risen.<sup>8</sup>

When one adds to the above characteristics of underdeveloped areas the fact that most of the world's land-area and known natural resources are in the hands of those countries possessing a high level of economic development, the magnitude of the tasks confronting India and similar nations is seen to be staggering and likely to leave one completely appalled.

7. See, for example, (1) *Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan*, op. cit., pp. 263-315 in particular; (2) Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), Chapter 6; (3) Frank W. Notestein, "Problems of Policy in Relation to Areas of Heavy Population Pressure," *Demographic Studies of Selected Areas of Rapid Growth*, (New York: Millbank Memorial Fund, 1944), pp. 138-158; (4) George Kuriyan, "India's Population Problem," *Focus*, (October, 1954), pp. 1-6.

8. Specific cases in point are provided by U.S. experiences in Puerto Rico and by the rapid population rise in Ceylon after 1946 when DDT was introduced for the control of malaria on the island.

#### INDIA'S SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The discussion presented to this point has indicated the general nature of the problems currently facing India in its efforts to achieve the objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan formally launched on 2nd of May, 1956. Throughout the remainder of this paper attention will be focused upon some of the major economic goals of the Second Five-Year Plan, the specific problems associated with their attainment, and the probable successes or failures that may be expected.

#### TARGET GOALS VS. NEEDS

Though the Plan contains many specific objectives or targets, it is not inappropriate to suggest that two major objectives tend to dominate. These objectives are (1) to raise the level of national income in real terms by 25 per cent, and (2) to provide employment for all new additions to the labor force during the five-year period.

In achieving these two major objectives some of the target goals set are the following:<sup>9</sup>

(1) Food production is to be increased by 10 million tons per year, a 15 per cent improvement, (2) 21 million additional acres are to be irrigated, an increase of nearly one-third, (3) Iron ore output is to be increased nearly 200 per cent, bringing it to 12.5 million tons per year, (4) Steel production is to be boosted to 4.3 million tons per year which is an increase of 231 per cent, (5) In achieving the steel target coal production is to be increased 58 per cent, bringing it to 60 million tons per year, (6) Electrical generating capacity is to be doubled, bringing it to 6.9 million kw., (7) Production of fertilizer is to be more than tripled, raising it to 2.17 million tons per year, (8) Cotton production is to be increased by about one-third, (9) Jute production is to be upped 25 per cent. The village development program now reaching 80 million persons is to be expanded to embrace all of India's half-million or so villages—thus reaching some 325 million persons. The targets, in absolute terms, are impressive to say the least. Yet, viewed from the standpoint of India's needs, they are really very modest goals. For example, according to the Planning Commission, the 10-million ton increase in food production will

9. See *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 51-76 for a list of the specific target goals and a brief discussion of them.

permit an increase in daily per capita caloric intake from 2,200 at present to 2,450 in 1960-61. Yet, as the text of the second Five-Year Plan indicates, the 2,450 daily per capita intake of calories must be weighed "against the minimum of 3000 calories recommended by nutrition experts."<sup>10</sup> Another measure of the modest nature of the goals may be obtained by translating the 18 per cent per capita real income increase provided by a 25 per cent increase in national income into U.S. dollars. Using 1952 prices in India as the base, the Indian per capita income in 1955-56 was \$58.61.<sup>11</sup> Thus the 18 per cent increase set as the target goal for the Second Plan amounts to \$10.55 per capita per year, not an extravagant increase it will surely be agreed.

#### FINANCING THE PLAN ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES AND SOURCES OF FINANCING

Attainment of the target goals depends, among other things, upon the accuracy of the Planning Commission's estimates of expenditure requirements, and the ability of the public and private sectors of the Indian economy to finance these estimated expenditures. According to the Planning Commission's estimates, outlays or expenditures of the Central and State Governments over the period of the Second Five-Year Plan must be 48 billion rupees while the private sector of the economy is expected to make outlays in connection with the plan of 24 billion rupees.

The financing of the public outlays is to come from the following sources:

- (1) Surplus from current revenues, 8 billion rupees *800 crores*
- (2) Borrowings from the public, 12 billion rupees *1200 "*
- (3) Other budgetary resources, 4 billion rupees
- (4) External financing, 8 billion rupees *800*
- (5) Deficit financing, 12 billion rupees, and *1200*
- (6) Unspecified domestic sources, referred to as the "Gap," 4 billion rupees.<sup>12</sup>

One can deduce from the Planning Commission's statements that the 24 billion-rupee

outlay in the private sector is expected to come from the following sources:<sup>13</sup>

- (1) 3 billion rupees from foreign sources
- (2) 4 billion rupees from domestic commercial bank credit expansion
- (3) 3 to 4 billion rupees which may be lent out of increased commercial bank time deposits, and
- (4) the 13-14 billion-rupee balance must come from re-investment of earnings and the floatation of new security issues in the Indian Capital market.

#### BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM

It will be observed that public outlays and private outlays combined depend upon obtaining 11 billion rupees from foreign sources. The 11 billion rupee figure is the estimated deficit in the Indian balances of payments for the period 1955-56 to 1960-61. It is proposed that 2 billion rupees of the deficit be met by utilizing existing foreign exchange holdings of the central bank by this amount. It seems unlikely that private foreign capital will flow to India during the next five years at a rate in excess of India's needs in connection with repayments of past loans and interest charges on loans extended to her by the International Bank, by the United States, and by the U.S.S.R. Thus 9 billion rupees of the balance of payments deficit must come from external public sources. From undisbursed I.B.R.D. loans already granted to India, from unexpended prior appropriations of aid from the United States, Norway, countries participating in the Colombo Plan, and from special credits extended by Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. to finance new steel plants, it appears that 2 billion of the 9 billion rupee deficit is already assured.<sup>14</sup> If it is assumed that aid from the United States and Colombo Plan countries, as well as loans from the I.B.R.D., continue in the next five years at the same rate as the past five years and that the funds are utilized at the same rate, perhaps another 2 billion rupees of the deficit will be covered. Granted all the preceding sources of foreign funds become available, a deficit of 5 billion rupees must somehow still be financed. From what sources a foreign exchange balance

10. *Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 260.

11. The calculations here are based upon Wilfred Malerbaum's estimates presented in his article, "India and China: Development Contrasts," op. cit., p. 5. See, also, *Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 73.

12. See, *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 72-92.

13. *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 92-94 and chapter 19.

14. *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 102-105, also the *Eleventh Annual Report: 1955-1956* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington, D.C. table on pp. 32-33.

of this magnitude is to be forthcoming is not at all clear from the Planning Commission's analysis of the problem of the balance of payments deficit.

In appraising the likely success of financing the balance of payments deficit, a few observations seem relevant. First, to the extent reliance is placed upon private foreign sources, these may well prove unobtainable. Capitalism, whatever its vigor and vitality in its native environment, seems timid, extremely cautious, and singularly lacking in venturesomeness these days when placed in an alien environment. This is particularly true if the alien environment is controlled by a government dedicated to achieving the goal of a socialistic state. The distinction made by Nehru and the Congress party between things economic and things political is not a distinction made by Western capitalists. Socialism, for the capitalist, means nationalization and expropriation of property and as such is singularly repugnant. Such statements as "The public sector has to expand rapidly . . . it has to play the dominant role in shaping the entire pattern of investments in the economy, whether it makes the investments directly or whether these are made by the private sector. The private sector has to play its part within the framework of the comprehensive plan accepted by the community . . . Private enterprise, free pricing, private management are all devices to further what are truly social ends; they can only be justified in terms of social results,"<sup>15</sup> are almost certain to repel private Western capital. Should this be the case, as seems most likely, the foreign exchange problem will be even more difficult to solve than previously indicated.

Second, it is possible that India's international policy of neutralism is motivated quite as much by economic as by political considerations. Though East and West agree on few issues, we find them both extending aid to India. If the U.S.S.R. agrees to finance a steel plant, this is countered by similar proposals from the West and *vice versa*. It may well be that neutralism, properly exploited, will find both East and West vying for India favour during the next five years and that in doing so, an apparent balance of payments deficit is converted into a surplus. For India's sake it may be hoped that this will be true. For the sake of the West it

may also be hoped that it will be true, though one could wish that the aids were prompted by a somewhat more enlightened understanding of the stakes at issue in the Indian experiment.

#### SAVINGS-INVESTMENT PROBLEM

If foreign resources are available to the extent of 11 billion rupees, 61 billion of the 72 billion rupees of planned outlay will have to come from domestic sources. If from the 61 billion rupees one subtracts 10 billion rupees of "current Developmental expenditure,"<sup>16</sup> net savings of 51 billion rupees will be required to finance domestically the planned outlays. Savings of this magnitude will require that 10.2 billion rupees be saved per year as compared with current (1955-56) net savings of about 6.5 billion rupees per year. For savings to reach an average of 11.2 billion rupees per year it will be necessary for them to grow at the rate of about 16½% per year. During the First Five-Year plan savings rose at an annual rate of 7.2% per year. By 1960-61 savings must reach a level of about 13.96 billion rupees per year if the target is to be achieved. The 7.45 billion rupee increase in savings in 1960-61 over the level in 1955-56 represents about 28% of the 26.8 billion rupee increase in national income planned for 1960-61 over the level attained in 1955-56. On the basis of the above calculations savings will amount to 1.88 billion rupees the last year of the Second Five-Year Plan and will represent 32% of the increase in national income occurring in that year.<sup>17</sup> Since the actual level of national income rose in India during the First Five-Year Plan by 18% and savings grew at an annual rate of 7.2%, it appears doubtful that with a 25% increase in national income, assuming it is achieved under the Second Five-Year Plan, will boost the growth rate to 16½%. It seems quite unlikely that increases in savings as a proportion of increases in national income can be stepped up to a level of 32%. Such a marginal rate of saving is un-

16. This is done by the Planning Commission in arriving at the net investment expenditure though the exact nature of "current developmental expenditure" is not too clear. *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 53-57 and p. 82.

17. The calculations in this paragraph are based upon a compound rate of growth in savings of 16½ per cent per year and a similar rate of growth in national income of 4.53 per cent per year. Both rates are consistent with the target goals and are implicit in them.



usual even for a highly developed economy in which high marginal rates of saving may be expected. Apart from the imposition of rather stringent controls, which may well be at odds with the welfare objectives of the plan, it is difficult to see how savings can be made adequate for the non-inflationary financing necessary to reach the target goals.

#### DEFICIT FINANCING

Even if funds from all sources relied upon by the Planning Commission are in fact obtained it will still be necessary for the Government to borrow heavily from the Reserve Bank of India. It will be recalled that the amount of such borrowing (deficit financing) is estimated at 12 billion rupees by the Planning Commission for public sector expenditures while expenditures in the private sector totalling 4 billion rupees are to be financed through an expansion of credit by commercial banks. Thus new money in the amount of 16 billion rupees is to be created during the five-year period 1955-56 to 1960-61. From this total of 16 billion rupees, 2 billion rupees should be subtracted because of the planned utilization of foreign exchange balances in that amount. This leaves a new addition to the money supply for the five years amounting to 14 billion rupees. Since the Indian money supply for the year 1955-56 totalled 21.8 billion rupees, the 14 billion rupee addition to it means an increase of 64.2% by 1960-61 or an average rate of growth in the money supply per year of 10.5%. The inflationary potential of such an increase in the money supply should be readily apparent. When one adds to this the possible additional deficit spending which may be resorted to because of a failure to secure the expected amounts of revenues from other domestic sources the magnitude of the problem is seen to be quite formidable indeed.

Some increase in the money supply is of course clearly warranted if national income rises during the Plan period by 25% and prices are to be kept stable. Moreover, since Indians seem to prefer currency to bank credit, if per capita income rises it is possible that some additional increase in the money supply may be appropriate to sate the penchant for cash balances (liquidity preference). It still seems unlikely, however, that a 64% increase in the money supply is needed for these purposes. The notion seems implicit in the Planning Commission's statements that

deficit spending will be matched somehow by an offsetting creation of capital through mobilization of idle resources.<sup>18</sup> Of course, if idle resources complementary to labour can be found in amounts sufficient to necessitate the scale of deficit spending planned, little criticism can be launched on this score. There seems to be considerable disagreement, however, among Indian planners themselves concerning the availability of idle complementary resources.<sup>19</sup> In the absence of idle resources complementary to labour, deficit spending of the magnitude envisaged in the Second Five-Year Plan will undoubtedly create inflationary pressures which will tax the competence of the best minds that can be mobilized to meet the threat. The notion that deficit financing can make the same contribution to economic growth in an under-developed country that it can make in a highly developed economy suffering from depression is, at best, a risky one and may prove quite an obstacle to the attainment of India's economic goals in a manner consistent with its dedication to democratic ideals.<sup>20</sup>

#### POPULATION AND POPULATION POLICY

Confronted with the problem of what to suggest to aid India in achieving economic growth, the Western economist, especially an economist from the United States, is likely to conclude that since there are so many Indians and so few other Indian resources the only answer is population control. Justifiably, this answer tends to arouse the ire of an intelligent citizen of India for he knows that his country is doing much in this regard. In fact the Indian knows that his is the only country that has officially recognized the existence of a population problem and has a Governmentally sponsored population policy. The family planning programme under the Second Five-Year Plan is to be vastly expanded and may well reach the remotest areas through its mobile and other rural

18. *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 83-87. See also the discussion of deficit financing in *Second Five-Year Plan: The Framework*, Government of India, (New Delhi: December, 1955), pp. 44-47; also the dissent by Prof. B. R. Shenoy in the same publication, pp. 162-169.

19. R. B. Shenoy, *Ibid.*

20. If allocations, priorities, rationing, price regulation and other direct controls must be instituted in wholesale fashion, there may be many including Indian citizens, who will see little distinction between the Indian and the Chinese experiments.

clinics.<sup>21</sup> The surprising thing is really not that India's population is growing by an annual increment of around 5 million persons but that, despite the marked improvement in economic conditions since partition and independence, the rate of growth has not surged markedly upward. So-called population explosions have tended to accompany the introduction of development projects in most under-developed areas. In India, however, the rate of increase in population growth has not risen appreciably, if at all. The fact that it has not is in large part a tribute to the success and farsightedness of India's leaders and the population policy inaugurated by them under the First Five-Year Plan. Despite the praise which is due India for her family planning program it is nevertheless true that much remains to be done and that India's population must be stabilized in the not-too-distant future.

#### SOCIALISM vs. DEMOCRATIC IDEALS

One is also prompted to speculate at the philosophical level concerning the compatibility of a socialistic economic system, with a democratic state committed to those principles of liberalism commonly associated with democracy and to which India's constitution pledges her government. Especially, is one inclined to contemplate this issue when he realizes the possible extent to which direct controls may be needed to insure attainment of the economic objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan. Countering the fears one might have concerning the compatibility of a socialistic economic system with a liberal democratic state, however, are the plans to extend the community development projects to all of India's half-million or so villages during the next five years. The program in this respect is almost exclusively welfare-oriented and designed to bring the benefits of economic development, modern medical science, education, and so forth to 325 million persons. Certainly, the objectives here are in the best liberal democratic tradition. It is possible that the Second Five-Year Plan should be judged a success even if most of its goals are not achieved so long as the aims of the Community Development Program and the National Extension Service are partially achieved. The size of the task being undertaken in improv-

ing living conditions in India's villages is herculean in its proportions.

#### (SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS)

An effort has been made in this paper to examine the major economic goals of India's Second Five-Year Plan, to analyze the resources available to India in attempting to achieve these goals, and to determine the probability of success in attaining the goals in view of the apparent resources available. On the surface the goals seem fantastically large, yet, in terms of need they are in fact quite modest. The resources available for carrying out the plan appear to be singularly deficient in many respects and thus the probability of success is disappointingly low. In short, the conclusion is tinged with pessimism and gloom.

For those who are by nature optimistic it may be noted that similar appraisals of India's problems were made upon the eve of the First Five-Year Plan.<sup>22</sup> According to many, the likelihood of success was small. Yet the modest goal of an 11 per cent increase in real national income was exceeded and national income rose by 18 per cent.<sup>23</sup>

The forecaster of India's immediate future might well ponder the following words of Jawaharlal Nehru :

"What India is attempting today in regard to Planning is something unique in history. While countries of Western Europe had built up a magnificent industrial civilization over a period of 200 years or so with the support, in some cases, of colonial possessions, and other countries like the Soviet Union had substantial achievements to their credit obtained at a tremendous cost, India is pursuing peaceful and democratic methods to raise the living standard of her people.

We can do this, and the basic reason for my saying so is my enormous faith in the Indian people."<sup>24</sup>

22. See: C. N. Vakil and P. R. Brahmananda, *Planning for a Shortage Economy: The Indian Experiment*, (Bombay, Vora & Co. Pub., Ltd., 1952). Though the authors are favorably disposed to the First Five-Year Plan, they point out the criticisms and doubts of others.

23. The pessimist will quickly point out, however, that a very important factor in the income gain was attributable to unusually favorable monsoons. "What," they may ask, "will be the case if the monsoons fail during the next five years?"

24. *Second Five-Year Plan: The Framework*, inside cover page of publication.

21. *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 553-554.

## THE RAJPUT AND HIS VENDETTA (VAIR)

BY PROF. K. R. QANUNGO, M.A., PH.D.

A Rajput is condemned as a *kuput* (worthless son), who fails to retaliate or die in the attempt. His very birth as a Rajput puts him under a debt, and this debt is to die (*marne ka rin*) in vindication of his personal and family honour in the first instance, and for his *kula* (sept) and *gotra* whenever the call would come. The debt of salt (pay and maintenance) is also repayable by laying down life for the paymaster, no matter of whatever country or creed. It was—and it is, his living faith that blood cries for blood, and that the departed spirit of a kinsman slain in a private feud lies enchained within the belly of the murderer, whose death at the hands of a son, brother or kinsman of the murdered can alone set the aggrieved spirit free to ascend heaven! A Rajput after a successful termination of his grim vow of *vair* conjures up before one's vision the terrific Bhim of the *Mahabharat* and *Veni-samharam*, who drank in the field of Kurukshetra the warm blood of the Kaurava Crown Prince tasting as sweet as mother Kunti's milk. It was but a praiseworthy *Dharma* of a Kshatriya with which even the higher *Dharma* of pious Yudhisthir could not interfere. This sentiment of *vair*, though a noble animal instinct, was thus the legacy of the *Mahabharat* to the Rajput of Medieval India.

*Vair* or vendetta was not peculiar to the Rajputs or to India. It was the common feature of every society in its tribal stage of social evolution. In fact, it was the cement of tribal solidarity, and a sacred duty which a man of honour owed to the society. The Pagan Arab held the law of revenge in as much sanctity as the medieval Rajput. The Mosaic Law of "a tooth for tooth" found its way to Islamic Jurisprudence as *kisas* (retaliation in kind), which was the indisputable right of every Muslim to demand. Pre-Islamic Arab poetry breathes the fire of blood-feud even fiercer than that of the bardic literature of Rajputana. In medieval times, feud and loyalty, whether territorial or clannish, always went together. In the modern age the State has taken away this right of the

individual to retaliate his own wrongs, and made him walk helplessly with the Penal Code in his pocket without any guarantee of adequate justice, which the *katar* of the Rajput used to exact promptly from the wrongdoer or his kith and kin with a more deterrent effect. In medieval Rajput society no money compensation could atone for bloodshed; only *dharti* and *dulhan* (territory and bride) from the guilty clan were acceptable as peace offering.

( 2 )

In Rajputana blood-feud was not confined to the warlike Rajputs only. It was common with men of every community, even of the lower classes. Those who could not shed blood on account of some religious scruple, or where the adversary was stronger, would go to some Rajput protector to do the needful for them. Blood-feud was not an evil brought to Rajputana by the Rajputs themselves. It existed long before in the land, and it exists till today even outside Rajputana among all classes and castes, particularly among the Jats of the Punjab and some parts of U.P., as my personal knowledge goes.

To confine ourselves to Rajputana proper, where the blood-feuds of non-Rajputs will provide an indispensable background for a picture of feuds of the Rajput.

Till the first half of the fifteenth century, the greater part of the territory, later Bikanir Raj, was held in independence by the Saharan, Godara and Beniwal Jats. Rao Bika Rathor came to live among the Jats with his followers. The Saharan Jats lived in Bharang, and one day Malki, the wife of the Chaudhuri of the Saharans, happened to praise the liberality of the Chaudhuri of the Godara and remark in innocence, "One ought to have a Chaudhuri like him." This was too much for her husband and the honour of his tribe. He beat his wife with a stick, and said, "Go and live with him." After about a month of unpleasant non-co-operation in the household, the Saharan Jats assembled one evening to make up the quarrel between their Chaudhuri and his resentful wife. Goats were killed, wine



went round and heavy feasting went on. But Malki fled that very night with the chivalrous Chaudhuri of the Godaras, who was lying in wait in the neighbourhood. Thus *vair* started between the two tribes. The Godaras having Rao Bika at their back, the Saharans decided to surrender their territory for buying the help of the powerful Narsingh Jat of Siwani. Rao Bika surprised Narsingh Jat in his camp, and left the balance even between the two warring tribes, both of which eventually accepted Bika as their ruler. Dasu Beniwal came to Rao Bika, and prayed, "*Raj! hamara vair hai so dilado to dharti tumahari hai*" (My Lord! I have a *vair*; if you avenge it, our land is yours). Rao Bika went against the Sohar Jats of Suhrani Khera to retaliate the *vair* of the Beniwal Jats, and thus every ruling Jat clan of *Jangal-des* in pursuit of petty feuds, lost its territory and independence to the astute and valiant Bika, the founder of the Bikanir Raj.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that as many crack desperadoes among the Rajputs lost their lives in pursuit of *vair* as ever perhaps died in a better cause. Quarrels not only between man and man but also among their unforgiving women-folk multiplied feuds. A Rajputani would not eat her bread in ease till any offence to her was avenged by her son, or any relations on her father's side. No pen-picture of the Rajput's balance-sheet of blood and quarrel can be half so effective as anecdotes preserved in their bardic literature. We shall give abridged versions of a few anecdotes to indicate the spirit of the age.

( 3 )

One stormy night in the rainy season Rao Shuja's son, Nara, who had been given Falodi in jagir,—sat at his meal in his mother's room about four gharis after nightfall, when a maid-servant opened the window, and looking outside said to her mistress, "Tonight lightning is flashing over Pohkaran." At the mention of Pohkaran, Rani Lakshmi, mother of Nara, gave out a pensive sigh. "What ails thee, mother, when thou hast two sons like Bagha and Nara, and the Rao (father) is also hale and hearty?" After having been pressed hard the melancholy lady at last disclosed that when she was a maiden, Rao Khivan (Khemkaran) had refused the coconut of betrothal sent by her maternal grandfather, and remarked that she was known to have been born under a bad star (*Mula Nakshtra*). Nara's

blood was up and he said, "Mother, your maternal aunt is in the house of the Rao of Pohkaran, and on that consideration I say nothing to him. Say a word, and Pohkaran is ours."

Many months after, one day Rao Khivan—who had gone to a distant farm-yard to look after his horses—, was rinsing his mouth in the morning when he was startled by the neighing of Nara's gallant charger, Koridhaj. He was very much upset; because, the fort of Pohkaran had been left with a few soldiers, and particularly, some days before the expelled *Purohit* (priest) of Falodi had come to reside there. Rao Khivan sent forward for news five or six troopers, who stationed themselves on a hillock overlooking the caravan route. Soon after a strong party of horsemen with camels carrying arms came that way, and the troopers of Khivan challenged them, "Which Thakur goes there?" From the other side came the false reply, "Nara, son of Bida, going to Amarkot with the *barat*." With some misgiving the troopers came back to Rao Khivan and reported that all did not seem well (*kuchh dal me kala hai*): "The party is proceeding on its way; all are in *kasariya* with *sehra-s* (bridegroom's crown) on the heads and singing lustily *khambaish* (Khambaz) tune."

News soon came from Pohkaran that all was over there. With eighty troopers Rao Khivan hurried to join his expelled family and relations, who had gone to Baharmer. On the way he came across a *gadaria* carrying a bleating goat on his shoulders. Uncertain about his future the Rao asked his Bhat, "Bawa! what does this goat say?" The Bhat, who pretended to understand horse, birds and animals alike when occasion would arise, gravely broke the mystery: "You will kill Nara in as many years as the number of *kos* you will traverse to eat this goat." Rao Khivan gave a few *phadiyas* (dams equivalent to a double-pice) to the goatherd, hurried 12 *kos* and ate the goat at the village of Bhiniana.

Khivan gave no peace to Nara by raiding and cattle-lifting in Pohkaran for twelve years. On one occasion Rao Khivan with his son Lunka and another comrade, Chacha Barjang made a swoop on Nara's cattle, and Nara with his followers overtook them in pursuit. Nara spurred his horse after Lunka, who all of a sudden wheeled about and struck at Nara in motion on horseback. Nara's head fell down on the

ground; but his horse carried the headless rider two hundred paces where his body fell.

Goyand, son of Nara, sat on the *gadī* of Pohkaran and carried on the feud of his father's blood. There was constant fighting, and the land became desolate (*dharti basne nā pave*). Old Rao Shuja, father of Nara, at last intervened and summoned both Goyand and Khivan to his presence. He divided the land between them half and half fixing the boundary at the place where Nara's head had fallen on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra V.S. 1551.\*

( 4 )

Sona Bai, a sister of the sluggish plebian knight, Pabu Rathor, had been given in marriage to the Deora chief of Sirohi, who had also married a daughter of Ana Baghela. Ana was a wealthy lord, and richer therefore was the *dahej* (marriage dower) of the Bagheli than that of Sona Bai. The Bagheli used to provoke Sona Bai by a displaying boast of her ornaments as is the way of women. The Bagheli in taunt said to Sona Bai, "Thy brother (Pabu) eats with the Thoris (a low class thievish people who eat dead animals) !" The Rao took the side of the Bagheli and said, "Rathori, why dost thou resent it ? It is a fact that Pabu lives with the Thoris." "But Raoji has no Thakur as bold as my brother's Thoris," came the angry rejoinder from Sona Bai. At this the Deora's cowardly whip played on Sona's back, and Sona wrote to her brother demanding satisfaction for her insult.

With his cavaliers and nine Thoris Pabu started for Sirohi. On the way lay the territory of Ana Baghela. Chandia Thori said to Pabu, "Redeem my *vair* on Ana Baghela who slew my father." Pabu turned against Ana Baghela, and killed him; but he spared Ana's son and accepted only the ornaments of Ana's wife, which he meant for a present to Sona Bai.

Pabu reached Sirohi and sent a challenge to his brother-in-law to come out and fight. He instructed his Thori sharpshooters not to kill the Deora chief but make a captive of him alive. Hearing the news of the capture of her husband Sona came out in a *rath* (bullock carriage), and begged for the release of her husband. Enmity

was made up, and Sona Bai went to the apartment of the Bagheli and said, "Bai, my brother has killed your father. Get up and do the *lokachar* (customary weeping)."

There was a feud between the Rathors and Johiyas, and Goga Rathor, son of Biramdev, was on one occasion returning after having slain Dalla Johiya by a night attack. Next day, Goga's party was overtaken by Dhirdev (son of Dalla) and Dhirdev's father-in-law Ranangdev Bhati of Pugal. Gogadev, covered with wounds and his thighs disabled, lay on the ground; but none dared approach him as long as sword was in his grip. Bhati Ranangdev, who was passing that way on horse, was challenged by Goga to dismount and "take his salute" (*i.e.* come and fight). Ranangdev turned away in contempt saying, "*Tere Jaisi bishtha ka pa parvara lete phiren!*" (It is no business of mine to take the salute of the night-soil of a man like you).

Then came Dhirdev, and to him, Goga said, "Dhirdev, thou art a brave Johiya; thy *kaka* (uncle, politely meaning 'father') is turning restlessly in my stomach (*tarap raha hai*); may it please thee "to take my salute" (*mujra*). Dhirdev dismounted and approached him; Goga's sword plied and parried, and Dhirdev lay stretched near him. When Goga too was about to breathe his last, he shouted out, "Hear, if anybody is there! Goga says that the *vair* between the Rathors and the Johiyas now stands at par (and therefore over). If any one lives, let him carry my words to Mahewa that now a *vair* with the Bhatias is on hand; because, Bhati Ranangdev has abused Goga as *bishtha*." This was heard by Jhanpa, who carried Goga's message to Mahewa.

Mulu Rathor had a *vair* with Samant Singh Songarah Chauhan of Jalore, who had taken into his own household Mulu's wife and a son born of her. He managed to become friendly with a maid-servant of Samant Singh, and one night lay in wait near the *tulsimandap*. Mulu's former wife placed *thalī* before Samant Singh for his evening meal, and Samant Singh asked her to wake up the son of Mulu to take food with him. He praised in high terms the valour and noble qualities of Mulu, which must have been inherited by his child. Mulu was no Enoch Arden, and he cried, "I will not kill thee, I will not; the *vair* is over." He went away and married another wife!

\* Nainsi tells us that the boundary thus fixed had been continuing till his own time. Such a boundary is known as *had-padi* (the place where bones lie), which it is a sin to cross by people at feud. There are such *had-padis* also in U.P. where Rajputs dwell.

Before a *vair* was started by a whole clan the justice of the cause used to be weighed by the elders, who would try for a compromise if better sense prevailed. A murder of a kinsman by another of the same sept (*gotra*) was generally made up, failing which the aggrieved party received a sort of moral sanction to exact vengeance. A *vair* became a moral obligation for the whole clan when the quarrel was with another clan. "Gotra-hatya" (i.e., slaying of kinsmen) was considered a heavy sin to be atoned for by a pilgrimage or charity. A *vair* was generally closed by a cession of territory, or by a matrimonial alliance of a wholesale character between girls and boys of opposite parties, either voluntary or forced by the stronger party in demand of brides.

Evils of the *vair* was disastrous for the Rajputs. Religion was lightly parted with, and the independence of one's *bhum* (patrimony) even sold to aliens to buy their help for the gratification of revenge on powerful adversaries. Conversion of Rajput tribes *en masse* of Sindh, Runn of Cutch and the Thal (Desert) was to a great extent precipitated by this ingrained frenzy for revenge. Rao Maldev of Jodhpur vowed to sow *mul* (radish) by cutting *babul* (thorny trees) on the soil of Biramdev's Merta, and Biram took a countervow to cut the mango trees of the royal garden of Jodhpur if he was father's son. Biramdev joined Sher Shah and had his revenge on Maldev; but the liberty of the Rathors slipped off their hands.

The spirit of vendetta of the Rajput was exploited by astute Akbar and all his successors for political ends. Its force was too strong even for a strong government sometimes. Rajah Girdhardas, son of Raisal Darbari and chief of Khandela, was killed in a private quarrel by the sayyids in Burharpur in 1624 in the reign of Jahangir. Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan, who had been at this time giving chase to the rebellious prince, Khurram, found no other way of appeasing Rajput cry for *vair* except by yielding to their demand and executing leader of the Sayyid party (Nainsi, *Khyat*, ii, p. 35,

(2 u)

Providence at last taught the Rajputs a terrible lesson of the evils of *vair* that brought about the tragedy of Princess Krishna Kumari of Mewar, made so familiar to us by a nearest contemporary, Col. Tod. Krishna Kumari's poison

cup symbolises poison of *vair* between the Chundavats and the Sakhtavats within Mewar, and of the senseless pride of the Rathors and the offended dignity of the Kachhwahs outside. We need not reproduce the narrative of Tod, which is now common knowledge through poems and dramas. We may only add a background of the long-drawn episode of the feud and rivalry between the Sakhtavats and the Chundavats, correcting Tod's bias for the former.

Ever since the voluntary abdication of Chunda's claim to the *gadi* of Mewar in favour of his infant step-brother Mokul (1397 A.D.), it became a recognised political tradition in Mewar that *pat* (throne) belonged to the children of Mokul, whereas *thath*, i.e., power and prestige of the state were to be in the keeping of the progeny of Chunda represented by the house of Salumbar. About one hundred and eighty years after, Maharana Pratap gave to his younger brother, Sakat Singh, a large appanage, and the descendants of Sakat Singh growing rapidly powerful began to dispute the primacy of the Chundavats at court and in the field. Jealousy consumed the two rival septs, and their broils became frequent. A second Pratap was not born in Mewar to hold back these fighting bulls of Sisodias by their horns, and hence the inevitable disaster. Under weak rulers Udaipur presented the spectacle of Shakespeare's Verona ringing with the defiant faction cry. "Down with the Montagues, down with the Capulets".

Loyalty in later times sat lighter on the Sakhtavats, and one of them, Narayandas, accompanied the traitor prince Sagarji to the court of Jahangir. Ravat Megh Singh Chundavat, better known to fame as Kala Megh (Black Cloud), was sent by Maharana Karan Singh to expel Narayandas from Bengu, which he refused to evacuate according to the terms of the treaty between Amar Singh and Jahangir. *Vair* thus started between Ravat Megh and Narayandas. Narayandas surprised the home of Megh during his absence, and carried away one elephant to humiliate his adversary. Megh invited his kinsfolk, the Chundavats, to avenge his wrong as the Sakhtavats had mustered strong to back their own kinsman, Narayandas. When rival septs were about to plunge into a bloody fight, the Black Cloud thundered halt, saying that he would rather go



unavenged than take upon his head the sin of Gotra-hatya.

Such restraint and noble impulse hardly characterised the conduct of the Sakhtavats. Matters came to a head during the regency of the Queen mother after the accession of Hamir Singh II (1773). Court intrigue fanned to flame the feud between the two premier clans of Mewar. The Sakhtavats, who had been in virtual rebellion for twenty years before the Krishna Kumari tragedy, invited Jaswant Rao Holkar against the ruling junta of the Chundavats backed by the Sindhias, and this brought the notorious Amir Khan Pa'han on the scene. They were nowhere when Amir Khan was destroying temples and threatened to sack Udaipur.

India would have been saved much of her misery if Lord Wellesley had been allowed to carry unhampered his policy of imposing Subsidiary Alliance on Indian rulers, who had by their worthlessness forfeited long before any claim to independent existence. Moral hesitancy of the British resulted in the prolongation of the misery of the vast masses of peace-loving people upon whom their own protectors had let loose the Pindari pest.

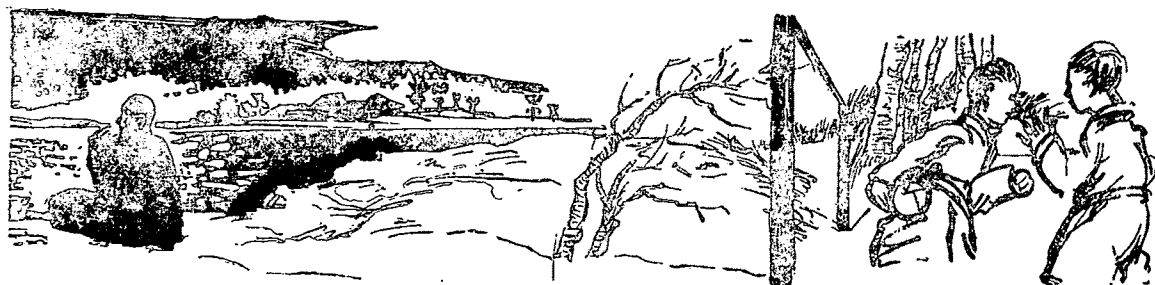
It is a sad episode of our medieval history when in the pursuit of *vair* families and clans courted ruin and loss of everything a man ought to hold nearer and dearer; namely, his country's liberty and his ancestral religion. *Vair* was the salt of life to society in Medieval India as elsewhere. But eventually it proved a killing poison. It is all the more regrettable because the Rajputs did not learn to sink petty enmities, unite for a greater cause, and thus divert lava of retaliatory spirit of *vair* from the individual and the clan to a national channel, which would have transmuted it into territorial patriotism as in European countries.

Past history tells us that it was the cult of prejudice and hatred, and not of love, tolerance and forgiveness,—that created Ancient Greece as well as England of the nineteenth century, and Germany of the twentieth. The same cult of hatred for Non-Aryans held together the old Indo-Aryan polity till Lord Buddha preached his *Pancha-shila* and great Asoka experimented its truth in the politics of a powerful empire. It was the cult of racial hatred of the Arab for the non-Arab that had created the first Arab Empire in defiance of the tenets of true Islam; and that Empire crumbled to pieces when counter-hatred of subject peoples recoiled on the Arabs.

Experience has proved a hard school for modern nations, who seem to have at last realised that the cult of hatred, even if camouflaged with lip sympathy, solicitude and supersaintly professions, does not carry us far in statecraft. Militant hatred, harnessed to political and religious propaganda, had, no doubt in the past, sometimes acted as a powerful stimulus for the growth of modern nations, or as a restorative to the prostrate body politic in critical moments; but normally these are only poisons of some drug value from the seductive influence of which it is hard to escape.

The historian looks back with mixed feelings of admiration and disappointment on the Rajputs in pursuit of their *vair*. Modern India should take a lesson from the past, because in this period of transition the essence of *vair*, howsoever refined, seems to have taken possession of castes, communities and provinces under various guises and slogans. To them who stake much for a little, we may only say in the words of the poet:

*Alpasya hetoh bahur hatum ichchan,  
Vichara-mudhah pratibhasi me tvam.*



## SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

### (XI) Fundamental Rights : Right to Freedom (Continued)

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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#### I

In the preceding article<sup>1</sup> in this series we have dealt with certain aspects of Article 22 of our Constitution as interpreted by our Supreme Court. In this article we propose to refer to some other aspects of Article 22 as judicially recognized.

#### II

In our preceding article<sup>2</sup> we have referred to some of the 'principles' which the Supreme Court laid down on 25th January, 1951, in connexion with the case<sup>3</sup> known as *The State of Bombay V. Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya*, and which it has since applied to the decision of some later cases. We have already<sup>4</sup> referred to one such later case,<sup>5</sup> namely, *Tarapada De and Others V. The State of West Bengal* and we shall now refer to another,<sup>6</sup> namely, *Dr. Ram Krishan Bhardwaj V. The State of Delhi and Others*, in connexion with Article 22 of our Constitution.

Briefly speaking, the *Ram Krishan Bhardwaj* case arose out of a "petition<sup>7</sup> under Article 32 of the Constitution (of India) for the issue of a writ in the nature of *habeas corpus* directing the release of the petitioner Dr. Ram Krishan Bhardwaj" who was a medical practitioner in Delhi and who was "said to be under unlawful detention." The petitioner had been arrested on 10th March, 1953, under an order of the District Magistrate of Delhi under Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, as subsequently amended. The grounds of his detention were communicated to him on 15th March, 1953. Now one of these grounds, as "mentioned in

Sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph 2 of the statement of grounds," was :

"(e) You have been organising the movement (the Praja Parishad Movement of Kashmir) by enrolling volunteers among the refugees in your capacity as President of the Refugee Association of the Bara Hindu Rao," a local area in Delhi.

It was argued by the counsel for the petitioner, who relied on the decision<sup>8</sup> of the Supreme Court in the *Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya* case, that this ground was "extremely vague" and gave "no particulars to enable the petitioner to make an adequate representation against the order of detention," and that it thus infringed "the constitutional safeguard provided in Article 22 (5)" of the Constitution of India. Against this view it was argued by the Attorney-General for India on behalf of the respondents that "the grounds must be read as a whole and so read, the ground mentioned in sub-paragraph (e) could reasonably be taken to mean that the petitioner was organizing the movement (the Praja Parishad Movement of Kashmir) by enrolling volunteers from the 4th to (the) 10th March in the area known as Bara Hindu Rao." Thereupon the Supreme Court declared<sup>9</sup> in the course of a unanimous judgment on 16th April, 1953 :

"This interpretation is plausible, but the petitioner, who is a layman not experienced in the interpretation of documents, can hardly be expected without legal aid, which is denied to him, to interpret the ground in the sense explained by the Attorney-General. Surely, it is up to the detaining authority to make his meaning clear beyond doubt, without leaving the person detained to his own resources for interpreting the grounds. We must, therefore, hold that the ground mentioned in sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph 2 (of the statement of grounds) is vague in the sense explained above."

In regard to the question whether one or two vague grounds could, or could not, affect the validity of a detention where there were other sufficiently clear and definite grounds to support the detention, the Supreme Court stated :<sup>10</sup>

1. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1957, pp. 23-36.

2. See *ibid.*, pp. 32-36.

3. Criminal Appellate Jurisdiction: Case No. 22 of 1950, the Supreme Court of India.

4. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1957, pp. 35-36.

5. Criminal Appellate Jurisdiction: Case No. 24 of 1950, the Supreme Court of India.

6. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1953, Vol. IV, Part VII, July, August and September, 1953, pp. 708-13.

7. Original Jurisdiction: Petition No. 67 of 1953, the Supreme Court of India.—See *ibid.*, p. 708.

8. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1957, pp. 32-36.

9. *The Supreme Court Reports*, July, August and September, 1953, pp. 711-12.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 712-13.

"Preventive detention is a serious invasion of personal liberty and such meagre safeguards as the Constitution has provided against the improper exercise of the power must be jealously watched and enforced by the Court. In this case, the petitioner has the right, under Article 22(5), as interpreted by this Court by a majority,<sup>11</sup> to be furnished with particulars of the grounds of his detention 'sufficient to enable him to make a representation which on being considered may give relief to him.' We are of opinion that this constitutional requirement must be satisfied *with respect to each of the grounds*<sup>12</sup> communicated to the person detained, subject of course to a claim of privilege under Clause (6) of Article 22. That not having been done in regard to the ground mentioned in sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph 2 of the statement of grounds, the petitioner's detention cannot be held to be in accordance with the procedure established by law within the meaning of Article 21 (of the Constitution). The petitioner is, therefore, entitled to be released and we accordingly direct him to be set at liberty forthwith."

Thus the Supreme Court unanimously held<sup>13</sup> in the *Dr. Ram Krishan Bhardwaj* case that "the constitutional requirement that the grounds must not be vague must be satisfied with respect to each of the grounds communicated to the person detained, subject to the claim of privilege under clause (6) of Article 22 of the Constitution," and that where one of the grounds was vague, a detention was not, even though the other grounds were not vague, "in accordance with the procedure established by law and was therefore illegal."

We may refer here to an interesting point. What would happen "if the detaining authority (originally) proceeded on two grounds" and one of these grounds was afterwards "admitted to be non-existent or irrelevant," or "unsubstantial" and, therefore, could not "be made a ground of detention"? This question arose<sup>14</sup> in connexion with "a petition under Article 32 of the Constitution (of India) praying for the issue of a writ, in the nature of *habeas corpus*, directing the release of the petitioner, Shibban Lal Saksena," who was "said to be unlawfully detained in the District Jail at Gorakhpur." The

petitioner had been arrested on 5th January, 1953, under an order of the District Magistrate of Gorakhpur issued "under Sub-clauses (ii) and (iii) of Clause (a) of Section 3 (1) of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950,<sup>15</sup> as amended by later Acts." On 7th January, 1953, the grounds of his detention were communicated to him.

These "grounds, it appears, were of a two-fold character, falling respectively under the two categories contemplated by Sub-clause (ii) and Sub-clause (iii) of Section 3 (1) (a) of the (Preventive Detention) Act."<sup>16</sup> The petitioner submitted his representation against the detention order on 3rd February, 1953, and his case was considered by a duly constituted Advisory Board at Lucknow on 23rd February, 1953. After the Advisory Board had submitted its Report, the Uttar Pradesh Government confirmed on 13th March, 1950, in the exercise of its power under Section 11<sup>17</sup> of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, "the detention order against the detenu under Sub-clause (ii) of Section 3 (1) (a) of the (Preventive Detention) Act, but as respects the second ground under Sub-clause (iii) of Section 3 (1) (a) of the Act the Government did not

15. Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, ran as follows:

"3. *Power to make orders detaining certain persons.*—(1) The Central Government or the State Government may—

- (a) if satisfied with respect to any person that with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to—
  - (i) the defence of India, the relations of India with foreign powers, or the security of India, or
  - (ii) the security of the State or the maintenance of public order, or
  - (iii) the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community, . . . . . it is necessary so to do, make an order directing that such person be detained.
- 2) Any District Magistrate or Sub-Divisional Magistrate, or, in a presidency-town, the Commissioner of Police, may, if satisfied as provided in Sub-clauses (ii) and (iii) of Clause (a) of Sub-section (1), exercise the power conferred by the said Sub-section."

16. See foot-note 15 above.

17. Section 11 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, laid down:

"11. *Confirmation of Detention Order.*—In any case where the Advisory Board has reported that there is in its opinion sufficient cause for the detention of the person concerned, the Central Government or the State Government, as the case may be, may confirm the detention order and continue the detention of the person concerned for such period as it thinks fit."

11. Obviously, reference here is to the judgment of the majority of the Supreme Court in *The State of Bombay V. Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya*.—See *The Modern Review* for January, 1957, pp. 32-36.

12. The italics are ours.

13. *The Supreme Court Reports*; July, August and September, 1953, p. 708.

14. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IV, April, 1954, pp. 418-23.



uphold his detention and revoked it under this Sub-clause." Thereupon, as stated before, the petitioner approached the Supreme Court under Article 32 of the Constitution, challenging the legality of the detention order originally made against him "substantially on two grounds."

The Supreme Court unanimously declared<sup>18</sup> on 3rd December, 1953, among other things :

"It has been repeatedly held by this Court that the power to issue a detention order under Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act depends entirely upon the satisfaction of the appropriate authority specified in that Section. The sufficiency of the grounds upon which such satisfaction purports to be based, provided they have a rational probative value and are not extraneous to the scope or purpose of the legislative provision, cannot be challenged in a court of law, except on the ground of mala fides (vide *State of Bombay vs. Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya*, 1951, S.C.R. 167). A court of law is not even competent to enquire into the truth or otherwise of the facts which are mentioned as grounds of detention in the communication to the detenus under Section 7<sup>3</sup> of the Act. What has happened, however, in this case is somewhat peculiar. The Government itself, in its communication, dated the 13th of March, 1953, has plainly admitted that one of the grounds upon which the original order of detention was passed is unsubstantial or non-existent and cannot be made a ground of detention. The question is, whether in such circumstances the original order made under Section 3(1)(a)\* of the (Preventive Detention) Act can be allowed to stand. The answer, in our opinion, can only be in the negative. The detaining authority gave here two grounds for detaining the petitioner. We can neither decide whether these grounds are good or bad, nor can we attempt to assess in what manner and to what extent each of these grounds operated on the mind of the appropriate authority and contributed to the creation of the satisfaction on the basis of which the detention order was made. To say that the other ground, which still remains, is quite sufficient to sustain the order, would be to substitute an objective judicial test for the subjective decision of the executive authority which is against the legislative policy underlying the statute.<sup>20</sup> In such cases, we think, the position would be the same as if one of these two grounds was irrelevant for the purpose of the Act or was wholly illusory and this would vitiate the detention order as a whole."

18. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IV, April, 1954, pp. 421-23.

19. See in this connection foot-note 28 post.

\* See foot-note 15 above.

20. I.e., the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, as subsequently amended.

In conclusion, the Supreme Court held<sup>21</sup> in this case :

"We desire to point out that the order which the Government purported to make in this case under Section II of the Preventive Detention Act is not only in conformity with the provision of that Section, Section II lays down<sup>22</sup> what action the Government is to take after the Advisory Board has submitted its report. If in the opinion of the Board there is sufficient reason for the detention of a person, the Government may confirm the detention order and continue the detention for such period as it thinks proper. On the other hand, if the Advisory Board is of opinion that there is no sufficient reason for the detention of the person concerned, the Government is in duty bound to revoke the detention order. What the Government has done in this case is to confirm the detention order and at the same time to revoke it under one of the sub-clauses of Section 3(1)(a) of the (Preventive Detention) Act. This is not what the Section contemplates. The Government could either confirm the order of detention made under Section 3 or revoke it completely and there is nothing in law which prevents the Government from making a fresh order of detention if it so chooses. As matters stand, we have no other alternative but (*sic*) to hold that the order made on the 5th of January, 1953, under Section 3(1)(a) of the Preventive Detention Act is bad in law and the detention of the petitioner is consequently illegal. The application is allowed and the petitioner is directed to be set at liberty."

Thus the petition of Shibban Lal Saksena was allowed by the Supreme Court.

We may now refer to another aspect of preventive detention under Article 22 of the Constitution as recognized by our Supreme Court—we mean "preventive detention for black-marketing." The question arose in 1951 in connexion with "five companion appeals"<sup>23</sup> from the judgments of the High Court of East Punjab and the principal point argued before the Supreme Court was "as to the legality of the detention of the appellants under the Preventive Detention Act on the ground" that they were "engaged in black-marketing in cotton piece-goods." In the course of its judgment the

21. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April, 1954, p. 423.

22. See foot-note 17 above.

23. Criminal Appellate Jurisdiction (Supreme Court): Criminal Appeals Nos. 45 to 49 of 1951—*The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, January, 1952, pp. 18-27.

These appeals are briefly referred to as *Bhim Sen vs. The State of Punjab*.—See *ibid.*, pp. 18-27.

Supreme Court unanimously held, on 4th October, 1951, with regard to these appeals :<sup>24</sup>

"An order of detention to prevent black-marketing cannot be held to be illegal merely because in the grounds for such detention the detaining authority has referred only to the past activities of the person detained, inasmuch as instances of past activities may give rise to a subjective mental conviction that it is necessary to detain such person to prevent him from indulging in black-marketing in the future.

"Under the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, the test as to whether an order of detention should be made is the subjective satisfaction of the detaining authority; the Court has no power to consider whether the grounds supplied by the authority are sufficient to give rise to such satisfaction. The establishment of the Advisory Board by the Amending Act of 1951<sup>25</sup> has not made the matter a justiciable one, and even after the Amending Act the Court has no power to consider whether the grounds supplied are sufficient for making an order of detention."

In elucidation of the above point Kania C.J. observed,<sup>25</sup> while delivering the judgment of the Court :

"The Legislature has made only the subjective satisfaction of the authority making the order essential for passing the order. The contention that because in the Amending Act of 1951 an Advisory Board is constituted," which can supervise and override the decision taken by the executive authority, and (that) therefore the question whether the grounds are sufficient to give rise to the satisfaction has become a justiciable issue in Court, is clearly unsound. The satisfaction for making the initial order is and has always been under the Preventive Detention Act, that of the authority making the order. Because the Amending Act of 1951<sup>26</sup> establishes a supervisory authority, that discretion and subjective test is not taken away and by the establishment of the Advisory Board, in our opinion, the Court is not given the jurisdiction to decide whether the subjective decision of the authority making the order was right or not."

### III

We shall now refer to another aspect of Clauses (5) and (6) of Article 22 as judicially

<sup>24</sup>. See *ibid*.

\* *I.e.*, the Preventive Detention (Amendment) Act, 1951. It received the assent of the President of India on 22nd February, 1951. This amending Act made a reference to Advisory Boards "compulsory in all cases of preventive detention."—*Vide* Statement of Objects and Reasons for the Act (*The Gazette of India*, Part II—Section 2, dated 10th February, 1951).

<sup>25</sup>. *The Supreme Court Reports*, January, 1952, p. 24.

<sup>26</sup>. See foot-note \* above.

<sup>27</sup>. See foot-note \* above.

recognized. This is in connexion with Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, which ran as follows :

"14. *Disclosure of grounds of detention, etc.*—

(1) No court shall except for the purpose of a prosecution for an offence punishable under sub-section (2), allow any statement to be made, or any evidence to be given, before it of the substance of any communication made under Section 7<sup>28</sup> of the grounds on which a detention order has been made against any person or of any representation made by him against such order; and, notwithstanding anything contained in any other law, no court shall be entitled to require any public officer to produce before it, or to disclose the substance of, any such communication or representation made, or the proceedings of an Advisory Board or that part of the report of an Advisory Board which is confidential.

"(2) It shall be an offence punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both, for any person to disclose or publish without the previous authorisation of the Central Government or the State Government, as the case may be, any contents or matter purporting to be contents of any such communication or representation as is referred to in sub-section (1):

"Provided that nothing in this sub-section shall apply to a disclosure made to his legal adviser by a person who is the subject of a detention order."

In *A. K. Gopalan V. The State of Madras*, the Supreme Court unanimously held<sup>29</sup> on May 19th, 1950 :

"Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, contravenes the provisions of Article 22(5) of the Constitution in so far as it prohibits a person detained from disclosing to the Court the grounds on which a detention order has been made or the representation made by him against the order of detention, and is to that extent *ultra vires* and void."

28. Section 7 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, laid down :

"7. *Grounds of order of detention to be disclosed to persons affected by the order.*—(1) When a person is detained in pursuance of a detention order, the authority making the order shall, as soon as may be, communicate to him the grounds on which the order has been made, and shall afford him the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the order, in a case where such order has been made by the Central Government, to that Government, and in a case where it has been made by a State Government or an officer subordinate thereto, to the State Government.

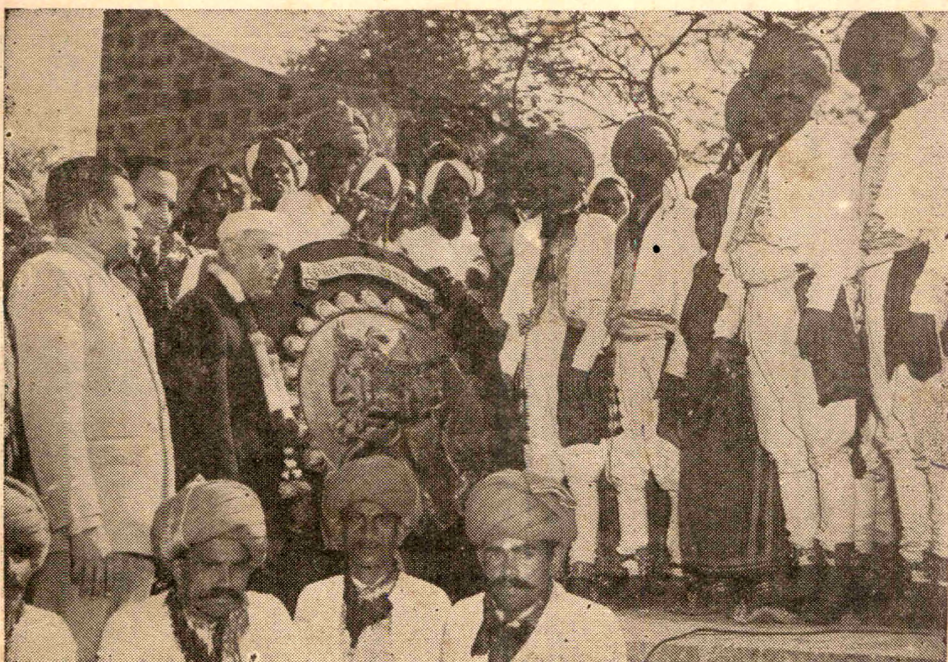
"(2) Nothing in sub-section (1) shall require the authority to disclose facts which it considers to be against the public interest to disclose."

<sup>29</sup>. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & III, April & May, 1950, p. 89.



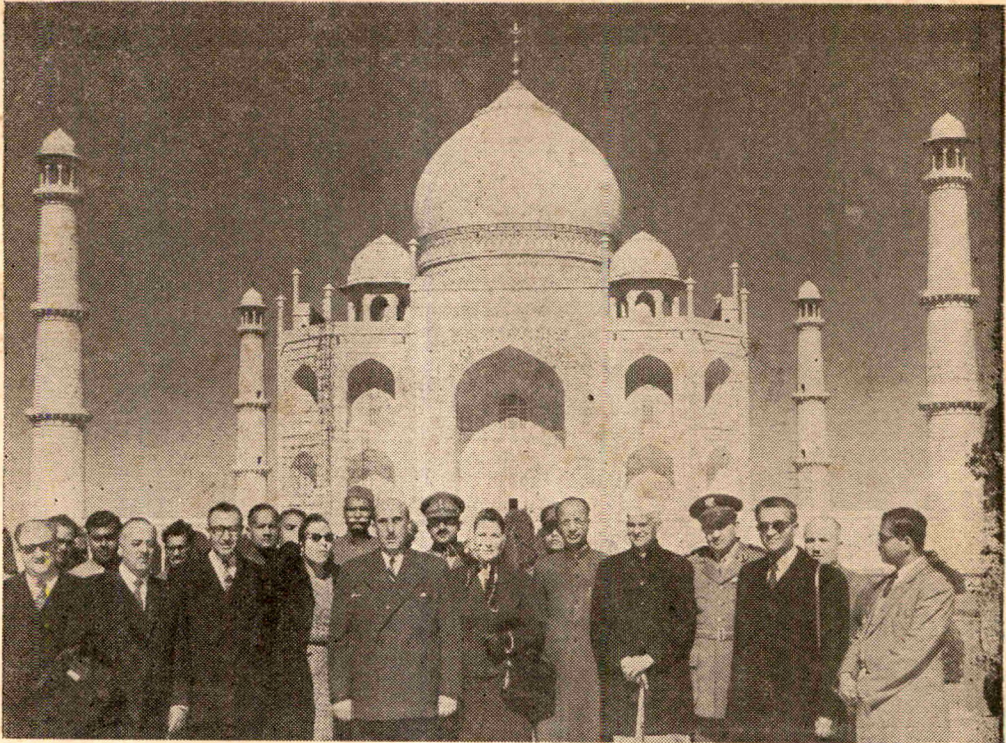


Marshal G. K. Zhukov, Soviet Defence Minister, presented to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru a two-foot bronze statue consisting of a soldier, a sailor and an airman mounted on a six-inch marble base

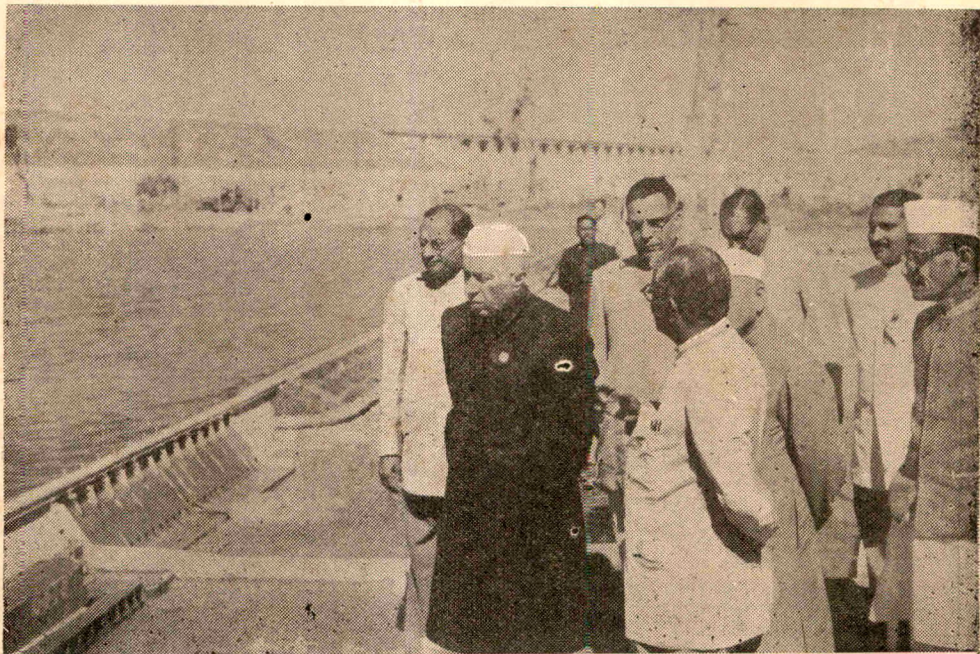


The Sangeet Natak Akadami Shield for the best group of dancers, participating in the Folk Dance Festival on the 1957 Republic Day, was won by the Bombay State





H. E. Mr. Shukri Al-Kuwatly, President of Syria, accompanied by Madame Kuwatly visited Taj Mahal at Agra on January 21



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru opens Hirakud Dam



(Thus Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, as quoted above, was declared by the Supreme Court *ultra vires* our Constitution and, therefore, invalid.) Views expressed by individual Judges of the Supreme Court in this connexion are worthy of note here as they clearly reveal the nature and implications of Clause (5) of Article 22 of the Constitution as they had understood it.

Thus, Kania C.J. observed :<sup>30</sup>

"By that Section<sup>31</sup> the Court is prevented (except for the purpose of punishment for such disclosure) from being informed, either by a statement or by leading evidence, of the substance of the grounds conveyed to the detained person under Section 7<sup>32</sup> on which the order was made, or of any representation made by him against such order. It also prevents the Court from calling upon any public officer to disclose the substance of those grounds or from the production of the proceedings or report of the Advisory Board which may be declared confidential. It is clear that if this provision is permitted to stand the Court can have no material before it to determine whether the detention is proper or not. *I do not mean whether the grounds are sufficient or not.*<sup>33</sup> It even prevents the Court from ascertaining whether the alleged grounds of detention have anything to do with the circumstances or class or classes of cases mentioned in Section 12(1)(a) or (b).<sup>34</sup> In *Machindar Shivaji Mahar vs. The King* (1949-50, F.C.R. 827), the Federal Court held that the Court can examine the grounds given by the Government to see if they are relevant to the object which the legislation has in view. *The provisions of Article 22(5) do not exclude that right of the Court.*<sup>35</sup> Section 14 of the impugned Act<sup>36</sup> appears to be a drastic provision which requires considerable support to sustain in a Preventive

Detention Act. The learned Attorney-General (for India, Counsel for the Union of India) urged that the whole object of the section was to prevent ventilation in public of the grounds and the representation, and that it was a rule of evidence only which the Parliament could prescribe. I do not agree. This argument is clearly not sustainable on the words of Article 22, Clauses (5) and (6). The Government has the right under Article 22(6) not to disclose facts which it considers undesirable to disclose in the public interest. It does not permit the Government to refrain from disclosing grounds which fall under Clause (5).<sup>37</sup> Therefore, it cannot successfully be contended that the disclosure of grounds may be withheld from the Court in public interest, as a rule of evidence. Moreover, the position is made clear by the words of Article 22(5). It provides that the detaining authority shall communicate to such detained person the grounds *on which the order has been made*. It is, therefore, essential that the grounds must be connected with the order of preventive detention. If they are not so connected, the requirements of Article 22(5) are not complied with and the detention order will be invalid. Therefore, it is open to a detained person to contend before a Court that the grounds on which the order has been made have no connection at all with the order, or have no connection with the circumstances or class or classes of cases under which a preventive detention order could be supported under Section 12.<sup>38</sup> To urge this argument the aggrieved party must have a right to intimate to the Court the grounds given for the alleged detention and the representation made by him. For instance, a person is served with a paper on which there are written three stanzas of a poem or three alphabets written in three different ways. For the validity of the detention order it is necessary that the grounds should be those on which the order has been made. If the detained person is not in a position to put before the Court this paper, the Court will be prevented from considering whether the requirements of Article 22(5) are complied with and that is a right which is guaranteed to every person. It seems to me, therefore, that the provisions of Section 14 abridge the right given under Article 22(5) and are therefore *ultra vires*."

Palanjali Sastri J. stated :<sup>39</sup>

"Mr. Nambiar<sup>40</sup> turned his attack on Section 14 which prohibits the disclosure of the grounds of detention communicated to the person detained and of the representation made by him against the order of detention, and debars the Court from allowing such

30. *Ibid*, pp. 130-31.

31. *I.e.*, Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.

32. See foot-note 28 above.

33. The italics are ours.

34. Section 12(1)(a) and (b) ran as follows:

"12. *Duration of detention in certain cases.*—

(1) Any person detained in any of the following classes of cases or under any of the following circumstances may be detained without obtaining the opinion of an Advisory Board for a period longer than three months, but not exceeding one year from the date of his detention, namely, where such person has been detained with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to—

(a) the defence of India, relations of India with foreign powers or the security of India; or  
(b) the security of a State or the maintenance of public order."

35. The italics are ours.

36. *I.e.*, the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.

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37. Of Article 22 of the Constitution.

38. See foot-note 34.

39. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, pp. 217-18.

40. Counsel for the petitioner A. K. Gopalan. See *ibid*, p. 94.

disclosure to be made except for purposes of a prosecution punishable under sub-section (2)<sup>41</sup> which makes it an offense for any person to disclose or publish such grounds or representation without the previous authorisation of the Central Government or the State Government, as the case may be. The petitioner complains that this provision nullifies in effect the rights conferred upon him under Clause (5) of Article 22 which entitles him to have the grounds of his detention communicated to him and to make a representation against the order. If the grounds are too vague to enable him to make any such representation, or if they are altogether irrelevant to the object of his detention, or are such as to show that his detention is not *bona fide*, he has the further right of moving this Court and this remedy is also guaranteed to him under Article 32 (of the Constitution). These rights and remedies, the petitioner submits, cannot be effectively exercised, if he is prevented on pain of prosecution, from disclosing the grounds to the Court. There is great force in this contention. All that the Attorney-General<sup>42</sup> (for India) could say in answer was that if the other provisions of the Act<sup>43</sup> were held to be valid, it would not be open to the Court to examine the sufficiency of the grounds on which the executive authority was 'satisfied' that detention was necessary, as laid down in *Machindar Shivaji Maharaj v. The King* (1949, F.C.R. 827), and so the petitioner could not complain of any infringement of his rights by reason of Section 14 which enacted only a rule of evidence. The argument overlooks that it was recognised in the decision referred to above that it would be open to the Court to examine the grounds of detention in order to see whether they were relevant to the object which the legislature had in view, such as, for instance, the prevention of acts prejudicial to public safety and tranquillity, or were such as to show that the detention was not *bona fide*. An examination of the grounds for these purposes is made impossible by Section 14, and the protection afforded by Article 22(5) and Article 32 (of the Constitution) is thereby rendered nugatory. It follows that Section 14 contravenes the provisions of Article 22(5) and Article 32 in so far as it prohibits the person detained from disclosing to the Court the grounds of his detention communicated to him by the detaining authority or the representation made by him against the order of detention, and prevents the Court from examining them for the purposes aforesaid, and to that extent it must be held under Article 13(2) (of the Constitution) to be void. This, however, does not affect the rest of the (Preventive Detention) Act (1950) which is severable."

Mahajan J. said:<sup>44</sup>

"Section 14 of Act IV<sup>45</sup> of 1950 has been impugned on the ground that it contravenes and abridges the provisions of Articles 22(5) and 32 of the Constitution . . . This section is in the nature of an iron curtain around the acts of the authority making the order of preventive detention. The Constitution has guaranteed to the detained person the right to be told the grounds of detention. He has been given a right to make a representation [vide Article 22(5)], yet Section 14 prohibits the disclosure of the grounds furnished to him or the contents of the representation made by him in a court of law and makes a breach of this injunction punishable with imprisonment.

"Article 32(1) of the Constitution is in these terms:

"The right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights conferred by this Part is guaranteed."

"Sub-section (4) says:

"The right guaranteed by this Article shall not be suspended except as otherwise provided for by this Constitution."

"Now it is quite clear that if an authority passes an order of preventive detention for reasons not connected with any of the six subjects<sup>46</sup> mentioned in the 7th Schedule, this Court can always declare the detention illegal and release the detainee, but it is not possible for this Court to function if there is a prohibition against disclosing the grounds which have been served upon him. It is only by an examination of the grounds that it is possible to say whether the grounds fall within the ambit of the legislative power contained in the Constitution or outside its scope. Again, something may be served on the detainee as being grounds which are not grounds at all. In this contingency it is the right of the detained person under Article 32 to move this Court for enforcing the right under Article 22(5) that he be given the real grounds on which the detention order is based. This Court would be disabled from exercising its functions under Article 32 and adjudicating on the point that the grounds given satisfy the requirements of the sub-clause if it is not open to it to see the grounds that have been furnished. It is a guaranteed right of the person detained to have the very grounds which are the basis of the order of detention. This Court would be entitled to examine the matter and to see whether the grounds furnished are the grounds on the basis of which he has been detained or they contain some other vague or irrelevant material. The whole purpose of furnishing a detained person with the

41. Of Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.—*Ibid.*, p. 94.

42. Counsel for the Union of India.

43. *I.e.*, the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.

44. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, pp. 241-44.

45. *I.e.*, the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.

46. See List I, item 9, and List III, item 3, in the 7th Schedule to the Constitution of India.



grounds is to enable him to make a representation refuting these grounds and of proving his innocence (*sic*). In order that this Court may be able to safeguard this fundamental right and to grant him relief it is absolutely essential that the detainee is not prohibited under penalty of punishment to disclose the grounds to the Court and no injunction by law can be issued to this Court disabling it from having a look at the grounds. Section 14 creates a substantive offence if the grounds are disclosed and it also lays a duty on the Court not to permit the disclosure of such grounds. It virtually amounts to a suspension of a guaranteed right provided by the Constitution inasmuch as it indirectly by a stringent provision makes administration of the law by this Court impossible and at the same time it deprives a detained person from obtaining justice from this Court. In my opinion, therefore, this section when it prohibits the disclosure of the grounds contravenes or abridges the rights given by Part III (of the Constitution) to a citizen and is *ultra vires* the powers of Parliament to that extent."

Mukherjea J. observed :<sup>47</sup>

"The provisions of this section (*i.e.*, Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950) are obviously of a most drastic character. It imposes a ban on the Court and prevents it from allowing any statement to be made or any evidence produced before it of the substance of any communication made to the detainee apprising him of the grounds upon which the detention order was made. The Court is also incompetent to look into the proceedings before the Advisory Board or the report of the latter which is confidential. Further, the disclosure of such materials has been made a criminal offence punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year. Mr. Nambiar's<sup>48</sup> contention is that these restrictions render utterly nugatory the provisions of Article 32 of the Constitution which guarantees to every person the right to move this Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights conferred by Part III of the Constitution. It is not disputed that the petitioner has the right of moving this Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, and unless the Court is in a position to look into and examine the grounds upon which the detention order has been made, it is impossible for it to come to any decision on the point and pass a proper judgment. Though the right to move this Court is not formally taken away, the entire proceedings are rendered ineffective and altogether illusory. On behalf of the respondent,<sup>49</sup> it is pointed out that Article 32 guarantees only the

right to constitutional remedy for enforcement of the rights which are declared by the Constitution. If there are no rights under the Constitution, guaranteed to a person who is detained under any law of preventive detention, no question of enforcing such rights by an approach to this Court at all arises. I do not think that this argument proceeds on a sound basis, and in my opinion, Section 14 does take away and materially curtails some of the fundamental rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution itself. Article 22, Clause (5), of the Constitution lays down as a fundamental right that when a person is detained for preventive detention, the authority making the order shall, as soon as may be, communicate to such person the grounds on which the order has been made, and shall afford him the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the order. Under Clause (6), the authority need not disclose such facts as it considers to be against public interest to disclose. But so far as the grounds are concerned, the disclosure is not prohibited under any circumstance. It is also incumbent upon the detaining authority to afford a detainee the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the detention order. It has been held in several cases, and in my opinion quite rightly, that if the grounds supplied to a detained person are of such a vague and indefinite character that no proper and adequate representation could be made in reply to the same, that itself would be an infraction of the right which has been given to the detainee under law. In my opinion, it would not be possible for the Court to decide whether the provisions of Article 22, Clause (5), have been duly complied with and the fundamental right guaranteed by it has been made available to the detainee unless the grounds communicated to him under the provisions of this Article are actually produced before the Court. Apart from this, it is also open to the person detained to contend that the detention order has been a *mala fide* exercise of power by the detaining authority and that the grounds upon which it is based, are not proper or relevant grounds which would justify detention under the provisions of the law itself. These rights of the detainee would for all practical purposes be rendered unenforceable if the Court is precluded from looking into the grounds which have been supplied to him under Section 7<sup>th</sup> of the Preventive Detention Act. In my opinion, Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act does materially affect the fundamental rights declared under Part III of the Constitution and for this reason it must be held to be illegal and *ultra vires*. It is not disputed, however, that this section can be served from the rest of the Act without affecting the other provisions of the Act in any way. The whole Act cannot, therefore, be held to be *ultra vires*."

47. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, pp. 282-85.

48. See foot-note 40 above.

49. *The State of Madras. The Union of India: Intervener.*

50. See foot-note 28 above.

Das J. remarked :<sup>51</sup>

"An objection is taken that Section 14 of the impugned Act<sup>52</sup> takes away or abridges the right of the detenu to move this Court by appropriate proceedings. Both Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 32 speak of enforcement of rights conferred by Part III (of the Constitution). The right to move this Court is given to a person not for the sake of moving only but for moving the Court for the enforcement of some rights conferred by Part III and this Court has been given power to issue directions or orders or writs for the enforcement of any of such rights. In order, therefore, to attract the application of Article 32, the person applying must first satisfy that he has got a right under Part III which has to be enforced under Article 32 (of the Constitution) . . . I have . . . said that Articles 21 and 22 provide for protection by insisting on some procedure. Under Article 22(5) the authority making the order of detention is enjoined, as soon as may be, to communicate to the detenu the grounds on which that order has been made. This provision has some purpose, namely, that the disclosure of the grounds will afford the detenu the opportunity of making a representation against the order. Supposing the authority does not give any grounds at all as distinct from facts referred to in Clause (6) (*sic*). Surely, the detenu loses a fundamental right because he is prevented from making a representation against the order of detention. Suppose the authority hands over to the detenu a piece of paper with some scribbles on it which do not amount to any ground at all for detention. Then also the detenu can legitimately complain that his right has been infringed. He can then come to the Court to get redress under Article 32 but he cannot show to the Court the piece of paper with the scribbles on it under Section 14 of the Act and the Court cannot judge whether he has actually got the grounds which he is entitled to under Article 22(5). In such a case the detenu may well complain that both his substantive right under Article 22(5) as well as his right to constitutional remedies (*sic*) under Article 32 have been infringed. He can complain of infringement of his remedial rights under Article 32, because he cannot show that there has been an infringement of his substantive right under Article 22(5). It appears to me, therefore, that Section 14 of the (Preventive Detention) Act in so far as it prevents the detenu from disclosing to the Court the grounds communicated to him is not in conformity with Part III of the Constitution and is, therefore, void under Article 13(2) (of the Constitution). That section, however, is clearly severable and cannot affect the whole act."

51. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, pp. 332-33.

52. *I.e.*, the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.

Finally, Fazl Ali J. stated :<sup>53</sup>

"So far as Section 14 is concerned, all my colleagues have held to be *ultra vires*, and, as I agree with the views expressed by them, I do not wish to encumber my judgment by repeating in my own words what has been said so clearly and so well by them."

We have quoted above, at length, the views of the individual Judges of our Supreme Court on Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, as they indicate, both clearly and authoritatively, apart from what we have shown in our preceding article<sup>54</sup> on this point, the true meaning and effect of Clause (5) of Article 22 of our Constitution, as considered from different standpoints. It should be clear from what has been shown that in case of a detention order the court must have material to "determine whether the detention is proper or not," although this does not "mean whether" the alleged grounds of detention "are sufficient or not." As we have shown in our preceding article<sup>55</sup> in connexion, particularly, with the case of *Tarapada Da and Others V. The State of West Bengal*, the question of sufficiency of the grounds of detention for the purpose of the satisfaction of the Government is not a matter for examination by the court of law. Thus there is no lack of unity and consistency of thought in the various judicial pronouncements on the real meaning of Clause (5) of Article 22 of our Constitution, to which we have referred in this and in our preceding article.

In our sixth and seventh articles<sup>56</sup> in this series we have dealt with Article 19 of our Constitution. We shall now consider whether this Article 19, or any provision thereof, applies to a law relating to preventive detention duly made under Article 22 of the Constitution. In *A. K. Gopalan V. The State of Madras* the Supreme Court held<sup>57</sup> by a majority of five to one :<sup>58</sup>

"Article 19 of the Constitution has no application to a law which relates directly to preventive detention

53. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, p. 185.

54. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1957, pp. 30-36.

55. See *ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

56. See *The Modern Review* for July, 1956, and January, 1956.

57. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, p. 89.

58. Kania C.J., Patanjali Sastri, Mahajan, Mukherjee and Das JJ. for; Fazl Ali J. against—*Ibid.*, p. 89.

even though as a result of an order of detention the rights referred to in Sub-clauses (a) to (e) and (g) in general, and Sub-clause (d) in particular, of Clause (1) of Article 19 may be restricted or abridged; and the constitutional validity of a law relating to such detention cannot therefore, be judged in the light of the test prescribed in Clause (5) of the said Article (19)."

In elucidation of this view Kania C.J. observed:<sup>59</sup>

"As the preventive detention order results in the detention of the applicant<sup>60</sup> in a cell it was contended on his behalf that the rights specified in Article 19(1) (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) and (g) have been infringed. It was argued that because of his detention he cannot have a free right to speech as and where he desired and the same argument was urged in respect of the rest of the rights mentioned in sub-clauses (b), (c), (d), (e) and (g).<sup>61</sup> Although this argument is advanced in a case which deals with preventive detention, if correct, it should be applicable in the case of punitive detention also to any one sentenced to a term of imprisonment under the relevant section of the Indian Penal Code. So considered, the argument must clearly be rejected. In spite of the saving clauses (2) to (6) of Article 19, permitting abridgement of the rights connected with each of them, punitive detention under several sections of the Penal Code, *e.g.*, for theft, cheating, forgery and even ordinary assault, will be illegal. Unless such conclusion necessarily follows from the article, it is obvious that such construction should be avoided. In my opinion, such result is clearly not the outcome of the Constitution. The Article has to be read without any pre-conceived notions. So read, it clearly means that the legislation to be examined must be directly in respect of one of the rights mentioned in the sub-clauses. If there is a legislation directly attempting to control a citizen's freedom of speech or expression, or his right to assemble peaceably and without arms, etc., the question whether that legislation is saved by the relevant saving clause of Article 19 will arise. If, however, the legislation is not directly in respect of any of these subjects, but as a result of the operation of other legislation, for instance, for punitive or preventive detention, his right under any of these sub-clauses is abridged, the question of the application of Article 19 does not arise. The true approach is only to consider the directness of the legislation and not what will be the result of the detention otherwise valid, on the

mode of the detainee's life. On that short ground, in my opinion, this argument about the infringement of the rights mentioned in Article 19(1) generally must fail. Any other construction put on the article, it seems to me, will be unreasonable."

With regard to sub-clause (d), in particular, of Clause (1) of Article 19, which provides for "the right to move freely throughout the territory of India," Kania C.J. stated:<sup>62</sup>

"What is sought to be protected by that sub-clause is the right to freedom of movement, *i.e.*, without restriction, throughout the territory of India. Read with their natural grammatical meaning the sub-clause only means that if restrictions are sought to be put upon movement of a citizen from State to State or even within a State, such restrictions will have to be tested by the permissive limits prescribed in Clause (5) of that Article. Sub-clause (d) has nothing to do with detention, preventive or punitive. The Constitution mentions a right to freedom of movement throughout the territory of India. Every word of that clause must be given its true and legitimate meaning and in the construction of a Statute, particularly a Constitution, it is improper to omit any word which has a reasonable and proper place in it or to refrain from giving effect to its meaning. This position is made quite clear when Clause (5) is read along with this sub-clause. It permits the imposition of reasonable restrictions on the exercise of such right either in the interest of (the) general public or the protection of the interest of any Scheduled Tribe. It is difficult to conceive of a reasonable restriction necessary in the interests of the general public for confining a person in a cell. Such restriction may be appropriate to prevent a person from going from one Province to another or one area to another, having regard to local conditions prevailing in particular areas. The point, however, is made abundantly clear by the alternative, *viz.*, for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe. What protection of the interests of a Scheduled Tribe requires the confinement of a man in a cell? . . . Reading Article 19 as a whole, therefore, it seems to me that it has no application to a legislation dealing with preventive or punitive detention as its direct object. I may point out that the acceptance of the petitioner's argument on the interpretation of this clause will result in the Court being called upon to decide upon the reasonableness of several provisions of the Indian Penal Code and several other penal legislations as abridging this right. Even under Clause (5), the Court is permitted to apply the test of reasonableness of the restrictions or limits not generally, but only to the extent they are either in the interests of the general public, *e.g.*, in case of an epidemic, riot, etc., or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe. In my

59. *Ibid*, pp. 100-107.

60. The applicant A. K. Gopalan had been detained in a Madras Jail under Section 3(1) of the Preventive Detention Act of 1950. The case arose as a result of a petition by him under Article 32(1) of the Constitution of India for a writ of *habeas corpus* against his detention.—See *ibid*, p. 95.

61. Of Clause (1) of Article 19 of the Constitution.

62. *Ibid*, pp. 101-107.



opinion, this is not the intention of the Constitution. Therefore, the contention urged in respect of Article 19 fails. . . . Article 22 envisages the law of preventive detention. So does Article 246 read with Schedule Seven, List I, Entry 9, and List III, Entry 3. Therefore, when the subject of preventive detention is specifically dealt with in the Chapter on Fundamental Rights I do not think it is proper to consider a legislation permitting preventive detention as in conflict with the rights mentioned in Article 19(1). Article 19(1) does not purport to cover all aspects of liberty or of personal liberty. In that Article only certain phases of liberty are dealt with. 'Personal liberty' would primarily mean liberty of the physical body. The rights given under Article 19(1) do not directly come under that description. They are rights which accompany the freedom or liberty of the person. By their very nature they are freedoms of a person assumed to be in full possession of his personal liberty . . . It seems to me improper to read Article 19 as dealing with the same subject as Article 21. Article 19 gives the rights specified therein only to the citizens of India while Article 21 is applicable to all persons. The word citizen is expressly defined in the Constitution to indicate only a certain section of the inhabitants of India . . . In my opinion . . . . Article 19 should be read as a separate complete Article.<sup>62</sup>

Manojan J. also held that whatever might be the precise scope of Article 19 (1) (d) and Article 19 (5), the provisions of Article 19 (5) would not apply to a law relating to preventive detention, "inasmuch as there is a special self-contained provision in Article 22 regulating it."<sup>64</sup> Further, "the only correct approach in examining the validity of a law on the subject of preventive detention" would be by considering whether the law made satisfied the requirements of Article 22 or in any way abridged or contravened them. If the answer was in the affirmative, then the law would be valid; but if the answer was in the negative, the law would be void.<sup>65</sup>

Mukherjea J. observed :<sup>66</sup>

"The question that we have to consider is whether a law relating to preventive detention is justiciable in a Court of law on the ground of reasonableness under Article 19(5) of the Constitution inasmuch as it takes away or abridges the right to free movement in the territory of India guaranteed by Clause (1)(d) of

the Article (19) . . . . Article 22 deals specifically with the subject of preventive detention and expressly takes away the fundamental rights relating to arrest and detention enumerated in Clauses (1) and (2) of the Article from persons who are detained under any law which may be passed by the Parliament or State Legislatures acting under Article 246 of the Constitution read with the relevant items in the legislative lists . . . . This much is beyond controversy that so far as substantive law is concerned, Article 22 of the Constitution gives a clear authority to the legislature to take away the fundamental rights relating to arrest and detention, which are secured by the first two clauses of the Article. Any legislation on the subject would only have to conform to the requirements of Clauses (4) to (7) (of Article 22) and provided that is done, there is nothing in the language employed nor in the context in which it appears which affords any ground for suggestion that such law must be reasonable in its character and that it would be reviewable by the Court on that ground. (Both Articles 19 and 22 occur in the same Part of the Constitution and both of them purport to lay down the fundamental rights which the Constitution guarantees. It is well settled that the Constitution must be interpreted in a broad and liberal manner giving effect to all its parts, and the presumption should be that no conflict or repugnancy was intended by its framers . . . . It seems to me that there is no conflict or repugnancy between the two provisions of the Constitution and an examination of the scheme and language of the catena of Articles which deal with the rights to freedom would be sufficient to show that what Clause (1)(d) of Article 19 contemplates is not freedom from detention, either punitive or preventive; it relates to and speaks of a different aspect or phase of civil liberty . . . . Furthermore, Article 19 is applicable to citizens only . . . . I agree with the learned Attorney-General (for India) that in construing Article 19(1)(d) stress is to be laid upon the expression 'throughout the territory of India', and it is a particular and special kind of right, viz., that of free movement throughout the Indian territory, that is the aim and object of the Constitution to secure . . . . In my opinion, therefore, preventive detention does not come either within the express language or within the spirit and intendment of Clause (1)(d) of Article 19 of the Constitution which deals with a totally different aspect or form of civil liberty. It is true that by reason of preventive detention, a man may be prevented from exercising the right of free movement within the territory of India as contemplated by Article 19(1)(d) of the Constitution, but that is merely incidental to or consequential upon loss of liberty resulting from the order of detention. Not merely the right under Clause (1)(d), but many of the other rights which are enumerated under the other sub-clauses of Article

62. For further details, see *ibid*, pp. 100-107.

63. See *ibid*, p. 89.

65. *ibid*, p. 229. For further details, see *ibid*, pp. 227-30.

66. See *ibid*, pp. 251-62.

19(1) may be lost or suspended so long as preventive detention continues. Thus a detainee so long as he is under detention may not be able to practise any profession, or carry on any trade or business which he might like to do; but this would not make the law providing for preventive detention a legislation taking away or abridging the rights under Article 19(1)(g) of the Constitution, and it would be absurd to suggest that in such cases the validity of the legislation should be tested in accordance with the requirement of Clause (6) of Article 19 and that the only restrictions that could be placed upon the person's free exercise of trade and profession are those specified in that clause."

Finally, Das J. remarked :<sup>67</sup>

"The purpose of Article 19(1)(d) is to guarantee that there shall be no State barrier. It gives protection against provincialism. It has nothing to do with the freedom of the person as such . . . There can be no getting away from the fact that a detention as a result of a conviction impairs the freedom of speech far beyond what is permissible under Clause (2) of Article 19. Likewise a detention on lawful conviction impairs each of the other personal rights mentioned in Sub-clauses (b) to (e) and (g) far beyond the limits of Clauses (3) to (6) of Article 19. The argument that every section of the Indian Penal Code irrespective of whether it has any reference to any of the rights referred to in Sub-clauses (b) to (e) and (g)<sup>68</sup> is a law imposing reasonable restriction on those several rights has not even the merit of plausibility. There can be no doubt that a detention as a result of lawful conviction must necessarily impair the fundamental personal rights guaranteed by Article 19(1) far beyond what is permissible under Clauses (2) to (6) of that Article and yet nobody can think of questioning the validity of the detention or of the section of the Indian Penal Code under which the sentence was passed. Why? Because the freedom of his person having been lawfully taken away, the convict ceases to be entitled to exercise the freedom of speech and expression or any of the other personal rights protected by Clause (1) of Article 19. On a parity of reasoning he cannot, while the detention lasts, exercise any other personal right, e.g., he cannot eat what he likes or when he likes but has to eat what the Jail Code provides for him and at the time when he is by Jail regulations required to eat. Therefore, the conclusion is irresistible that the rights protected by Article 19(1), in so far as they relate to rights attached to the person, i.e., the rights referred to in sub-clauses (a) to (c) and (g), are rights which only a free citizen, who has the freedom of his person un-

impaired, can exercise. It is pointed out, as a counter to the above reasonings, that detention as a result of a lawful conviction does not deprive a person of his right to acquire or hold or dispose of his property mentioned in sub-clause (f). The answer is simple, namely, that that right is not a right attached to the person (*jus personarum*) and its existence is not dependent on the freedom of the person. Loss of freedom of the person, therefore, does not suspend the right to property. But suppose a person loses his property by reason of its having been compulsorily acquired under Article 31, he loses his right to hold that property and cannot complain that his fundamental right under sub-clause (f) of Clause (1) of Article 19 has been infringed. It follows that the rights enumerated in Article 19(1) subsist while the citizen has the legal capacity to exercise them. If his capacity to exercise them is gone, by reason of a lawful conviction with respect to the rights in sub-clauses (a) to (e) and (g), or by reason of a lawful compulsory acquisition with respect to the right in sub-clause (f), he ceases to have those rights while his incapacity lasts. It further follows that if a citizen's freedom of the person is lawfully taken away otherwise than as a result of a lawful conviction for an offence, that citizen, for precisely the same reason, cannot exercise any of the rights attached to his person including those enumerated in sub-clauses (a) to (e) and (g) of Article 19(1). In my judgment a lawful detention, whether punitive or preventive, does not offend against the protection conferred by Article 19(1) (a) to (e) and (g), for those rights must necessarily cease when the freedom of the person is lawfully taken away. In short, those rights end where the lawful detention begins. . . . It follows, therefore, that the validity or otherwise of preventive detention does not depend on, and is not dealt with by, Article 19. To summarise, the freedom of the person is not the result of Article 19. Article 19 only deals with certain particular rights. . . . It does not deal with the freedom of the person as such. . . . A citizen who loses the freedom of his person by being lawfully detained, whether as a result of a conviction for an offence or as a result of preventive detention, loses his capacity to exercise those rights and, therefore, has none of the rights which sub-clauses (a) to (e) and (g) may protect. In my judgment Article 19 has no bearing on the question of the validity or otherwise of preventive detention and, that being so, Clause (5) which prescribes a test of reasonableness to be defined and applied by the Court has no application at all."

Thus our Supreme Court has "by an overwhelming majority"<sup>69</sup> of five to one held that

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 302-306.

68. Of Clause (1) of Article 19.

69. An expression used by Patanjali Sastri J.—See *The Supreme Court Reports*, Vol. II, Part V, May, 1951, p. 457.

Article 19 of our Constitution has nothing to do with a law providing for preventive detention, duly made under Article 22 of the Constitution. It may also be noted here that in *Ram Singh and Others V. The State of Delhi and Another* the Supreme Court has unanimously held<sup>70</sup> that, "although personal liberty has a content sufficiently comprehensive to include the freedoms enumerated in Article 19 (1), and its deprivation would result in the extinction of those freedoms, the Constitution has treated these civil liberties as distinct fundamental rights and made separate provisions in Article 19 and Articles 21 and 22 as to the limitations and conditions subject to which alone they could be taken away or abridged;" and that, consequently, "an order of preventive detention cannot be held to be invalid merely because the detention is made with a view to" preventing "the making of speeches prejudicial to the maintenance of public order."

## V

In this and in our preceding article we have dealt with the different aspects of Article 22 of our Constitution as judicially interpreted. We should now like to conclude this article with reference to the observations made by some of our Supreme Court Judges with regard to the question of the desirability of a provision like Article 22, or item 9 in the Union List or item 3 in the Concurrent List in the Seventh Schedule to our Constitution, in a constitutional document. Thus we find Kania C.J. observing in the course of his judgment in *A. K. Gopalan V. The State of Madras*:<sup>71</sup>

"It may be noticed that neither the American nor the Japanese Constitution contain (*sic*) provisions permitting preventive detention, much less laying down limitations on such right of detention, in normal times, i.e., without a declaration of emergency. Preventive detention in normal times, i.e., without the existence of an emergency like war, is recognised as a normal topic of legislation in List I, Entry 9, and List III, Entry 3, of the Seventh Schedule. Even in the Chapter on Fundamental Rights Article 22 envisages legislation in respect of preventive detention in normal times."

Patanjali Sastri J. has stated:<sup>72</sup>

"The outstanding fact to be borne in mind . . . is that preventive detention has been given a consti-

tutional status. This sinister-looking feature, so strangely out of place in a democratic Constitution which invests personal liberty with the sacrosanctity of a fundamental right and so incompatible with the promises of its preamble is doubtless designed to prevent an abuse of freedom by anti-social and subversive elements which might imperil the national welfare of the infant Republic. It is in this spirit that Clauses (3) to (7) of Article 22 should, in my opinion, be construed and harmonised as far as possible with Article 21 so as not to diminish unnecessarily the protection afforded for the legitimate exercise of personal liberty."

Referring to the provision for preventive detention in our Constitution, Mukherjea J. has observed:<sup>73</sup>

"Detention in such form is unknown in America. It was resorted to in England only during war time but no country in the world that I am aware of has made this an integral part of their (*sic*) Constitution as has been done in India. This is undoubtedly unfortunate but it is not our business to speculate on questions of policy or to attempt to explore the reasons which led the representatives of our people to make such a drastic provision in the Constitution itself, which cannot but be regarded as a most unwholesome encroachment upon the liberties of the people."

Finally, Das J. has remarked:<sup>74</sup>

"The first thing to note is that under Entry 9 of List I (7th Schedule) the Parliament and under Entry 3 in List III both Parliament and the State Legislatures are empowered to make laws for preventive detention for reasons connected with the several matters specified in the respective entries. This legislation is not conditioned upon the existence of any war with a foreign power or upon the proclamation of emergency under Part XVIII of the Constitution. Our Constitution has, therefore, accepted preventive detention as the subject-matter of peacetime legislation as distinct from emergency legislation. It is a novel feature to provide for preventive detention in the Constitution. There is no such provision in the Constitution of any other country that I know of. Be that as it may, for reasons good or bad, our Constitution has deliberately and plainly given power to Parliament and the State Legislatures to enact preventive detention laws even in peace-time. To many of us a preventive detention law is odious at all times but what I desire to emphasise is that it is not for the Court to question the wisdom and policy of the Constitution which the people have given unto themselves. This is another basic fact which the Court must not overlook."

It is evident from what has been quoted above that judicial opinion in our country has,

70. On 6th April, 1951. See *ibid.*, pp. 451-52 and 455-56.

71. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May 1950, p. 116.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.

73. *Id.*, pp. 249-50.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 283.



on the whole, not been very favourable to the provision for preventive detention in our Constitution. Perhaps this provision was necessitated, as Patanjali Sastri J. has hinted, by the political situation in our country at the time when it was made. The official view appears to have been the necessity of protecting our infant Republic "against violent activities organised in secrecy and intended to produce chaos."<sup>75</sup> Still, it must be admitted, the provision does not seem, however politically and realistically it may be expedient, to be a very happy

feature of our Constitution. Nor does it seem to be in consonance with the ideal of the rule of law.

In our later articles in this series we propose to deal with some other Fundamental Rights as guaranteed by our Constitution.

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75. See in this connexion the Statement of Objects and Reasons for the Preventive Detention (Amendment) Act, 1951, in *The Gazette of India*, Part II, Section 2, dated 10th February, 1951.—*The Current Indian Statutes*, 1951, *The Punjab Law Reporter Press*, Simla, p. 53.

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## WILL INDIA ACCEPT DEMILITARISATION OF KASHMIR ?

By PROF. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

It is well-known to all interested in Indo-Pakistani relations that India has refused to accept the decision on the issue of Kashmir, as recently rendered by the Security Council of the United Nations. India's case was well defended by S. V. K. Krishna Menon who advocated that the real issue before the United Nations was not a plebiscite to determine whether Kashmir is a part of India or not, but the issue was whether Pakistan was an aggressor in Kashmir or not. S. Menon established the fact that from the standpoints of International law and Constitutional law of India, accession of Kashmir to India in 1948 and confirmation of this act later by the legislature of India and adoption of constitution of Kashmir which makes it definite and clear that Kashmir is an integral part of India, leaves no room for any doubt Kashmir's status—Kashmir is a part of India, and there cannot be any plebiscite in Kashmir under U.N. auspices, because such an act would mean U.N. interference in India's internal affairs.

### II

It is known that Pakistan, well-equipped with modern arms from the United States of America and the Bagdad Pact Powers—especially Great Britain and Turkey—has been

preparing for a holy war against India. Pakistan's hostility to India has been definitely proven by statements of responsible statesmen of the country and the recent anti-Indian demonstration at Karachi, Lahore, Dacca and other cities in Western and Eastern Pakistan, by burning effigies of Prime Minister Nehru, who has been the foremost advocate of peaceful relations between India and Pakistan. Under these circumstances, to protect Indian frontiers, specially Kashmir frontiers, from a sudden attack by Pakistan, India must muster necessary forces, as a defensive measure. There are indications that India is not unaware of Pakistan's war-like intentions and it is to be expected that India will defend Kashmir at any cost.

### III

Pakistan knows that the United States Government has given assurance to India that she would do her best that the arms supplied to Pakistan might not be used against India. Pakistan also knows that President Eisenhower is thoroughly aware of the fact that any war between Pakistan and India would serve the cause of Soviet Russia and Communist China, weakening Pakistan and India and undermining the position of the United States in the Middle

East as well as South-East Asia. Americans, well-versed in world politics, know that if the United States and SEATO powers and Britain and the Bagdad Pact Powers aid Pakistan against India, then India, as a matter of self-defense, might be forced to seek aid from China and Soviet Russia. Thus at the present time, Pakistan's present programme is to carry on diplomatic war against India, to isolate the latter in world politics, if that can be achieved; and to use every possible means, specially using the United Nations organization to create adverse public opinion against India and thus induce vacillating Indian statesmen not to take firm and defensive measures against Pakistan's possible future aggression in Kashmir, East Bengal, Assam and neighbouring regions.

#### IV

It has been reported in reliable circles that Pakistan, a partner of the United States through SEATO and that of Britain through Bagdad Pact, has induced the Anglo-American Powers to introduce a resolution in the Security Council to the effect that Hon. Gunar V. Jerring, the present representative of Sweden and formerly Swedish Ambassador to India and Pakistan, be asked to go to India and Pakistan in a mission for the solution of Kashmir issue. *It has been reported that the programme of the mission would be to arrange that Kashmir be completely demilitarised. Failing to force plebiscite in Kashmir, Pakistan is working, under the cover of promoting peace, for demilitarisation of Kashmir, which would weaken India's defense as a whole.*

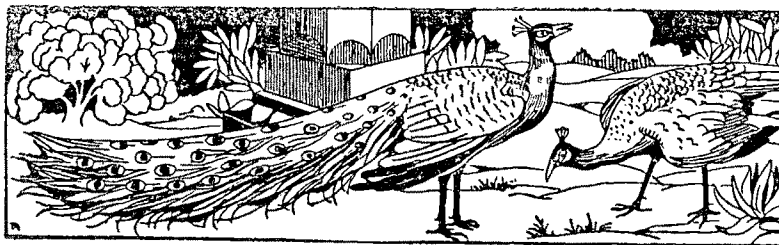
*It is to be expected that India will not accept any such proposition and make it unmistakably clear that, as the United States*

*which is faced with hostile Russia in all fronts, will not to self-defense to the United States will not give up all over the world, as the United States under all circumstances enforces the Monroe Doctrine, Open Door Policy, and Eisenhower Doctrine a State would never demilitarise at the request of the United Nations. It is expected that India will never accept the proposition of demilitarising any part of its territory to cater to the decisions of the United Nations when such propositions would be to the detriment of its national interests adversely.*

If ever India accepts the present proposal, a precedent of peaceful measure of Kashmir, supposedly to foster peace, it will be a precedent that as the relations between Pakistan and India has deteriorated, the situation in Kashmir, Assam and some of the Hill States of India adjacent to Pakistan be to the detriment of Indian interests.

It was in 1952, during his first visit to India after 47 years' exile, in connection with the 150th anniversary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi, delivered before a distinguished audience under the auspices of the Indian National Congress at the Indian Club of New Delhi, I emphasized that the frontiers of India were not fixed. *India's frontiers of India are in great measure fluid. India needs today is national development of her own economic and defensive power through the co-operation of friendly nations. India must be ready and able to defend herself against all forms of aggression. Jai Hind.*

New York, February 14, 1957.





# THE MIDDLE EAST

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.T. (India)

## I

### THE PROBLEM OF THE MIDDLE EAST

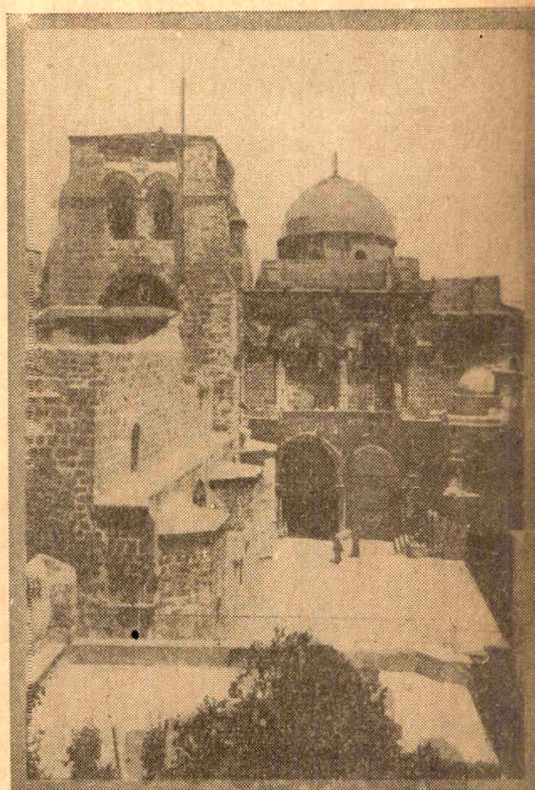
THE whole world is in suspense as to what may happen in the Middle East. (The West feels that not only is Russia so near, but that Russia is gaining in influence by supplying arms to certain States. Russia, on the other hand, finds in the U.S.A. and U.K. aids and pacts, particularly those with West Europe or Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan, an attempt to surround Russia by forming bases all round.) U.K. and Japan are already bases. The U.S.A. proposal for international inspection and control for the purpose of disarmament is not palatable to Russia, as it would benefit U.S.A. only, by exposing what is going on behind the iron curtain, while the U.S.A. is comfortably safe at a distance, in spite of jet planes and directed missiles. The clash of opposite ideologies of the "free world" and of "Communism" has led to the cold war. Communism promises a millenium to the hungry and weak countries of the world. The West attempts to check this by giving indiscriminate aids to counteract poverty and weakness. Benefits of trade, or strings attached to aids or even moral obligation to keep others in plenty, have become minor objects. Pacts arise out of fear and there have been pacts against pacts. The deadlock over the Suez Canal is proving immensely harmful to all the trading countries (90 per cent of the Canal traffic) of the East and West.

### THE PETROL SUPPLY PROBLEM

Petrol, the big indispensable merchandise (65 per cent of the total cargo through the Canal) has been made immobile to all consumers except to the two main opponents of the cold war, which has almost an ironic flavour. Both are self-sufficient, although one has nothing to spare and is beset with transport difficulties and the other is indifferent about trading in it.

The Middle East possesses two-thirds of the whole world's oil resources, but there is no technician to convert the crude material to a condition in which it can be used. The countries are too poor to finance refining, which is a very costly affair. Taking advantage of these conditions, some rich companies or corporations from the West have entered into long agreements on very easy terms. The price has been inflated to conditions prevailing in America, which means that it is 15 times more than is reasonable, the difference being the huge profit earned in the Eastern enterprise, by selling at American prices. Therefore though there is a great possibility before India in working her own oil fields, she must take care that she is not duped by foreign capitalists, whose interests have to be care-

fully defined, even when technical help and foreign capital are indispensable. Popular attempts at nationalisation of oil proved disastrous to Persia from power politics including foreign intervention, blockade causing food scarcity, popular rising crushed by force and bloodshed, suspension of refinery producing unemployment and temporary flight of the Shah. All this ended in a long-term contract to the foreign oil companies against small financial gains. Nasser must have been very bold to try nationalisation again so soon, against such strong foreign interests.



Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem

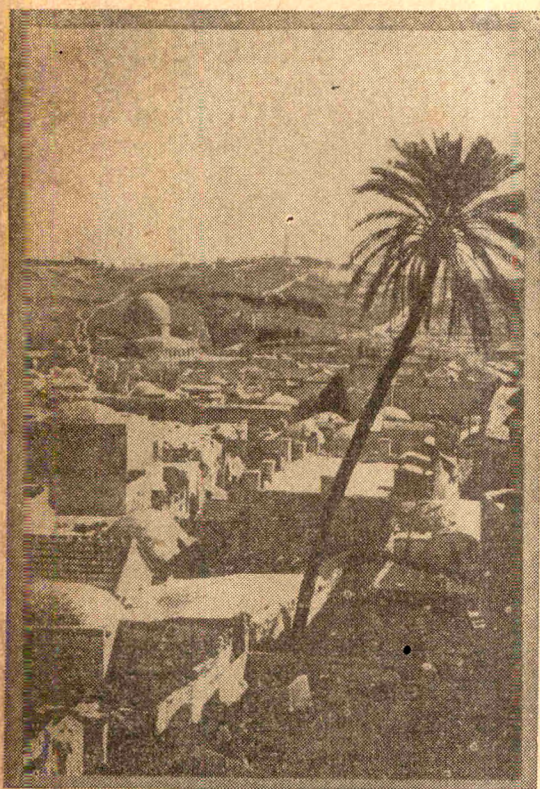
The long pipe-line from Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, about 900 miles and a short one from Hatida, about 350 miles, end in Haifa on the Mediterranean Sea. Another short line goes to Tripoly from Hatida, bifurcating from the main line from Kirkuk and further up. These pipe lines supply directly to the Mediterranean coast, 40 million tons of oil annually, while 67 million tons go through the Canal, via the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, in tankers covering a distance of 2,820 miles. The position regarding oil



supply has recently been made worse by sabotaging the pipe-lines.

#### OLD HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE EAST

After the First World War, Turkey lost the sovereignty, enjoyed for ages, of the countries between Turkey and Arabia, i.e., of the "Middle East" of the Westerners. This portion of the country called the "Fertile Crescent," bounded by the Mediterranean on the West, the Arabian desert on the south and mountains on the north and east, has been the great battlefield from very early ages. The Semitic (descended from the Biblical Shem) races of the Chaldeans, Jews, Phoenicians and Assyrians from the southern deserts and the Sumerian (from Sumer, a district in Babylon) races of the Philistines from the islands of the west,



Jerusalem from the Tower of David

the Canaanites, the Akkadians, Hittites, Hyksos, Medes and Persians from the northern and eastern mountains, founded kingdoms in this congenial soil, one after another during long ages and vanished. In the wars between the Egyptians in the south-west and the Assyrians in the east of Palestine, the route lay through the narrow strip of the plains, 120 miles long and barely 15 miles in width, between the river Jordan and the Sea. Jerusalem on the verge of the mountains often suffered heavily. Later, the Jews appeared on the scene. They fought the Pagans or Heathens

from Iran, Iraq, Greece and Rome, and later the Christians during the early Christian era. During the Crusades in the Middle Ages, the Christians fought the Moslems, and now the Arabs are fighting the Jews. Jerusalem as the Promised Land of the Jews, the home of Christianity of the Christians and a sacred place of the Moslems, has been the bone of contention through the ages as at the present time.

#### AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Palestine had been conquered from the Egyptian Mamelukes by Turkey in 1517 and was under the Turkish rule until 1918, when the British occupied it. In the treaty of Versailles, after the First World War, mandates to the British in the south (from 1923) and to the French in the north (from 1921) were given by the League of Nations, for the Allies. But extensive disturbances broke out in 1939 between the Jews and the Arabs over the rights of the Jews to pray at the "Wailing Wall" at Jerusalem and ended in considerable bloodshed, as it spread all over the country. The ever-active marauders in the stony and wild country made the most of these occasions. But there was nothing doing during the Second World War, which broke out in 1939.

The Arabs and the Israelites are always at loggerheads and hostilities start on the slightest of provocations. In 1947, Britain handed over to the U.N. the problem of strife between the Israelites, who insisted on the formation of an independent Jewish State and the newly-freed Arabs who began opposing the Israel independence move.

#### THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Tension between independent States often leads to and is settled by war, which generally spreads and affects the world at large, just as a small pimple distresses the whole human form. A peaceful way is to settle disputes by a world organisation, through negotiations. Long before the present conflict in the Middle East, some sort of world organisation to prevent war and to settle disputes by negotiation has been considered essential, early this century.

The League of Nations was an international organisation, proposed by President Wilson of the U.S.A. at the end of the First World War in 1918, to afford a mutual guarantee of political independence and territorial integrity to the great and small States alike. But America did not join this from a strong feeling for isolation, as a reaction against President Wilson's intervention in foreign affairs. America was always for isolation—even the founders were against foreign entanglements. Yet America was drawn into the First World War by the indiscriminate sinking of ships without warning by Germans, which caused loss of American lives. There was again a return to isolation after the war, as stated above, until Japanese provo-



cation led America to join the Second World War in 1941. America then finally surrendered the isolation policy and took up the world leadership. In the background of Monroe Doctrine and Rio Pact, it looks like "Hands off me, while I handle you." Even before America was actively engaged, the Atlantic Charter with the main objective of freedom from war, fear and want, was signed in 1941. After the war, the United Nations Charter was drawn up in 1945, at San Francisco by 51 Nations as a more powerful and effective World Organisation (which U.S.A. now joined formally) than the League of Nations, providing an agency for the peaceful discussion of international differences and a hope for a peaceful world. The U.N., under the Charter had no power of action, as the provision of a stand-by permanent force at its disposal never materialised. But they have powers of recommendation to the moral judgement of the world community, of world opinion. This was the American policy—in the Declaration of Independence, the founders had pledged themselves to a decent respect for the opinion of mankind.

The U.N. has two main organs—the General Assembly and the Security Council, the latter with a power of veto in matters affecting security. That is, a single vote out of 5 original members can veto any proposal. This was readily agreed to at the Yalta Conference towards the end of the war. The Council can take action only when all the five great powers are in agreement on policy. Further implications were then not realised, as exemplified by the constant Russian veto on important and urgent matters, for example, in the provision of a working force of the U.N. The General Assembly, however, during the Korean crisis, got passed a resolution, in the absence of the Russian delegate, providing for an emergency Assembly session, if a veto prevented dealing effectively with a threat of peace. This by-passing of the veto by a resolution was instrumental lately in getting Britain and France out of the Canal area and stationing of the temporary U.N. force for security.

The U.S.A. has brought a belated resolution, now before the U.N. that noting

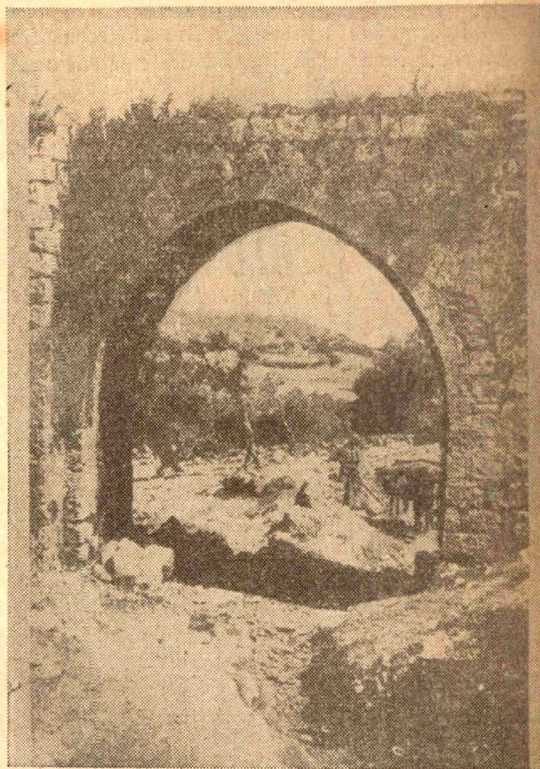
- (1) the disregard of 1948 Armistice arrangements, particularly the penetration of Israel,
- (2) operations of Britain and France against Egyptian territory,
- (3) interruption of traffic through the Canal,

the U.N. urges cease-fire, withdrawal of forces, no movement of military goods, reopening of the Canal and continuance of the emergency session, pending further examination.

#### ATTEMPTS AT PEACEFUL SOLUTION

To ensure permanent peace in the Middle East, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved a partition of the country into independent Arab and Jewish States in place of mandates and a U.N. Com-

mission was entrusted to the work. The Commission partitioned the country into eight States internationalising the Jewish Jerusalem. The Israel State came into existence in 1948, voted to the U.N. in 1949 and a new Republic was proclaimed in 1950 by the Jewish National Council. When the British mandate terminated in 1949, 94 per cent of the area came under Israel. America and 30 (and later 59) nations of the U.N. recognised the State. The Jews objected to the



• A view of Samaria

partition and in 1949, infiltrated everywhere except Jerusalem. Regular war broke out in 1950. The Arab was no match for the Israel. An expedition headed by Iraq entered Palestine but was thrown back, leaving a large number of Arabs behind. Their extraction was not heeded for long. The Arabs fled and the country was being constantly ravaged by marauders and robbers. There was widespread massacre near Jerusalem. One million Palestine residents were said to have been evicted from their homes and deprived of property. The strong party in Israel was Socialists, who predominated politically and economically, only 13 per cent being under clericalism. Arab property was left in Israel by Arab refugees, whose rehabilitation is now a problem. There is also a dispute about harnessing of the Jordan water. The U.N. had to intervene. A temporary truce was proclaimed and an Armistice was concluded under terms proposed by the U.N.



mediator Dr. Bunche, the previous mediator Count Bernadotte having been murdered by the Jews. Still in 1954, troubles broke out when a bus was ambushed and its occupants killed. In this spirit, Israel joined the present Suez strife. The Arabs, perhaps, feel that all the sea-port towns have been given to the Israel, and trade which enriches a country has been throttled against their interests. The Jews feel that the portion of Palestine given to the Arabs has been a real emotional grievance, as it includes Jerusalem, their promised land.

So the armistice 8 years ago, has not been of any use. The U.N. has been laggard or impotent and so has the U.S.A. been indifferent.

#### THE SUEZ CANAL

Nasser, baffled on the question of the Assuan Dam, seized the Canal on the 26th July. Within three days, the U.S.A., U.K. and France met in London and proposed a conference of the surviving signatories (90 per cent of the users) of the 1888 Convention (almost all). Egypt declined to attend. An agreement of 18 countries was carried to Nasser, who rejected it. The 18 met again and proposed to create an association, as a co-operative group of the Canal users. The matter was brought to the Security Council and six principles (same as of the original proposals of the 18 countries in London) with concurrence of Egypt, were adopted. A second part of the resolution, regarding implementation, was vetoed by Russia. Then a proposal to hold a conference of the Secretary-General, the executive of the U.N., Egypt, Britain and France did not materialise; Israel penetration and violence by U.K. and France followed instead. Blaming Russia for the Canal dispute, assuming intended penetration, appears to be unjustified, since Russia proposed joint action with the U.S.A. to settle the dispute.

First of all, Israel penetrated into Egypt. Quickly following, France and England acted, with 12 hours ultimatum and armed attack, later from air—for temporary control, presumably to make the canal safe. The matter was brought to the Security Council, but vetoed by Britain and France, the only dissenting votes against the resolution. The Secretary-General called an emergency session by a vote of 7 members of the Security Council. As a result, Britain and France have withdrawn from the Canal zone and the U.N. Emergency force has been stationed in the Canal area.

Even if the Suez Canal dispute is now settled, as it appears likely, the differences between the Arab States in the Middle East and the Israel and the internal quarrels between Arab States themselves, may still continue.

It is difficult to find a solution that would satisfy all the parties. The suggestion of an Arab Federation came from a voice from America. This was also

suggested by the Jordan Premier, envisaging a Federal Parliament determining common Arab policies in the foreign, military and strategic fields, local matters being left to the local parliaments. This will at least solve the differences between the several Arab States, which have always been acute, avoiding interference from distant contesting foreign countries, who are intent to fill up the power vacuum there.

#### II

##### ISRAEL'S CASE

World opinion has been outraged by the Israel penetration into Egypt for which Israel owes an explanation. The Israel country or Palestine, surrounded by Moslem States, except on the Sea coast, is a republic with a president for 5 years and a Chamber of Deputies elected by votes of all Jewish citizens. The Bagdad Pact initiated by Britain and sponsored by the U.S.A. was opposed by Israel, because it armed one set of enemies of Israel, that is, the Arab States of the East. Russia retaliated by arranging supply of huge quantities of arms to Egypt, which is another enemy of Israel, in the West. Both aim at annihilating Israel. Egypt blocked the Canal against Israel. It is true that Israel had the free use of the Gulf of Akaba. But bands of robbers and marauders infesting the wild country cannot be checked from the tip of the Gulf, when both the sides are under Moslem control. Further, Egypt had not complied with the U.N. resolution of 1951 recognising Israel's rights to use the Canal, on the lame excuse that a state of war existed between Egypt and Israel and as such, blocking the Canal was permissible according to the Convention of 1888. In the perpetually disturbed state of the country, each side blamed the other for State support in border incidents. Calling it a war, it appears that Egypt did not want peace. Egypt would, moreover, come to no terms about shifting the population according to race, as there may be unspeakable massacres and extermination in centres of isolated colonies distributed over the country. Of course, this is a grim fact. There are 150 Jewish settlements in Palestine, but of the whole population of 1,200,000, the Jews used to number only 350,000 (now risen<sup>2</sup> to 608,000) and Christians 100,000, so that the country was overwhelmingly Mahomedan. In Jerusalem (proclaimed capital of Palestine in 1950) itself, of the population of 90,000, about half are Jews, where formerly the Moslems used to be four-fifths. Again, there were 63,000 (lately reduced<sup>2</sup> to 40,000) Jews in Egypt, 73,000 in Iraq, 30,000 in Syria, who have all become foreigners after the partition in 1949. On the other hand, when the Israelites abandoned the Sinar Peninsula, a vital factor for their development, there were only 120,000 Moslems left there.

1. See foot-note 3.

2. Both due to the return of Jews in large numbers, as detailed later, to Palestine.



The Arab League was formed of all the Moslem States of the Middle East. Then there was the Bagdad Pact between Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. All this was ominous to Israel.

Israel appealed to the U.N. for a settlement but they seemed indifferent or impotent. Facing the difficult position with the alternatives of "to do or die," Israel penetrated into Egypt even before the British and French incursions, of which, perhaps, it had hints. The Israelites thought that their long-coveted chance had come. The incentive for the British came from an attempt to recover their lost prestige in the Canal zone and there was prospect of oil in the Sinai region. The French incentive came from a sense of injury, because Egypt had sent arms aid to Algeria. Both had, however, the common aim to check the Communist Russia, though presumably to help the Israel cause. They counted on America in this venture. But America kept out, because it was not for using force and decided that two wrongs cannot make anything right. In any case, Israel was trapped into the position which was later repudiated as a mistake.

#### HISTORY OF ISRAEL

In order to understand the position of Israel in world affairs, its long strange history is an interesting study. The Jews now number about 15,500,000. They have lived scattered over the length and breadth of the earth for 20 centuries, having no home-land. Yet they survive as a distinct race, while history abounds in evidence of so many races having risen, fallen and forgotten. They have distinguished themselves in every age as people of character, achievement and culture and in their imposing form and features, while enduring great suffering and misfortunes.

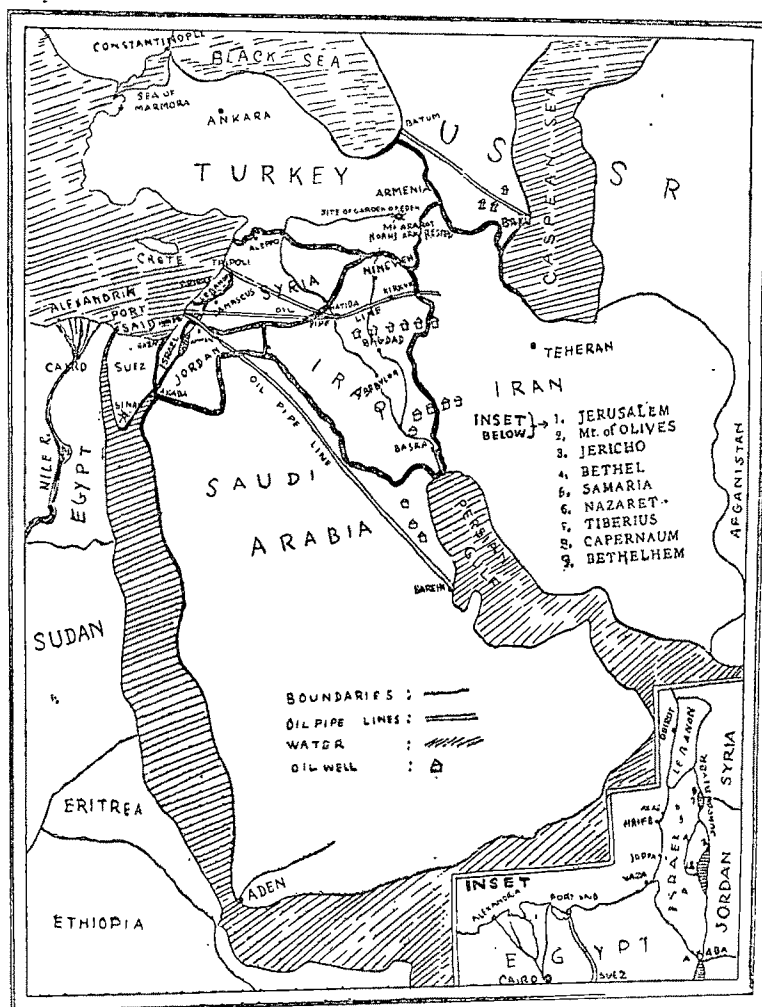
The founder of the Hebrew nation, Abraham, lived about 2000 B.C. when the Egyptian and Baby-

3. Israel made a false reading of the situation. The Arab League (1945), conceived for a long time of all independent Arab States to co-ordinate their policies for all common interests, was no effective political force, because of rivalry for predominance between Egypt and Iraq, and other differences between one another, leading to constant clash of arms. Thus Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Jordan made a joint Egyptian command, while Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan did not join because of the Egyptian command. The Bagdad Pact for technical and economic development and mainly mutual defence, was a new grouping of the latter States including Britain, started at Portsmouth in 1948 and signed in 1954. This was actively opposed locally, showing diversity and some Moslems were now disowning Britain. In the late crisis, it appeared that there was really no Arab bloc. Only some despotic feudal, monarchist or republican cliques of Arab rulers were active. But fortunately for Israel, they did not take up the cause of Egypt. The people of Jordan are actually demonstrating against foreign influence in Egypt and Iraq. (the Iraq Government is for pacts). Even some people of Iraq and of East Pakistan are agitating against the Bagdad Pact.

lonian civilisations had grown old and enfeebled. He led his people from Ur, near the mouths of the Euphrates in the idolatrous land of the Chaldeans. Ur is said to have been founded even 2,000 years earlier by a Sumerian race and modern excavations have unearthed this earlier civilisation of the Stone Age in potter's wheels, earthenware pots and drain pipes, as well as in fire-places, well-laid gardens and so on, discovered underground.

Abraham had the divine call to found a nation, dedicated to one God and to move West and settle in Palestine. Isaac, succeeding Abraham had twin sons, Jacob and Esau. The latter was cheated of his heritage by wily Jacob and settled in the barren southern hills of Nageb up to Akaba. Jacob changed his name to Israel and his 12 sons became heads of 12 tribes, known as Israelites. Jacob was partial to his son Joseph. This led the others to sell him as a slave to a merchant on his way to Egypt. But Joseph, through his honesty and ability, became a favourite with the Pharaoh or ruler in Egypt. Later, when a famine drove Jacob and his sons to Egypt, they settled there through Joseph's influence and they prospered for generations. The Egyptians grew jealous of the Jews and forced them to slavery and employed the slave labour to build the Pyramids. Finally, they tried to exterminate the race by drowning, until Moses delivered them from this oppression. He evaded the guards and led them through a long journey, known as the Exodus, back to the Promised Land of Canaan or Palestine.

In the 15th century B.C., Palestine was under the Egyptians. When the Israelites came, it was held by a Canaanite tribe. At the Sinai Mountain, amidst thunder and lightning, Moses was given in tablets of stone the Divine Laws or the Ten Commandments, which form the ethical standard of the whole civilized world. So Moses is known as the first law-giver. His son Joshua had to fight against the Canaanites, Philistines and others in Palestine. During these troubled days, officers known as "Judges" were appointed and later, "Prophets" or reformers, who speak for God and finally "Kings". David conquered the city of Jerusalem in 753 B.C. and made it his capital. It reached its greatest splendour under Solomon, but there were dissensions. After division of the kingdom amongst the tribes, Jerusalem became the capital of the kingdom. Later, about the 10th century B.C., there were two kingdoms—Israel with capital at Samaria on the North and Judea with capital at Jerusalem in the South. They were constantly fighting with each other. The northern half became idolatrous and was lost by an attack by the Assyrians. The mixed people left there, were called the Samaritans. The Southern State, Judea, kept its original faith but was subject to constant worry from warfare between the powerful Assyrians and the Egyptians on the



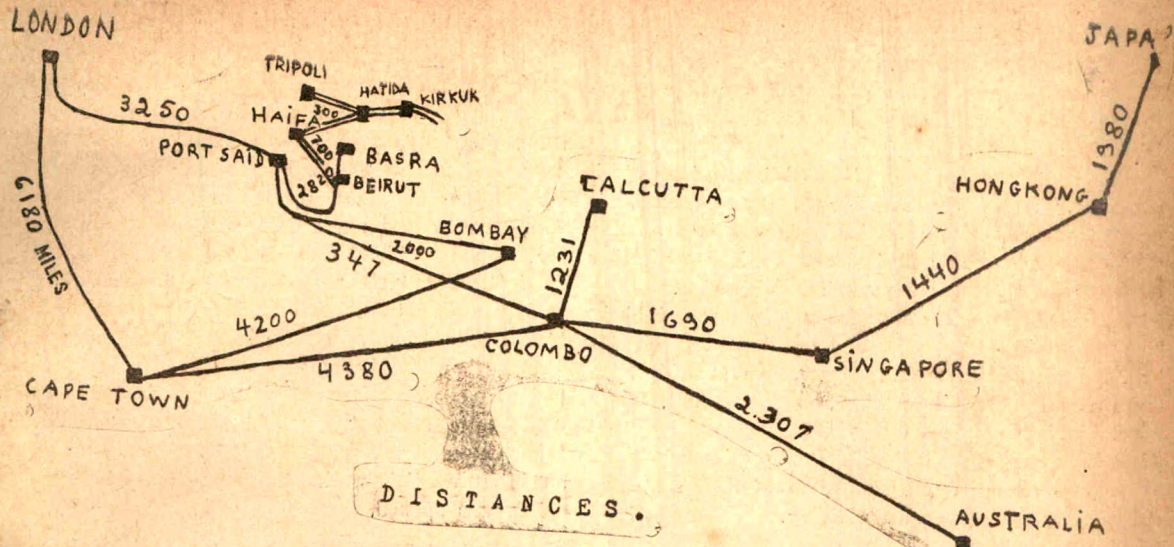
The oil routes in the Middle East

North and South respectively. The weakened kingdom was over-run by the Chaldean King Nebuchadnezzar of Bagdad in 587 B.C. When he left after appointing a Governor, the Jews revolted and massacred his soldiers. In retaliation, Nebuchadnezzar returned, destroyed Jerusalem, including the temple and carried the whole people to Bagdad as slaves. Nothing remained of the 12 tribes and thus ended the Jewish kingdom. After about 70 years, the Chaldean kingdom was crushed by the Persians under Cyrus and the Jews were brought back to Jerusalem in 530 B.C., when they rebuilt the temple in 415 B.C. An important part of the Hebrew Bible, or the Old Testament, was compiled while under captivity in Bagdad, where they advanced in culture.

Persian administration ended in 333 B.C. after the Conquest of Alexandar, when the Ptolemies, the Greek rulers of Egypt, also ruled Judea or Judah. Then

Palestine fell into the hands of the Syrians within a hundred years. They tried to force idolatry on the Jews. The temple was profaned in 170 B.C. The Jews revolted and became independent in 130 B.C. Later in internal dissensions, Rome was invited to arbitrate and Pompey made himself master of Palestine. The independence of the Jews ended and after 2,000 years it was only regained in 1950. Julius Caesar placed a foreigner, Antepeter, who had helped him in his Egyptian campaign, as ruler of Palestine. Herods were his son and grandson, who figured in the Crucifixion. There were constant insurrections and revolts ending in a great war in 66 A.D. But Titus took Jerusalem in A.D. 70, burnt down the temple and massacred thousands of Jews and took them as slaves to Rome. The Jewish nation was thus destroyed. But the spirit survived in a scattered people, suffering great persecutions.





## PALESTINE DURING 2000 YEARS

Hadrian, Roman Emperor, rebuilt Jerusalem in 170 A.D. The Edict of Milan proclaimed by Constantine in 323 A.D. after his conversion, spread Christianity quickly. He recovered the holy places and built two magnificent Churches. The Church of Constantine was built on the Holy Sepulchre in 335 A.D. Jerusalem became the main place of pilgrimage of Christians in the 5th Century. Restoration however began with Justinian I (526-565). The Persians took Jerusalem in 616 A.D. It was reconquered in 628, but was soon lost to the Arabs. The Egyptians took Jerusalem in 971 A.D., but were driven out by the Seljuks (from Central Asia) whose barbarous rule was the immediate cause of the Crusades. The Crusaders conquered Jerusalem in 1099, but lost it to Saladin, the Seljuk ruler of Egypt and Syria, in 1187. The Crusaders reconquered Jerusalem in 1229. After 10 years under Frederick II of Germany, it was finally lost in 1239 to the Sultan of Damascus. After a period of Mameluke (from Egypt) domination from 1382, Turkey occupied Jerusalem in 1517 and ruled up to 1918, when the British took it during the first World War.

## THE JEWS RETURN TO PALESTINE

The Jews migrated in large numbers to Palestine, especially after the purge of Hitler. They have long dreamt of a national home through the Zionist move-

ment, to bring to Palestine as many as possible of the 15,500,000 Jews scattered all over the world in isolated centres in large numbers. The immigration to foreign lands was due to constant persecutions in their homeland and to their enterprising spirit. Endorsed by the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and afterwards incorporated in the treaty of Versailles, the proposal was to establish a National Home for the Jewish people, without prejudice to the rights of other peoples in Palestine or the status of Jews in other countries. During the mandate given to Britain over Palestine and after it, vigorous steps for improvement have been taken by Britain and the Jews. Lands allowed to grow into waste have been reclaimed; ports opened at Gaza, Haifa, Tel Aviv, etc., the salts from the Dead Sea are bringing revenue and the harnessed Jordan helps in irrigation and as a source of power. A Hebrew University has been opened in 1925. Hebrew is the national language of a large number of schools, started in the country, but English and Arabic are also official languages. British and American backing of Israel during this period cannot be denied.

(To be continued)

4. Formerly the Jews were in a great minority. Of over a million population, about 760,000 were Moslems, 200,000 Jews and 100,000 Christians. There have been large migrations of Israel to Palestine between 1932-40, 243,000, and 1940-48, 110,717. After formation of State, 700,000.





## PRISONS WITHOUT BARS

With nothing but easily-climbed fence separating them from freedom, 1,500 men convicted of various crimes are serving their sentences in a prison in the United States called the California Institution for Men at Chino.

This "minimum security" penal institution, which emphasizes rehabilitation rather than punishment, is an experiment whose remarkable success is attracting world-wide attention and is likely to lead to further advances in constructive penal administration.

Criminals who in an ordinary prison would likely be confined in narrow cells and condemned to sit out long hours in idleness and silence, live at Chino in dormitories and eat in a common dining hall. Their wives and children may visit them regularly in the parklike grounds, and prison authorities help them learn a trade so that on completion of their sentences they are equipped to earn a living.



"Superintendent Scudder" tells a tough and defiant "Davitt" that his future lies in his own hands with Chino's help in reforming himself

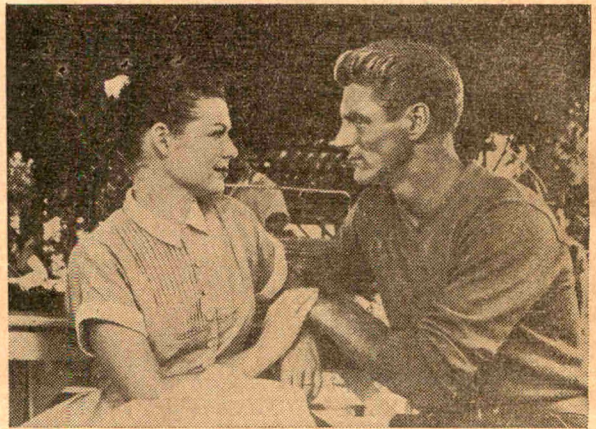
It is the aim of Chino and similar recently-established "minimum security" institutions to help the prisoners, as they expiate their crimes, to develop into self-respecting, law-respecting human beings, able eventually to resume their place among their fellows as responsible members of society.

This American experiment in human salvage was established largely through the efforts of Kenyon J. Scudder, founder and first superintendent of Chino, a well-known authority on penal matters, and author of a widely-read book, *Prisoners Are People*. The book describes the philosophy and methods of this modern and humane approach to the question of imprisonment and cites many moving examples of individual rehabilitation that Chino has accomplished. So dramatic is Scudder's story that it has become the basis of a motion picture, *Unchained*, which, in turn, by further stimulating interest and concern about prison

welfare, is likely to help promote more extensive programs of rehabilitation.

When the State of California, whose prisons had a very low rating, began about 1935 to make plans for a more modern type of prison, 2,000 acres were secured near the town of Chino, in southern California. After some delays and local opposition arrangements were finally made to build a farm-like institution without gun towers or high walls, where the men would be handled without the use of force or firearms.

Discarding traditional methods, Scudder chose for his staff a carefully screened group of young men, many of whom has just completed college. None had previous experience as prison guards, but all were enthusiastic about the rehabilitative possibilities of this new undertaking. These young men were given an intensive eight-week training course before the prison was opened.



One of Chino's most widely discussed innovations is to allow a prisoner's wife to visit him regularly

"The course," says Scudder, "included instruction in the use of firearms so that no-one could get hurt. Then we locked up the guns, and they have never been used except in case of escape. Through the teaching of judo, the art of self-defense, we developed in each man poise, courage, and confidence in his own ability to deal with any emergency that might arise without resorting to arms. A part of each day was devoted to the theory of handling men, some sociology, psychology, problems of discipline, and the general philosophy of freedom that was to govern the institution."

"Convicts who are to be given the chance of serving their sentences at Chino are carefully screened. The selection is based on the man himself and on his attitude and whether he is likely to get into trouble again. The largest number at Chino

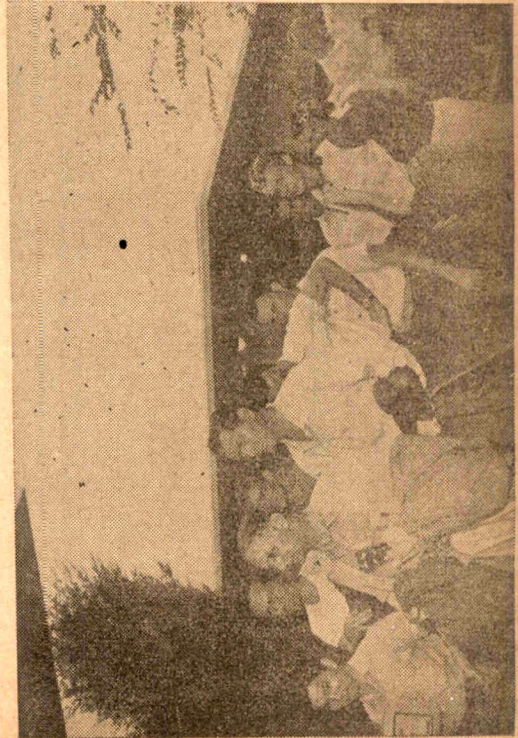




Davitt is elected by vote of his fellow prisoners to represent his dormitory on the prison council



Davitt appears before the Parole Board. If he can give convincing evidence to lead a law-abiding life, the Board may advance the date of his release



A new batch of convicts arrives at Chino where there are no barred windows, prison walls or armed guards



A reformed convict (right) gives Davitt some good advice



are in for robbery with a gun; next, burglary, grand theft, and bad checks. A few murderers are selected toward the end of their imprisonment to give them a chance to get ready for release and to accept responsibility for their own custody. It is the man and not the offense that is important."



Prisoners line up in the cafeteria-style dining hall

At regular intervals of six months a prisoner is interviewed by the Parole Board, or "Adult Authority." If the prisoner shows convincing evidence of rehabilitation and a sincere determination to become a responsible member of society, the Board may advance the date of his release. With this prospect to encourage him, the prisoner has a strong incentive to face the self-examination and the self-discipline which are fundamental to his final rehabilitation.

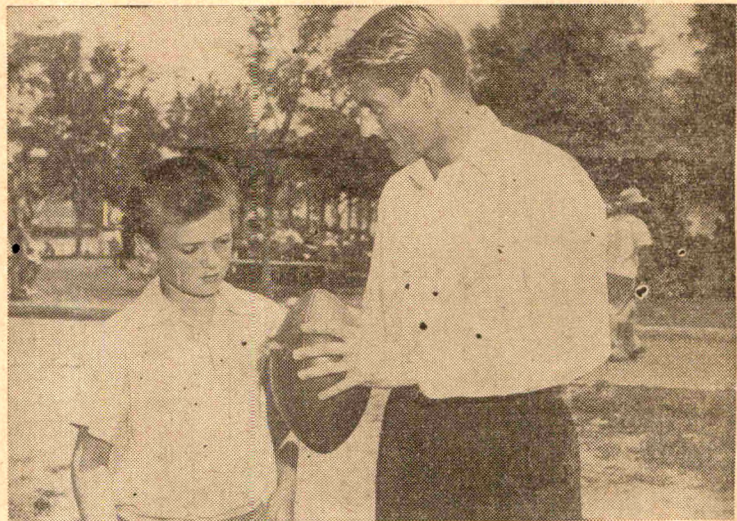
Scudder believes that the liberal visiting privileges the men enjoy at Chino have contributed greatly to their adjustment and are one of the most successful of this prison's innovations. Early prisoners were allowed to build an attractive visiting area outside the Administration Building. They constructed a large pergola, planted lawn and trees, and built a number of picnic tables and benches. Here on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays the families—parents, wives and children—can bring their picnic baskets, and for four hours visit undisturbed with no one listening to their

conversation. The men themselves are allowed to wear ordinary sports clothes on visiting days.

The prisoners at Chino are kept busy in useful work and wholesome recreation. Classes in bricklaying, tilesetting, plastering, welding, machine shop work, body and fender repair, auto mechanics and a host of others, taught by journeymen instructors furnished by the Chino High School District, equip men with skills to sell to an employer upon release. The institution also has one of the finest prison hospitals in the world. Here crippling injuries and other physical disabilities which may have led a bitter and frustrated man into crime in the first place can be corrected, providing him with a fresh and hopeful outlook on a new future outside the prison.

The forestry and farm work that has been organized in connection with Chino and other California State institutions has also proved of great benefit in the program of rehabilitation.

Today California's Department of Corrections has 37 per cent of its



In the California Institution for Men at Chino father and son can enjoy a visit together without embarrassment

prison population serving their sentences under "minimum security" in these camp and ranch units, far removed from the old chain-gang type of labor.

The forestry camp has proved an excellent way to get the prisoners started in "minimum security," for



the outdoor life and the sense of freedom in these camps bring out the best in men as they approach the day of release. Another point to be considered is that construction costs and upkeep are much less than for a regular prison building, and more men can be handled on a six-month's turnover schedule than in the large institution. In addition, these men make excellent forest fire-fighters and more than earn their entire keep through the work they perform.

And why do the prisoners at Chino and other "open" prisons not seize the many opportunities to escape that present themselves? At Chino, with its 1,500 men, where the housing units are never locked, escapes number less than one per cent. It is easy to climb over the barbed wire fence. Prisoners are even shown, when they arrive, how they can scramble over without hurting themselves. But they are warned:

"If you stay on the inside of the fence you can enjoy limited freedom. When you drop down to the other side you are a fugitive felon and we will bring you back no matter how long it takes. Many more years will be added to your sentence and you can never come back to Chino."

The advantage of paying their debt to society in a prison like Chino, rather than in close confinement in an old style "maximum security" institution, is not to be lightly disregarded. For at Chino a prisoner, no matter what his crime, is still an individual with certain rights and privileges as long as he behaves himself.

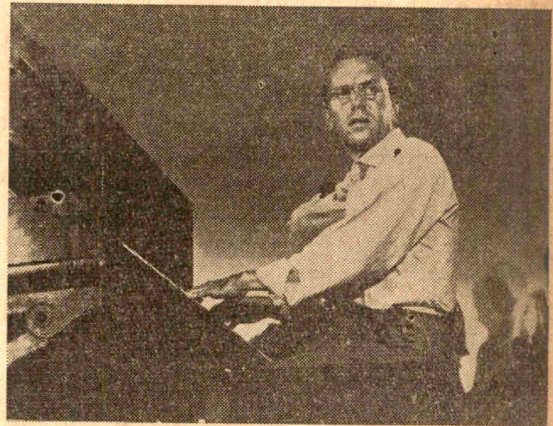
When Chino was opened in 1940 it marked a high point in many years of American thinking and effort along the road of prisoner rehabilitation. In 1870, the Prison Congress of Cincinnati adopted a Declaration of Principles that served as the starting point for the entire modern reform movement, which, under the United Nations Social Commission, has become world-wide in its scope.

The Cincinnati Congress led to the establishment in 1878 at Stockholm of a Permanent International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, which, after strongly influencing thinking on penal administration in various countries, was absorbed by the United Nations in 1951. (The first and last presidents of the Commission were American citizens: Enoch Cobb Wines, 1872-78, and Sanford Bates, 1946-51).

*Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners* were approved for the United Nations recently by its European Consultative Group. A Cairo Seminar in December, 1953, adopted several amendments to the proposed Minimum Rules that took into account special conditions prevailing in the Near East. This seminar, on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders for the Arab States, at which the Government of Egypt was host, was attended by penal administration officials of Egypt, Iraq, Jordan,

Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen, as well as by a number of technical experts and observers from the League of Arab States, the Government of Turkey, UNESCO, and various non-governmental institutions.

At the seminar the question of open institutions, such as Chino, was discussed, particularly from the point of view of the measures to be taken as transitional steps leading to the introduction of such institutions in the Arab States. The Cairo Seminar adopted several amendments to the proposed Minimum Standards of the United Nations, taking into account special conditions prevailing in the area, and advocated setting up a Central Bureau for the exchange of information within the Arab States.



This professional pianist, unable to make a living, had taken to crime. Surgery in the hospital restored the use of his injured hand and he now looks forward to renewing a successful career on his release.

During 1953 two experts were assigned under the United Nations to four countries (Burma, Israel, Pakistan, and Turkey) to discuss programs in what is known today as Social Defense and to advise on future developments. Thirty-one fellowships and scholarships were also awarded in the field of prison reform, and it is under this program that many officials connected with prison administration are now visiting U.S. Federal prisons and such State establishments as Chino.

Chino in particular demonstrates the successful application of today's humane and constructive approach to penal administration. For the goal and guiding principle of that approach, accepted on a world-wide scale under the United Nations, is summed up in the statement:

"The purposes of training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to establish in them the will to lead a good and useful life on discharge, and to fit them to do so."

—USIS.



## BHARAT KALA BHAVAN, BANARAS

(Museum of Indian Arts and Archaeology)

Founded in Banaras in 1920, under the life-presidency of Rabindranath Tagore, Bharat Kala Bhavan was conceived to make it possible, under one roof, the study and appreciation of Indian art and archaeology in all possible phases. The Kala Bhavan developed healthily and remained under the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Banaras,—an autonomous body—from 1929 to 1950 when it was taken over by the Banaras Hindu University.



Rabbit Hunting  
(Mixed Rajput Moghul, 18th century)

At this stage a capacious, double-storeyed building, having a floor area of 1,26,000 sq. ft., was specially planned for this Museum and a portion of it, covering 9,600 sq. ft. floor area has already been constructed at a suitable spot in the University campus. The style of the building itself represents an attractive assimilation of old Indian architectural motifs; never attempted before.

lution of old Indian architectural motifs; never attempted before.

The Museum now ranks with the foremost museums of India, having several unique collections divided into a number of sections.

The Painting Section, perhaps its finest, has been slowly built up on a basis of selection of the finest examples of each period of Indian history, the idea being rather to allow any period go unrepresented than be illustrated through a mediocre specimen. The Kala Bhavan is well on its way to become a real national art gallery where Indian pictorial art can be studied in all its phases.

The same discriminative selective basis has operated in the case of Sculpture Gallery. It has some superb examples of Indian plastic art. The Prasadhika, the Kartikeya, and the Nataraja (bronze image, 15th century, from Tiruchinapally) are some of the outstanding acquisitions. The Terra Cotta Section represents many archaeological sites and has some outstanding examples from Rajghat (Banaras) and Kaushambi (Allahabad).

The new Numismatic Section contains punch-marked, die-struck, Kushan-gold and Gupta-gold coins and a good representation of Moghul silvers and coppers and a few examples of the Delhi Sultans.

Forming an integral part of the Kala Bhavan, the Cottage Industries and Crafts Section has numerous enamels, jewellery pieces, objects of precious and semi-precious stone, inlays, etc. Of Indian textiles there are good examples of shawls, brocades, calicos, embroideries and needle-works from different parts of India.

The Antiquities Section contains some copper plates, stone inscriptions, many clay-sealings from Rajghat (Banaras), Sanads and a few relics of the Moghul Emperors.

Representative examples from Mohenjodaro and a few copper-implements and potsherds are features of the Pre-History and Proto-History Section.

### UNIQUE LITERARY SECTION

Kala Bhavan's unique Literary Section contains autographs, portraits and other relics of the famous litterateurs of Hindi and Urdu, first editions of Hindi books and the first issues of Hindi periodicals and journals. And some autographs and mementos of Mahatma Gandhi form the valuable contents of the Gandhi Section.

The Museum Library contains a fairly good collection of books and magazines on Indian arts and allied subjects and the Kala Bhavan publishes an illustrated art journal *Kala Nidhi* in Hindi,—*PIB*.



# LALA HAR DAYAL

## A Scholar And A Patriot

By M. M. LAL, B.A. LL.B., J.D.

"It is an illusion and a delusion that more fighting will end in friendship, that more tanks and bombs will usher in the golden era of peace . . . Love—and Love alone—can hasten the advent of the millennium of Peace."—Har Dayal in *Twelve Religions and Modern Life*.

THE life-story of Har Dayal is the story of an unyielding spirit, which remained true to its principles in the face of various strains and stresses of life. It is very difficult to give an unemotional biography of such a controversial figure, shrouded in mystery.

Lala Lajpat Rai, the lion of the Punjab, in his famous book *Young India* wrote of him:

"Har Dayal is a unique personality. He lived a life of purity and wanted others to do the same. He is an idealist of a strange type. He is simple in his life and apparently quite indifferent to the opinions of others about him. He does not court favour at the hands of anyone and would go out of his own way to help others."

These words are the key-note to the personality of Har Dayal. He trotted the globe restlessly for more than three decades, first with the rashness of a rebel and then with the coolness of a pacifist and the vision of a humanist, but always keeping the interest of his country foremost in his mind.

Born in 1884 in a Kayastha family of Delhi, he got his early education in a mission school and later joined St. Stephen's College, Delhi. As is expected of a man of his calibre he had a very brilliant academic career so much so that in 1904 when he was at Lahore, in the M.A. examination he established a record in English and in some of the papers even obtained full marks. This record was later on considered unsurpassable and hence removed from the archives of the Punjab University.

Like Macaulay, Har Dayal had a photographic memory. He could attend to five things at a time; he could, for example, simultaneously watch a game of chess, count the peals of a bell, solve mentally a mathematical problem and listen to Arabic and Latin verses read out to him and then to everyone's utter amazement, describe all the stages of the chess game, count the number of peals of the bell, present correct solution of the problem, and reproduce the Arabic and Latin verses.

He sailed for England for higher studies on a Government scholarship. It is in that country that nationalism entered his mind for the first time. Here he came in contact with the fiery nationalist Shyamaji Krishna Varma, the publisher of the famous fortnightly journal, *The Sociologist*. Those were the very tumultuous days of the boycott movement in Bengal and non-payment of revenue

movement in the Lyallpur district of Punjab. The arrest of Sardar Ajit Singh (the uncle of Sardar Bhagat Singh) and the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai further charged the political atmosphere of the Punjab with tensivity. These things had naturally their reverberations in the young and sensitive mind



Lala Har Dayal at Sweden



of Har Dayal. He resigned his scholarship, which he termed as 'tainted money', and after giving up his studies, came back to India in 1907 to preach his doctrine of active hostility to the British Government.

He settled in Lahore, and gathered the student community around him among whom he was already so popular, and openly preached boycott of the British Government and British Institutions in India. He developed a strong hatred for English culture and dress and started wearing a simple Indian dress—a loose shirt, a dhoti and a pugree. He discussed and argued in favour of Hindu nationalism. His writings strongly pleaded for the adoption of national language. To him, Western education, meant the complete subduing of Indian manhood. He used to write in Hindi or Sanskrit in reply to scores of letters which he received in English. All these activities put him in disfavour with the Government and ultimately he had to escape to England in 1908 to avoid arrest, but alas, never to come back to his beloved Motherland!

In England, Har Dayal began to preach his gospel among the Indian students. There he wrote his historic article "The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race" which when published in India in *The Modern Review* for September, 1909, created a sensation. He went to Paris also and worked there for some time with Shyamaji Krishna Varma, his old associate in London. But on account of his differences with his associate and lack of good response to his type of nationalism, from the Indian students in U.K., he took to seclusion and studied Buddhism in Mortinique a French Colony in West Indies and Karl Marx in Honolulu. He was for some time a lecturer in Hindu philosophy and Sanskrit literature at Stanford University, California. He organised some Punjabee inhabitants of that State, mainly employed on farm work and formed a 'Ghaddar Society', which started on November 1, 1913, a journal called *The Ghaddar* for the propagation of its views. The society played a notable role in our struggle for Independence. The Fama Gata Maru incident and other activities of the society led the American Government to arrest Har Dayal in 1914 with a view to his deportation as an 'undesirable alien.' But he was later on released on bail, soon after which he escaped to Switzerland from where he reached Berlin in the last week of January, 1915.

During his stay in America, Har Dayal's ideas underwent a marked change, for the influence of Hinduism and Hindu institutions on his mind fast began to fade, although the political nationalism in him remained unshaken. This change was sufficiently evident from the articles (like "India in the World Movement," "Optimism," "The Indian Peasant" etc.) which he contributed to the Indian press. He eul-

gised the Indian peasantry and fervently appealed for giving it the topmost place in the four-fold order of Hindu Society. He wrote thus:

"The Indian peasant is the *anna-data*, the Vishnu of Society. He is the source of all life and strength. He is the sun round which other classes are like planets shining by his light. . . . he is the symbol of India in her helplessness and despair. Mute in his anguish, half-unconscious of his own sorrows, dead to the outer world, insensible to the higher life of culture and progress, the Indian peasant needs a voice to sing his woes."

In Berlin, he organised the Indian Revolutionary Committee which proved to be the last flicker of this genius as a revolutionary. The organising of this committee led him to a lot of trouble and he made up his mind to quit Germany, but he was not allowed to do so, as he was taken to be an 'anti-German Oriental.' But Har Dayal managed to go to Sweden, a neutral country. Here he wrote some garrulous war notes, published in the form of a book, *Forty-four Months in Germany and Turkey* and therein expressed himself strongly against the autocratic ways of the Germans and praised the British system of Democracy. He wrote:

"The English and the French must get rid of race prejudices and pride. The Oriental must lay aside distrust and rancour . . . The English and the French will serve to unite the Orient and the Occident in indissoluble bonds of comradeship."

This change in the outlook of Har Dayal was perhaps due to his bitter experiences with men of violence, and the study of Buddhism which he did during his seclusion period.

Har Dayal was in Sweden for about a decade and maintained himself through teaching Sanskrit and Swedish languages to the higher class students.

He was permitted to come to England in 1927. During his stay in England for about twelve years, Har Dayal 'drank deep into the fountain of knowledge,' and mastered a number of languages and learnt various sciences and arts. He came in contact with the best social and religious societies of England and visited Sweden, Denmark and France on cultural and academic missions. His study room in Edgware, a suburb of London, had about 4000 books. He obtained the doctorate degree from the London University on his thesis of *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, which was later on published in the form of a book. He wrote the famous utopian and philosophical book named *Hints for Self-Culture*, in which high ideals have been placed before the readers. *Twelve Religions and Modern Life* was his last publication. His lectures, which he delivered in the USA just a few



months before his death, are the cream of his vast learning and rich experience.

Har Dayal was not only a mental prodigy, a nationalist, a patriot who fought for the cause of India's freedom in distant lands, he was a great philosopher also, with scientific outlook and a humanist's vision. He was a rationalist and did not believe in religion and its forms and dogmas. To him, God was a 'meaningless and mischievous monosyllable.' He has presented to the world a philosophy of his own, i.e., Dayalism, the keynote to which is Scientific Ethics (as distinguished from theological and metaphysical Ethics), which aims at the complete and harmonious development of human personality in all its four aspects—physical, intellectual, aesthetic and ethical. Its *summum bonum* as in the words of Har Dayal himself, is not God, Spirit, Salvation or Nirvana but the Perfect Man in the Perfect State, Full Growth, Free Activity and Happiness, Truth, Goodness, Beauty and Health. To realise its ends, a modern Culture Institute was started in Edgware in 1938.

Har Dayal had always desired to come to his country and had his desire been fulfilled he would have done wonders in the fields of constructive work in India, but when he was permitted to come back here in November 1938, through the efforts of his relatives, and other well-wishers like the Rev. C. F. Andrews and Bhai Parmanand, alas! he passed away in sleep from heart attack on March 4, 1939 in Philadelphia, USA, where he had gone to organise the fifth Parliament of Religions of the World Fellowship of Faiths. The news of his death reached India a month after he had died. Thus passed away a genius who lived the life of a traveller-philosopher surrounded by a halo of revolutionary mystery. Though a major part of his fruitful career was spent in exile, he did so much for his country. There is much in his writings of tremendous use to us in our personal lives as well as in the advancement of ours as a nation. But it seems that we have forgotten him. It is time enough that Har Dayal is resurrected.

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## TAGORE'S CHITRANGADA AND DEBJANI

### A Study in Contrast

By JOGES C. BOSE

SOME time in 1920, a few distinguished ladies were at-home to Rabindranath at Baroda. They asked him what made the ideal woman? He referred to those lines of Chitrangada, which indicate the rightful place of the woman as a wife to double the joys and lighten the burdens of her husband culminating in the fulfilment of herself as a mother. The conception, in sober prose, is as old as the beginning of the world and is pedestrian in a busy, fast-paced world of today. But the sense of beauty, which abides, is in Rabindranath investing the woman with power to attract the man, despite his nomadic turbulence, to cling to hearth and home.

Chitrangada is the daughter of a king of Manipur, Assam, in the days of the Mahabharata. For reasons, we need not bother about, she grows up in habits and other pursuits of her life, which make one a man and not a woman. At one arresting snatch of undeniable youth, however, she meets Arjuna, whose tales of valour have saturated her since the days of childhood. She pauses to read in the stir of her blood that she is a woman and is in the intriguing presence

of a man—no other than the idol of her imagination. In fact, she realises that she is smitten with a passion, love for Arjuna. The moments are precious and but fair to flit by. She cannot, therefore, rest content to rely on her own resources unaided and invokes Madan, the god of love, the same as Greek Eros, to help her work the chance.

Inasmuch as Rabindranath has omitted in his English version *Chitra* a good many lines of his original Bengali, I would translate the relevant texts to illustrate my theme. Face to face with Madan, Chitrangada at once sets down to the brass tacks of her purpose.

"If I had had the time," she says, "I would not have besought thee. Inch by inch I would have my ground gained to conquer him. I would have been an associate by his side—a charioteer in the field of battle fierce; an attendant in arms while a-hunting; a guard keeping watch over the tent at night; and at all times, I would fain assist him rescue the oppressed, which so eminently befits him, the true soldier that he is."

\* \* \* \*

"After all, am I to be just one of those women, who, born in thousands, can be found all around—in homes, streets, everywhere and spend themselves up in wails as their only right?"

Madan and his co-adjutor Vasanta, the god of Spring, the same as Lychoris, accede to her prayer. One gives her the vernal bloom and on its basis, the other clothes her with a ravishing apparel. She is now lovely beyond compare but the glamour is to last for one year only.

To the ladies at Baroda, Rabindranath recited the perultimate lines of *Chitrangada*:

"I am Chitrangada; no goddess for worship or for lodgement in bonnet high nor, to be sure, am I the very common type that thou shouldst in proud disdain tend in the rear. If it be thy choice to allow me function as thy life's companion in weal and woe and make me share thy problems hard in all strenuous undertakings and journeyings that danger spell, shalt thou truly assess what I am."

Fully aware that the romantic spell is to wear out as the year completes its cycle, what in *Chitrangada* mounts the top is the serenity of her consciousness that increasingly as physical charms fade inwardness develops compelling attachment. Her level-headedness—head governing the heart—would not let the intense secret of love flag and volatilize. In fact, in the spring-tide of life, when the sense of balance and reflectiveness has little appeal, *Chitrangada*, even if effervescent, is cool and circumspect on many a sensitive point. She cautions her impetuous lover Arjuna to look facts in the face down the precipitate days of rose and rapture, lest the summer that woos too soon yields place to the winter, when wed. There is, however, a certain mechanization on laying the trap for Arjuna. In her resolute, matter-of-fact poise, the frolicsome, debonaire *Chitrangada* looks a little blatant and infused with a feminineness of the heady type. She has in her surrender none of Milton's 'sweet, reluctant amorous delay' nor the idyllic felicity of Tennyson's 'ask me no more'. But she has, what is Rabindranath's own, the strange, solemn satisfaction, which belongs to the woman founding a home.

*Chitrangada* depicts a story of love at first sight, which has hardly any time for prolonged romance. The absence of prudery all but keeps step with the conduct of a primitive race the heroine belongs to.

Having had to weave on such a set pattern, Rabindranath sets up scope for beauty by creating forces, which ennoble the social order. In the final analysis, it makes the story instinct with the spirit of self-discovery and self-fulfilment in a life superior to what a man or woman could achieve alone. He makes *Chitrangada's* craving for Arjuna idealise into a feeling of adequacy, as she says to her spouse:

"Should the child, I bear thee, be a son, I shall so rear him up in arts, which a warrior become, that he shall be Arjuna the second. I would then make a gift of him to his father, who would then and then alone appraise me correctly."

According to Schopenhauer, 'Passion depends upon an illusion, which represents that which has value only for the species is of value to the individual.' The deception, he says, must vanish after the attainment of the end of the species. Rabindranath introduces Eros and the atmosphere of illusion. Here also the veil of deception is withdrawn after the species has attained the end. Yet the difference is fundamental. Schopenhauer's individual discovers that he has been 'the dupe of the species'. Rabindranath's individual is assured of his or her completeness over an enduring line of moral greatness which sustains society as the best gift of civilisation.

Winston Churchill saw Bernard Shaw's *Major Barbara* on the stage once again after long twenty years. In the intervening period, the First Great War, he says, had changed almost every human institution of England; but the society presented by Shaw has not been subject to any change; it needs none; it is 'the very acme of modernity.' Shaw was Churchill's early antipathy, derided as a 'merry mischievous Puck'; all the same, Churchill acknowledged Shaw as 'the greatest living master of letters in the English-speaking world' (*Great Contemporaries*). In the light of this, I have often wondered what is there in *Chitrangada* to make it hold the floor for the elite these long sixty years. It woefully lacks the elements which make drama a success. But then it lays bare without any conscious effort what makes the woman the custodian of the social and moral values of a home and what ethical power makes her compose for a full play of understanding and appreciation, as it sublimates even the trite and trivial into something great and enduring.

There are yet those, who discern the 'anti-social' Ibsen in him. They have discovered Hjordis, the heroine of *The Warriors of Heligland* in *Chitrangada*. An unhappy coincidence has it that Rabindranath translates *Chitrangada's* 'janī ami ey prem amar shudhu krandaner nahe' as 'mine is not the light love of a weak woman.' This is exactly the English version word for word, of what Hjordis exclaims in the above drama. This line, happily omitted in *Chitra* of *Selected Poems and Plays*, also yields ground for a hasty assumption. But just a simple literal translation of the above passage, 'I know that this love of mine cannot in mere lamentations end,' bars any notion of family likeness with Ibsen's drama. Then there are deeper thoughts as well.

Hjordis is married to Gunnar. Her lover of pre-marital days Sigurd marries her foster sister Dagny.



They all meet at Gunnar's five years after marriage. Hjordis says to Sigurd:

"I love you and dare say without a blush, for mine is not the light love of a weak woman. . . I have no real home since the day you took another woman to wife."

Hjordis remembers that Sigurd's desire was for a woman willing to follow him on a Viking's quest, armed in steel and spurring him on to fight. She now harps on it, wholly bent on snatching him away from his wife's arms. She says:

"Let Gunnar stay here, let Dagny go back to Iceland with her father. I will put on my armour and follow you wherever you choose to go. It is not as your wife that I will follow you. Like a splendid Valkyn will I follow you, urge you on to the fight and to hero's deeds, so that your name may be famed abroad. When swords are flashing, I will stand by your side."

Contrast this all-too-sudden thrumming on the string of wild abandon with Chitrangada's pursuit for Arjuna to make him accept her as his wife, fit as well to follow him to the hazards of a warrior's life. Either is inspired by conflicting concepts. One breaks down a home; the other builds it up, cemented layer to layer by community of interests in order to share a common dedication.

Those, by the way, who talk glib of Ibsenism do no justice to Ibsen either. To take his *A Doll's House*, the representative book on women's revolt, Nora, the heroine, spurns husband's connection only when she wakes up to the basic rude fact that he is the common type to capitalise the helplessness of his wife. The husband says to the wife:

"I shall not be a man if this womanly helplessness did not just give you a double attractiveness in my eyes."\*

It is against this insulting position, if I have read aright, that Ibsen protested. Ibsen never suggested for the woman the abandonment of the sphere where, by the qualities of her personality, she dominates. For otherwise, why should Mrs. Linda of the same *A Doll's House* pine for 'some one to work for and live for—a home to bring comfort into'? In *Ghosts*, Ibsen makes Bishop Manders chide Mrs. Alvin 'not to pin all faith in the happiness that was bound with the spirit of revolt.' What in truth is common to Ibsen and Tagore is that either is a radical, nay a rebel, but no iconoclast. Either desires the woman to push ahead in their complementary, co-operative role. Either is for supplementing and to that extent supplanting the

old society, where the woman is relegated to the relentless grind of domesticity and is dead to the vital urges of the day.

I do not know what exactly it is due to, but whenever I think of the pampered Chitrangada, I involuntarily remember the neglected Debjani. Chitrangada, we have seen, is enamoured of Arjuna, but carefully equates the points of reciprocity and strengthens the contact by marriage not a day too early. Whereas, Debjani lived in full freedom of intimacy with Kach for one thousand years,† but would not broach the talk of marriage. She only gives vent to her inward throbs on the day they met to bid each other adieu, the prospect of marriage irrevocably gone.

Debjani is the daughter of Sukracharya, the religious preceptor of the Daityas, living in the nether world as counterparts of gods in heaven. Kach, the son of Brihaspati, the religious preceptor of gods, was charged to go down to the region of the Daityas in order to learn the art of preparing the elixir of life from Sukracharya. There in the realm of the Daityas, Kach ingratiated himself into the good grace of Debjani through his proficiency in music and dancing, two very competent arts to induce intoxication of the sense and spirit. Sukracharya could not say 'no' to his daughter and taught Kach the secret.

The poem *Bidyā-abhishap* (Farewell-curse) is fairly long and we begin—translation mine—at the crux, where Debjani is holding underneath a correct demeanour the thoughts of a bruised, boiling heart:

Debjani: Remote, unfriended hast thou spent thy painstaking years of study in this strange land. None was there by thy side to make amends for the pangs of exile or minister unto thee the comforts of a home. I only did what utmost I could with the limited means at my disposal. But then how could I have for thee the amenities of heaven and, at the top of all, the radiant faces of its damsel? May I not, however, hope that when thou hast to thy abode returned, the silly little lapses in my hospitality will as well flit by!

Kach: I wish thee say farewell with the gracious smile which is thine own.

Debjani: Smile? Alas friend, this is no heaven! Here yearnings dwell insatiably in the inmost recess of the heart, just as worms in a flower live; and the desire hovers round the desired, not unlike the love-lorn bee round about the closed petals of a lily. Here, as pleasures depart, the memory lives in isolation with long-drawn sighs. This is no heaven; smile is not perforce so cheap here. But friend, go thy way. Why for nothing shouldst

\* Rousseau, says Bertrand Russel in his *History of the Western Philosophy*, cherished this idea that Theresiu Vassuer, who alone was very near the position of a wife, was completely dependent on him.

†In the vein of a mathematical critic—one year of this mundane earth is equal to one day of the heavenly region; is it so of the nether world?

thru while away thy time? The gods anxiously thy return await. What! art thou really going? Choosest thou to ring down the close with two meagre words of convention? Is this the way to part company after one thousand years?

Kach: Wherein may I have offended thee?

Debjani: What a pity, this beautiful, sylvan land hast for one thousand years spread its lordly shade over thee. The rustle of leaves hast the music of birds carried. Dost thou propose to leave all these in sublime non-chalance?

To follow them in broad outline, Debjani harps on the memory of bygone days, as the years float by in the primal glory of their seasons—the loveliness of spring, the hurly-burly of summer gales, the liquid profusion of monsoon and the golden autumn. Days without number, they sat reclined under the genial cover of groves listening to the murmurs of the babbling brook, the Benumati. Debjani asks, how Kach would forget them all? Kach instantly replies that they would stick to him inalienably, as motherland does to the roving traveller. This is tantalising, and Debjani can ill afford to conceal her hunger of one such assurance in respect of herself. But her royal bearing stands in the way. She would not stoop to any platanness of which we have had enough and to spare in Chitrangada. The colourful strain, the fencing and the rest of it burst out into one very suggestive question.

Debjani: Alas friend, was there in this exile any other to stand by thee day and night, who forgot herself to help tide over thy aches of living with strangers?

Kach: That name is woven fast with mine forever.

The acknowledgement is spontaneous and without any mental reservation. They now stand face to face revealed in their pent-up attachment, as though in emotional suspense, on the brink of a dam that can no longer withstand the onslaught. Immediately, however,

as the crisis stares Kach in the face, he recovers in a swing and apologises.

Kach: Forgive me Debjani, I cannot think of anything my own in scorn of duty clear.

Debjani: Where is the room for forgiveness in my heart thou hast to stark callousness brazed? To heaven shalt thou repair in full glory of thy destiny achieved; and here I shall wander forlorn, my life frustrated and to pieces gone. The million memories relentless shall bite and pursue me with the shame of rejection. Fie, fie, cruel traveller, wherefore didst thou come to whistle away a few leisure hours of thine? Seated in the shade of my heart's overflowing outgrowth, didst thou stitch all the pleasing sensations of life by one thread, such as flowers are a garland made. But alas, with what supreme unconcern hast thou thrown it away, in fragments broken, to smooth down thy exit! All that I hold dear, all that I adore is to the dust hurled outright. I curse thee, and it shall abide, that just as thou dost neglect me in preference to the Art thou devoutly pursued, it shall ever elude thee; thou shalt, without question, its carrier be, but can't enjoy it; thou shalt teach it, but can't apply.

Kach: But I bless thee dear, happy shalt thou be and forget the agonies of today in the effulgence of a new-born glory.

Kach looks a sneak walking in the shade of Debjani, irretrievably discovered having paid court to her for an ulterior motive. But Debjani with her tense, vital emotions, dressed in perfect composure, is elegance in flesh and blood. She does not lose an iota of her dignity even in extreme moments of frustration, even as she feels that she is beaten hollow and is very near being extinguished. After having sufficiently unblued the blue blood in Kach, the poet has, by the concluding sentence, conceded to redeem him to make Debjani look a delicate shade of pink.

—:O:—

## ERRATUM

*The Modern Review* for February, 1957: Title of the picture at the top, p. 136: *Read Howard University for Harvard University.*



# STUDY OF FAMILY STRUCTURE AMONG THE EAST PAKISTAN REFUGEES

By PARAMANANDA PRAMANIK, M.Sc.,

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In this paper I would try to describe the family structure at present found among the refugees from East Pakistan. The materials were collected from among 554 refugee families under the supervision of Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay of the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta. The investigation was carried out in 17 colonies under Santipur Police Station in the district of Nadia. For information, heads of the families were interviewed.

The families were chosen at random; it was found later that nearly all the districts of East Pakistan had been covered. These families belonged to 28 castes of Hindu society. These 28 castes were arranged under 7 groups according to their hereditary function in the Society. The 554 families were also divided into Simple, Intermediate and Extended families. For more specific classification Simple was divided into 3 and Extended into 2. During discussion instead of repeating the same thing again and again I shall term it as Family No. 1, 2 and so on.

## CASTE GROUPS

All the 28 castes were grouped under different headings. For this heading, I followed Nesfield's occupational ranking of the castes. As a result of this, Kayasthas, a writer caste falls under the Serving Caste group. The scheme of Nesfield has also been followed by the Census Reports. Regarding representatives of the different caste groups, I have followed the Census of 1921. In that Census, they have included a group "Industrial Caste" in addition to the "Traders." I have included this "Industrial Caste" into "Artisan Caste" excepting "Teli and Tili" castes who were grouped under "Trader" caste of my report, as they, where I worked, are engaged in Trading and no Artisan work. Risley also in his book *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* has described them as "a large oil-pressing and trading class of Bengal." Therefore, my classification of the caste groups along with the representative castes are as follows:

1. *Intellectual Profession*: Brahmin.
2. *Labour and Agriculture Labour*: Barui, Rajbanshi, Namasudra, Mahisya, Sadgope.
3. *Artisan Caste*: Tanti, Malakar, Karmakar, Sutradhar, Kumar, Muchi.
4. *Trader Caste*: Teli, Tili, Suri, Saha, Garai, Gandhabanik, Swarnabanik.

5. *Serving Caste*: Kayastha, Dhobi, Napit, Goala, Malo, Modak.

6. *Religious Group*: Vaishnab.

7. *Others of Unknown Function*: Kshatriya, Rajput.

## FAMILY STRUCTURE

All the 554 families were broadly divided into three categories—Simple, Extended and Intermediate. For this broad classification I adopted the usual method followed by other Anthropologists. But for convenience and more specific classification I divided these again and these are as follows:

### 1. Simple:

(a) When in a family parents and children are found—I term it complete.

(b) When either parents and children—it is partially complete.

(c) When only husband and wife but no children—it is incomplete simple.

2. *Extended*: When several simple families live under one kitchen it is termed as Extended. I have divided this group in two—in one (No. 5) where father is the head of the family, and in another (No. 6) eldest brother is head of the family. Otherwise in family structure both the groups are the same.

3. *Intermediate*: Families in between these two are included in Intermediate group. Here in addition to the number of simple families under one kitchen, some other relatives, viz., wife's parents or brothers or sisters or any other distant relatives, are living. Hence, it has been shown separately from the other two classified groups.

## DISCUSSION

From the chart attached herewith, it is observed that 179 out of 554 families, i.e., 32.3 per cent come under Labour and Agriculture Labour Caste (Table I) and they come under 5 caste groups. Of them the largest concentration of the families is noticed under the family structure I (78 out of 179) and next is family structure V. Family structure IV is the smallest under this group (7 out of 179). Comparing with the total number and percentage, I find that there also Family structure I of this caste took the leading role, viz., 78 families out of 263 families come under this group, i.e., 29.6 per cent out of 47.0 per cent. This structure





TABLE I  
Intermediate

Caste Group	Simple			Extended			G. Total	Percentage
	I	II	III	T	P	V		
Labour and Agriculture	78	11	19	108	60.3	7	3.9	
Labour Caste						46	18	35.7
								179
								32.3
Representatives								
Barui,								
Rajbanshi,								
Namasudra								
Mahisya								
Sadgope								
Percentage	29.6	31.4	34.5	30.5	—	36.8	32.1	35.3
Grand total	263	35	55	353	—	125	56	181
Total percentage	47.0	6.0	10.0	63.7	—	23.0	10.0	32.6

TABLE II  
Intermediate

Caste Group	Simple			Extended			G. Total	Percentage
	I	II	III	T	P	V		
Artisan Caste	71	8	16	95	69.3	1	0.7	
						29	12	41
								30.0
Representatives								
Tanti, Kumar,								
Malakar, Muchi,								
(Karnakar,								
Sutradhar								
Percentage	26.9	22.8	29.0	25.4	—	23.2	21.4	22.6
Grand Total	263	35	55	353	—	125	56	181
Total Percentage	47.0	6.0	10.0	63.7	—	23.0	10.0	32.6

TABLE III  
Intermediate

Caste Group	Simple			Extended			G. Total	Percentage
	I	II	III	T	P	V		
Serving Caste	58	8	9	75	57.6	7	5.3	
						30	18	48
								36.9
Representatives								
Kayastha, Dhobi,								
Napit, Goala,								
Malo, Modak.								
Percentage	22.0	22.8	16.3	21.2	—	24.0	32.1	26.4
Grand Total	263	35	55	353	—	125	56	181
Total Percentage	47.0	6.0	10.0	63.7	—	23.0	10.0	32.6





group is followed by the structure V where 46 families out of 125 is noticed, i.e., 36.8 per cent while total percentage of this group is 23.0 per cent. Families of this caste group represent all the family groupings of which the largest number representing simple family group (108 out of 179, i.e., 60.3 per cent) while total percentage is 32.3 per cent under this group.

The second biggest group is Artisan caste represented by 6 caste groups and by 137 families out of 554, i.e., 24.7 per cent (Table II). This group also is representing all the family structure. In this group also majority family come under structure I (71 out of 137). Family structure No. I is followed by No. V which is represented by 29 families out of 137 of this group and less than half of the structure No. 1. The smallest structure No. 4 under this group is formed by a single family. But considering with the total groups I find that the percentages are quite uniform in all the structures excepting in structure No. 4 where it is only 5 per cent while total percentage is 4 per cent. Majority families are grouped under "Simple Family," viz., 95 out of 137, i.e., 69.3 per cent in comparison to 24.7 per cent and hence formed the biggest group in comparison with other two groups formed by a single family and 41 families, i.e., less than half of simple family. Here heavy difference between structure No. 1 and others gives an impression that they are to some extent more individualistic in nature.

Serving Caste, a third biggest group, is formed by 130 families out of total 554 families, i.e., 23.4 per cent are included in this caste. This caste is formed by 6 caste groups. In this group, as usual, structure Nos. I and V took the leading role. Difference between structure Nos. I and V is half. Structure No. I is formed by 53 families out of 130 while No. V by 30 families only. Structure No. VI got third place while other three structures are uniform. In comparison with total percentage I find that structure No. I is just half, i.e., 22.0 per cent in comparison to 47.0 per cent while in other structures this percentage exceeded. Taking individual group I find that the number of families in Simple and Extended group varies, but not so remarkably as in others. In this group Simple family group is formed by 75 families, i.e., 57.6 per cent and extended by 48 families, i.e., 36.9 per cent while the total number of families is 130 and percentage is 23.4 per cent.

Brahmin is grouped under the Intellectual Profession Class and has got fourth position depending on the number of families grouped under this class. This class is represented by 64 families out of 554, i.e., 12 per cent. Maximum number (35) of families were grouped under the Structure I while in other structures the number of families is almost the same and varies between 4 and 10. In this respect, there is also a gulf of difference between the structure I and others.

TABLE VII  
Showing Distribution of Families in Each Family Group and Their Percentage.

Family Groupings	Labour and Agriculture Labour Caste	Artisan Caste	Serving Caste	Intellectual Profession Caste	Trader Caste	Religious Group and others of unknown function	Total Percentage							
	Total Percentage	Total Percentage	Total Percentage	Total Percentage	Total Percentage	Total Percentage	Total Percentage	Total Percentage						
Simple	108	31.0	95	24.0	75	21.2	44	12.4	23	7.0	8	2.2	353	97.8
Intermediate	7	35.0	1	5.0	7	35.0	4	20.0	1	5.0	—	—	20	100.0
Extended	64	35.3	41	23.0	48	25.4	16	9.0	8	4.4	4	2.2	181	99.3

This heavy difference in number indicates that of these 64 families they are more individualistic in nature. Coming into individual group I find that Simple family group always dominated other groups (44 out of 61, i.e., 69 per cent). Comparing with the total number I find that the number and percentages in structures I and V are very low, in structures II and IV it has exceeded while in structures III and VI it is almost the same.

Represented by 7 caste groups 32 families out of 554, i.e., 5.7 per cent were grouped under "Trader Class" and have secured fifth place. This group has also followed the path of its predecessors. In this case, too, structure No. I took the leading role represented by 10 families out of 32, i.e., half the number while in other structures the number varies between 1 and 6. Taking individual group into consideration I find that simple family is represented by more than half of the total families under this group (23 out of 32, i.e., 72.0 per cent). Therefore, an individualistic idea is noticed here also. When it is compared with the total number of families it is seen that the percentage is too low in the structures I, V and VI (6.0 per cent, 4.3 per cent, 3.5 per cent in comparison with 47.0 per cent, 23.0 per cent, 10.0 per cent). In structure III it is almost the same (7.2 per cent in relation to 10.9 per cent) whereas in structures II and IV percentage exceeded (8.5 per cent and 5.0 per cent in comparison with 6.0 per cent and 4.0 per cent).

Coming to the last two other groups, i.e., Religious group and others of unknown function represented by Vaishnav and Kayastha and Rajput respectively I find their number is too meagre. They do not even represent in all the groups. In the case of Religious group, I find from the Table that they are 10 in number out of 554, i.e., 2.0 per cent and are representing structures I, III, and IV only; of which maximum number is found in Simple group, i.e., 60 per cent while rest 40 per cent are in Extended group.

Intermediate group remained unrepresented. In case of others of unknown function group, I find them only in Simple family group represented by two families only. Their percentage in comparison with total percentage stands to 0.3 per cent.

#### SUMMARY

In conclusion, from the Table VII it has become clear that Simple family group in all the caste grouping have taken a leading role. When we consider individual groups, I find that Labour and Agriculture Labour caste is topping the list (108 out of 353 families, i.e., 31.0 per cent) and next in order of number of families are Artisan Caste, Serving Caste, Intellectual Profession Caste, Trader Caste and so on. This position of the caste groups is also noticed in the Extended family group with a little variation where Serving Caste took second position (25.4 per cent) and Artisan into third (23.0 per cent). While in the case of Intermediate group the position of the individual caste groups has totally been altered. In this group both Labour and Agriculture Labour Caste and Serving Caste are in the leading role (35.0 per cent). Intellectual Professional Caste followed them (20.0 per cent). Artisan and Trader Castes are last in the list (5.0 per cent) while Religious group and others of unknown function remained unrepresented.

Again when the individual family group is considered it is noticed that most of the families (353 out of 554) were grouped under the Simple family groupings. This gives an idea that of the 554 families, they are more individualistic in nature and Simple family-minded. When the Extended family group is taken into consideration—it depicts a figure which is almost half to that of Simple family (181 in comparison with 353 of the Simple family). The number of Intermediate family groups in comparison with other two groups is very meagre (total number is 20).





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**THE KONGU COUNTRY** *being the history of the modern districts of Coimbatore and Salem from the earliest times to the coming of the British.* By M. Arokiaswami. University of Madras. 1956. Pp. 420. Price Rs. 15.

"The Kongu country" (Kongu Nadu) comprises a small area of nearly 15,300 square miles roughly equivalent to half the size of the Mysore State before the re-distribution of the political map of India last year. Because of its relatively small size and of its misfortune in being the prey of powerful neighbours like the Cholas and the Pandyas in ancient and the Rajas of Vijayanagar and Mysore in mediaeval and modern times, it has received no systematic treatment up till now. And yet it has played no mean part in history because of its possession of the beryl mines in Coimbatore district (the only available source of that gem until its recent discovery in Russia), and its geographical position as furnishing through the valley of the Ponnani river "a natural trans-peninsular highway" as the convenient alternative to the long coastal route between the Malabar and the Coromandel ports. In the exhaustive study under notice which is one of the most thorough regional histories of our times, the author has availed himself of all sources, indigenous and foreign, literary and epigraphic. The book consists of four parts. Part I (three chapters) describing the beginning under the pre-historic peoples of the megalithic tombs and their successors, Part II (four chapters) dealing with the history of the tract under the rule of the Karnatas (Rattas and Gangas), Part III (five chapters) describing the rule of the Cholas, and Part IV dealing with the history of the renewed Karnataka rule (Rajas of Vijayanagar, Nayaks of Madura, and Rajas of Mysore along with a short reference to the rule of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan). During this long stretch of eighteen centuries or thereabout the author has supplemented the political history with useful notices of the contemporary social life, religious condition, administration, economic conditions, art and literature and so forth. He has also discussed at adequate length numerous details relating to the political history, topography, genealogy and chronology during the same period. Three maps, five illustrations, a Bibliography and an Index bring this useful work to a close. Professor K. K. Pillay of the Madras University contributes an appreciative Foreward.

We offer below a few remarks for consideration by the author in the event of a new edition being called for. The book suffers from a want of proportion,

Part IV in spite of its wealth of material being much smaller in size than the rest. The descriptions of art and architecture are wanting in technical details. The Kongu tract as a separate political entity is identified by the author (p. 5), somewhat in contradiction with the title of his work, with the whole of modern Coimbatore district and portions of the modern Salem, Tiruchirappalli and Madurai districts. The author's date for the Pyramids of Egypt (p. 17) requires rectification. His suggested identifications of the Kosar people (p. 44), the region of Ophir (p. 74) and the people called Seres (p. 77) require verification. The title "Chau-Tu-Kwa" (p. 285) is incorrect. The "god-dwarf, Lord Krishna" (p. 386) is a slip for Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation. The author's judgment on the character and administration of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan is clouded by his passion for hero-worship.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**THE LIBERATOR SRI AUROBINDO:** *By Sisir-kumar Mitra. Jaico Publishing House. 35, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. Pp. 220. Price Rs. 2.*

Literature on and about Sri Aurobindo is growing, and the book under review is a valuable addition to the subject. It is a running biography of Aurobindo Ghose, today known to the world as Sri Aurobindo. He has been termed "The Liberator". The important role played by him in India's liberation movement has probably led the author to choose this title. There were many others in this movement who also took an important part in this struggle. They, too, deserve to be called 'liberators', and their activities should be remembered by us as well with deep gratitude. The book consists of five chapters and two appendices, and references. The chapters are: Perspective, Prophetic Dawn, Light Growing, Nationalism as Dharma, and Towards a Larger Liberation. That Sri Aurobindo was a force in Indian politics cannot be gainsaid. The New Spirit that dawned in India with the start of the twentieth century owed not a little to the activities of Sri Aurobindo. The revolutionary impetus given by him to the liberation movement of India during the great Swadeshi days landed him into immense troubles. But he overcame them with great credit. The chapter on "Towards a Larger Liberation" depicts the story of his life in Pondicherry since 1911. Sri Aurobindo was a poet, philosopher, mystic and above all, a man of religion. But he never forgot his people. And in all crucial movements he sought to guide his countrymen. He was a creative genius, and the Pondicherry Ashram stands as a monument to this. The book will be very much appreciated by the reading public.

JOGESH C. BAGAL



**KRISHNAMURTI AND THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SILENT MIND:** By A. D. Dhopeshwarkar. Published by Chetana, Bombay. Price Rs. 4.

Psychological maladjustment is responsible for all our sufferings. Verbal mind, as contradistinguished from the silent mind, gives a distorted view of reality and this distorted knowledge of reality is misleading. This incorrect appraisal of the state of affairs gives us a wrong diagnosis of the ills of life and we think that the distressing problems of life are caused by economic, social and political causes. Really speaking, all the ills of life are psychological. Man's mind is obsessed with the ideas of gain which go hand in hand with his self-centred activities. The surface or the verbal mind is ruffled with these self-centred activities and it is beyond its capacity to have within its reach Reality as such. It might look upon Reality as an abstraction or as a concept. It cannot delve deeper. But the silent or unconscious mind, which is nine-tenths of the total mind, in its silent awareness is a fit medium through which Reality could commune. The impact of Reality on the silent mind blossoms forth the nobler qualities of the human heart which determine the relation between men *inter-se*. Absolute values like Truth, Love, Freedom, which are mere concepts to the verbal mind, become realities in the silent state. "The insight into Reality of the quiet mind," writes Dhopeshwarkar, "the taste of the quiet mind as it functions through its qualities of the 'heart' and the savour that life gains when lived in this state, present a completely different picture from what we know in ordinary life and must be personally experienced to be understood" (p. 129). This silent mind baffles all descriptions. It cannot be verbalised. What little we know of this silent mind is a mere mental transcript of the memory traces left by the quiet mind and not of the quiet mind itself. This silent mind is in constant movement, ever in change, ignoring and disregarding all that our past traditions entail. Krishnamurti urges for a dissolution of the self and with it goes all divisions of time, viz., past, present and future. We live and enjoy in an 'eternal now', the 'now' that made possible for Arjuna to visualise the Fate of the *Ekdasa akshauhini* in the Mahabharata, the grand epic, through the designing grace of Lord Krishna.

The book under review presents the above thesis in its various bearings in four chapters with a preface styled as 'The Argument.' The author deserves unstinted praise for the way he has presented subtle psychological differentiations and descriptions thereof. We congratulate the author and the publisher of the book on their bringing out a valuable volume wherein our problems of life both psychological and extra-psychological have been properly analysed. We unhesitatingly recommend a wide circulation of the volume under notice.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

**THE CHESS OF KNOWLEDGE OF HUMAN LIFE:** By G. N. Somani, B.A. Published by the author from the Somani Buildings, Station Road, Jaipur, Rajasthan. Pp. 460. Price Rs. 8-8.

Sri Somani is a prominent philanthropist of Jaipur and an aged author of several readable books. His first publication is the *Nabina Bharata* which is a Hindi translation of Sir Henry Cotton's *New India* in 1904 and his last publication is named *An Observation on Food Production Drive* by the Prime Minister of India in 1950. He was elected president of the All-India

States' Peoples Conference held at Nagpur in 1920. He held many other important and responsible posts from time to time.

The book under review is based on a chess board of knowledge which he received some fifty years ago from an old Brahmin who led a very pious life and was blessed with a miraculous death. This board consists of 108 compartments like the beads of a rosary or *japamala* indicating the path of life from birth to salvation. It has been named in Hindi *Jnana Chaupar* or Game of Knowledge as its compartments are divided into four flanks and deal with ethics and religion leading to liberation. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Indian Republic, in a short preface to it writes as follows: "Sri Somani's main purpose seems to impress on the readers the fundamental unity of all religions. The pathway to perfection lies through the observance of cardinal virtues. By quotations from different scriptures he strives to indicate the common Goal."

Sri D. S. Sarma, retired Judge of the Rajasthan High Court, writes an introduction to it. Swami Sachchidananda of New Delhi in a foreward rightly observes that the book is an institution in itself showing the different routes through which human beings pass from vice to virtue and finally to the Goal of human existence. The statements are substantiated by appropriate quotations from Sanskrit scriptures and Western savants. The book is so written that those who read it will acquire a taste for spiritual life.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

## FRENCH

**PSYCHOLOGIE DE LA COLONISATION:** By O. Mannoni. Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1950. Translated by Pamela Powesland under the title "*Prospero and Caliban*," Methuen, London, 1956. Pp. 218. Price 22s. 6d.

**L'AFRIQUE VIVANTE:** By Pierre Bearn. Librairie Arthème Fayard, Paris, 1955. Pp. 252. Price 700 francs.

Racial prejudice, if disappearing at all, is disappearing very tardily. Prejudice is sustained by strong vested interests and a whole attitude of mind deeply entrenched puts up the stubbornest resistance to its eradication. And curiously, too, it often co-exists in minds otherwise surprisingly tolerant, liberal and enlightened.

A species of this racialism, as manifested in colonialism is the subject-matter of this powerful monograph by M. Mannoni who has spent many years in Madagascar. If, during the last thirty years the civilized conscience of mankind had not been made intensely alive to the injustices and the wastefulness of colonialism, the impact of this book on the intellectuals of the West would have been great. Even today the book is so original in its approach and in its the psychology of the colonial type of Westerner has been so competently exposed that after reading it not even the most insensitive mind can remain complacent.

The French text was published in 1950 and thanks to the English translation it will now reach a wider public. Popular journalism has shied away from giving to this book the publicity that it deserves. Philip Mason of the former Indian Civil Service says in the Foreward, "M. Mannoni is among the interpreters, and I believe there can be few colonial administrators,

missionaries or settlers who would not find that his book started trains of thought of the most rewarding kind."

Since the study of the primitive mind by Levy-Bruhl, the mind of the aborigines, the mind of the negroes have been the happy hunting ground of sociologists, anthropologists and the more intelligent of the colonial administrators. By incorporating an intensive analysis of the thought process of the Malagasy peoples the book carries the study a stage further. The detailed information given by the author on the family organization of the Malagasy, on their cult of the dead and on their dream life is of great value to the administrators and the politicians responsible for their welfare. But the great merit of the work lies in the psychological analysis of the malaise of colonialism.

"What keeps the real colonial tied to the colonial situation then, is not primarily profit, whatever he himself may think. If he has lazy slaves instead of efficient workers it is because he does not particularly want the latter; he derives greater satisfaction from keeping his slaves." A colonial is what he is because he is basically a failure in his own native environment. The inferiority complex leads to over-compensation—the desire to dominate. Social life in Europe would have disciplined this trait but precisely because of this he chooses to forsake Europe for the colonies. Power is intoxicating, the more so to those not used to it. If not domination, the colonies provide at least an endless opportunity for patronising the so-called inferiors—even to missionaries.

"Not that the white man's image of the black man tells us anything about his own inner self, though it indicates that part of him which he has not been able to accept: it reveals his secret self, not as he is, but rather as he fears he may be. The Negro, then, is the white man's fear of himself." Hence, arises the Prospero complex. But this complex is aided and abetted by the dependence complex of the native people themselves. The local inhabitants as Mannoni points out took the first colonials as superior beings endowed with magical powers and they invented a relationship of the protector and the protected, inured as they were to the idea of absolute dependence not only on the community of the living but on the community that has passed into ancestry. The projection of the role of protector on the colonials is a compulsive force in the mental make-up of these people. When Prospero refuses to treat with Caliban except as Caliban—an essentially, irretrievably inferior being, the shock of realization of this to Caliban cannot but be catastrophic. Humiliation turns to bitterness.

The value of the book lies not only in the new approach to the jaded subject of colonialism but also in the possibilities that are indicated for a more detailed study of the difficult problem of race relations and for an improvement of colonial policies in general.

The solution lies, of course, in education—education to wean away the childlike mind from dependence to independence and self-reliance, from static collectivism to progressive individualism. But how to instil an individual attitude of mind without disrupting the social cohesion, remains, however, the crux of the problem. Moreover, nothing can be achieved unless simultaneously with the education of the local inhabitants, a new type of education is also extended to the colonials themselves.

The urgency for the latter may be more fully appreciated from the excellent account given by M. Pierre Bearn, a well-known novelist and journalist in his book *L'Afrique Vivante*. He was the press attache of the Africa Mission. This book gives a vivid description of the vast areas covered by their journey through Morocco, Mauritania, Senegal, Sahel, French Sudan, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger and the Hoggar and also of the conditions and lives of the various African peoples inhabiting these areas. He mixed freely with the Africans as well as with the military staff and the colonials and much of what he describes in the French West African colonies supports the conclusions reached by M. Mannoni.

One of the disquieting factors which M. Bearn emphasizes is the friction that prevails—friction between the traders and the administrators, between the military personnel and the civilians, between the politicians and the settlers. Metropolitan France, however, comes off creditably in this situation. Despite the shortage of capital France, it has been estimated, has been investing overseas about 3 per cent of her national income. It is inadequate, it is true, but it does represent a genuine effort to improve the lot of the local inhabitants. In the French Assembly, about 15 per cent of the members are now from the overseas territories due to the French policy of direct rule. But tragedy lies in the fact that the enlightened policy of the Metropolis is utterly rejected by the French colonial settlers themselves. The extremists of them secretly long, in fact, for a return to the good old days, and consider that the false idea of humanitarianism prevailing in Metropolitan France cannot but spell disaster for France as well as for her colonies.

For serious thinkers interested in the well-being of the underdeveloped countries, both volumes contain much stimulating material.

MARGARET BASU

### BENGALI

PASCHIMBANGER ARTHAKATHA: By Bimalendu Ghosh. Published by Bangabharati Granthalaya, Kulgachia, Dt. Howrah. Pp. 93. Price Rs. 4.

This is an attempt to present in a short compass an economic geography of West Bengal. Undivided Bengal was an economic unit which developed for at least a century to fit in with the world trade and commerce and its component parts functioned as complementary to one another in an organic whole. The partition has disturbed this equilibrium and as a result, both industries and agriculture have suffered. The author has given available statistical figures and a few maps to make the book intelligible to general readers and as such the book will prove useful even to students of the University.

A. B. DUTTA

### HINDI

PRATIBHASHALI DESHBHAKT: By Doctor Ramapratap Sinha and Thakur Udayvira Sinha. Illustrated. Udayvira Prakashan, Gajner, Bikaner. Pp. 249. Price Rs. 4.

There are fifteen character-studies in this book. Gandhiji, Subhas Chandra Bose, Lokamanya Tilak, Gokhale, Malaviyaji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Lajpat Rai, Toru Dutt, Swami Rama Tirtha, Maharaja Fatehsingha and a few other rulers have been 'presented' in the glowing prismatic colours of patriotism. The reader cannot but help being touched by the fire, both with its heat and light, of their

genius. *Pratibhashali Deshbhakt* is worthy of an honoured niche in the library of every patriot, young or old.

**HINDI KAVYON KI KAVYA-SADHANA:** By Pandit Durgashankar Mishra, "Parijat." Navayuga Granthagar, Chhitvapur Road, Lucknow. Pp. 310. Price Rs. 4-8.

This is a handy and useful primer for all students of Hindi literature, particularly those at school and college. It is a panoramic survey-cum-study, biographical as well as critical of twenty-six Hindi poets, ancient and modern from Vidyapati to Ranadhari Sinha "Dinkar."

**SHAITAN:** Translated from the original in English of "Kahlil Gibran" by Shri Narendra Chaudhury. Hindi Prokashan Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 88. Price Re. 1.

This is a collection of eight of the well-known stories written by the greatest poet of the modern Middle East, Kahlil Gibran. The translator has preserved not a little of the fire, force, and fineness of the original.

G. M.

#### GUJARATI

**SHRIMAD BHAGVAD GITA: GITA ADARSHA:** By Babubhai Ichkaram Desai, B.A. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. 1951. Cloth-bound. Pp. 352. Price Rs. 4-8.

In spite of Bombay being a cosmopolitan city, institutions for the study of the Bhagvad Gita and other Hindu religious books, are found in large numbers in it. One of such institutions, nearly fifty years old, is the Picket Road Mahajan Wadi Gita Pathshala, originally founded by a very competent scholar of Hindu religious books, specially the Gita, the late Shastri Narhari Vishnu Godse, whose object in life was to create interest in and make every householder—man or woman in Bombay—study this sacred book. It has flourished and maintained its attraction because of the eloquent and simple way in which he worded his *pravachans* (addresses). His worthy son, Shastri Purushottam, has continued his father's noble work. Mr. Babubhai Desai, a keen student, and devotee of the Gita, has published in book form, the notes he took of the addresses of the learned Shastriji and it furnishes a very useful guide to the *adarsha* (object) of the Divine Volume: Attainment of Divine Knowledge, Renunciation of Ego (*Aham*) and then *Moksha* (Liberation). It is worth studying.

**SHRI VALLABH PRABHU:** By C. B. Patel, B.A., S.T.C., Bombay. Published by Virendra Brothers. 1951. Paper-cover with an illustration of the Acharya and his followers. Pp. 28. Price Re. 1.

Vallabhacharya was the founder of the *Shuddhadvait* cult. His life and principles of the cult preached by him are given here, viewed with the eyes of a close devotee.

K. M. J.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## The Chinese Way

R. M. Fox of Dublin writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Invited by the Chinese Society for Cultural Relations, I traveled from Dublin to London and then flew to Peking, across Russia, the flat plains of Siberia, the jagged peaks of the Ural Mountains, the sandy waste of the Gobi Desert and over the Great Wall of China.

In China, I journeyed thousands of miles, from Peking to Shanghai, to Hangchow, to Canton, to Hankow in Central China. Everywhere I found enthusiasm for the Year of Liberation (1949) since when there have been no more invaders, no more war-lords. It was as if the people had come out of a dark tunnel and were gazing joyfully at the sunlight. This was not just a matter of politics or social ideas; it reached down much deeper to the essential seed of humanity. The gaiety, the friendliness, of ordinary people in streets, houses, shops, was striking.

The most drastic measure of the Chinese Revolution is recorded in Article I of the Agrarian Reform Law which reads, "*The land-ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class shall be abolished.*" This meant giving the land to the peasants and it is the one sharp change the Chinese have made. In industry and commerce, developments have been peaceful, and bitter social conflicts have been avoided.

In the shops the principle of joint private-State ownership is universal. Prices are fixed and official receipts are given for every purchase. There is no haggling or cheating. The old Chinese custom of the "squeeze" has dropped out of commerce. In the days of the war-lords there were hoarding and cornering of supplies, and violent fluctuations in the value of money. Some people made fortunes while others were ruined. Now all that belongs to the nightmare past. Supplies are plentiful in the shops and are sold at uniform prices.

A great evil used to be gambling. Public opinion has now eradicated this. People are taught they must earn money and not expect it without effort. And that they must learn to use it wisely. American films were condemned because they presented luxury and wealth which people enjoyed without any exertion on their part. In the courtyard of my hotel I frequently saw motor drivers playing cards, but there was never any money in evidence. I made long train journeys on which people played cards or Chinese chess, but again without any money. I found a spirit of honesty as well as of gaiety. It may be a puritanical phase that will pass. But it adds to the attraction of modern China.

Great tasks of reconstruction are being undertaken, although machinery and technical resources are lacking. Instead, the potentialities and actualities of physical labour are being used to the full. At Hankow, on the Yangtse River, there were 12,000 men en-

gaged in building a great bridge to span the mile-wide river, with two levels, one for rail and the other for road traffic. Three shifts of eight hours were being worked, around the clock. Other construction work included roads and houses. I saw men hacking at a mountain side with spades, while a long line of men filled up straw baskets, hung on each end of a pole across their shoulders, and transported earth and stones to the new road. They were moving the mountain in straw baskets. To get anything done is a matter of being able to reach the controls of physical labour, to use millions of men and limitless power. This has been called a new expression of social dynamics. There is the energy of several hundred million people to draw on.

Besides this, there are equally strong controls of moral purpose brought into action. This has to do with ancient Chinese wisdom and philosophy. It relies greatly upon the power of persuasion. I asked about juvenile delinquency in China, for this has proved a big post-war problem in the West. In China it is not so. At Shanghai there was a temporary phase of vagabondage and petty crime born of unsettled conditions. This has now been dealt with by the familiar process of guidance and persuasion.

"We could not have the problem of 'wild children' as in the West," I was told, "because here, in China, family feeling is so strong. War orphans would have uncles and aunts to adopt and advise them. They would have the group. See how older children care for younger ones and note how men carry their children as much as the women do."

Problems of marriage and divorce are dealt with, too, by families, as well as by professional groups and organizations, and street and residence committees who are called in for counsel and advice.

Just as shopkeepers have become part of the State organization to serve the community, so industry also is run on the private-State partner ownership principle. Industrialists receive five per cent on their capital investment and are made managers of joint concerns where their knowledge and technical skill can be of service. The State ensures supplies of raw materials and finds markets. It controls investments and directs capital to where it is needed most. Although this is regarded as a transition stage to complete State ownership, I found private employers anxious to join in on the partnership basis. In the same way, small farms came together in a mutual-aid system, in co-operative activities and, finally, in the collective farms, which have yielded the most satisfactory results. I visited a co-operative farm and discovered that each year their income had increased as a result of improved technique and better co-operation.

On the educational front the advances are in striking contrast to the illiteracy which characterized the old regime. Everywhere are new schools and a crusade for learning. It is claimed that there are 60,000,000 school children in China and there would be more if schools were available. I saw "spare time" classes in factories, rooms packed with young people

learning to read and write. Anti-illiteracy classes are held for older women who do not go out to work. A heartening sight was the Institute for National Minorities with 2,500 students drawn from the far corners of China. Here were Tibetans, Mongolians, Uzbeks with strange books, including a journal from Lhasa, where the first primary school has now been opened. Chinese teachers were instructing students, through translators, in their own tongues. I asked how many here were in their national minorities and the answer was 35,000,000. These far-off communities have been stirred by the passion for learning. I found, too, when I went on the *sampans*—the boats on the waterfront at Canton, on which 60,000 people live—that the young children were able to write their names down for me as evidence of their schooling.

China's National Day was celebrated in Peking, on October 1st, by a procession of 500,000 marching through the square at the Gate of Heavenly Peace, in columns a hundred abreast. From early morning they had been streaming through the city. Led by the army and the navy, there were groups from the universities, from factories, schools, athletic bodies, even a contingent of Buddhist monks in their colourful yellow, brown and orange robes. This was the only really wet day, for the rain beat down without ceasing. We, onlookers, had to wring out our wet clothes over the side of the stand. But, for hour after hour, the marchers poured through the square. There were men on stilts, a field of dragons, a moving Maypole, girls waving coloured sashes, school children. None of them wanted to go past the saluting base in spite of the rain. The procession bulged out, they closed in together and jumped up and down with irrepressible enthusiasm while the marshals urged them on. Their feeling was proof against the stormiest weather.

The New China is a mass uprising of humanity, no violent, very friendly, gay and forward-looking. These people have hope and a belief in a new life. It is humanity recreated. Sceptics have said to me, "Mass hysteria! How long will it last? Are you sure they were not gambling behind doors or cheating where you could not see them?" I have listened and agreed that I may be a very simple man, taken in by appearances of gaiety, of honesty. But I do not think so. I was certainly impressed by the sight of the new schools and their occupants, the red-brick blocks of flats in place of shacks of bamboo, mud and straw. These things seemed good to me and I admired the people who were making such peaceful progress.

I feel they have something we lack in the West, some Eastern quality of thought and philosophy that strips all the Western industrial technique. A welcome feature is the absence of social conflict. The Chinese way of life makes the conflicts of the West seem crude and childish. When the Chinese say, "We are learning, we are building schools, we are increasing our productivity; we are making possible a happier life for everyone," there seems to be no reason for any section of their people to oppose or obstruct. What I saw working out was a spirit of social harmony.

### The Asian Revolution

Rev. Celestine Fernando writes in *The National Christian Council Review*:

The Asian scene was noted not so very long ago for spirituality, philosophic calm and unchanging

case. The same sun shines over the sprawling subcontinents and islands of Asia today but now they are known far more for their stark poverty, political resurgence and restless economies. The Asian revolution is an uncomfortable reality and it is of extraordinary proportions. Despite the facade of easy-going democratic institutions behind which in some countries the revolution goes on, it is sometimes fraught with great violence. And because the world is one, our brethren in other lands, however self-sufficient, powerful and remote, can on no account ignore it.

The Asian revolution is based as much on sheer economic necessity as on the psychology of a suppressed people. The economic revolution does not exist in isolation from other conditions. The problems are immense. Religious, cultural, social and political forces interact on each other and play an inevitable part in moulding the new Asia.

The grinding poverty of Asia which is her chief problem is most commonly expressed in malnutrition and early death for the vast majority of her people. Even in a relatively good economy as in Ceylon 70 per cent of the children in the leading children's hospital suffer from preventable diseases and chiefly from malnutrition. And for the governments and peoples of Asia the problem created by the low standards of living have been further complicated by the impact of war, the destruction of capital resources and the displacement of population, for the refugee problem is by no means confined to Europe; in Asia too it is a stark reality today.

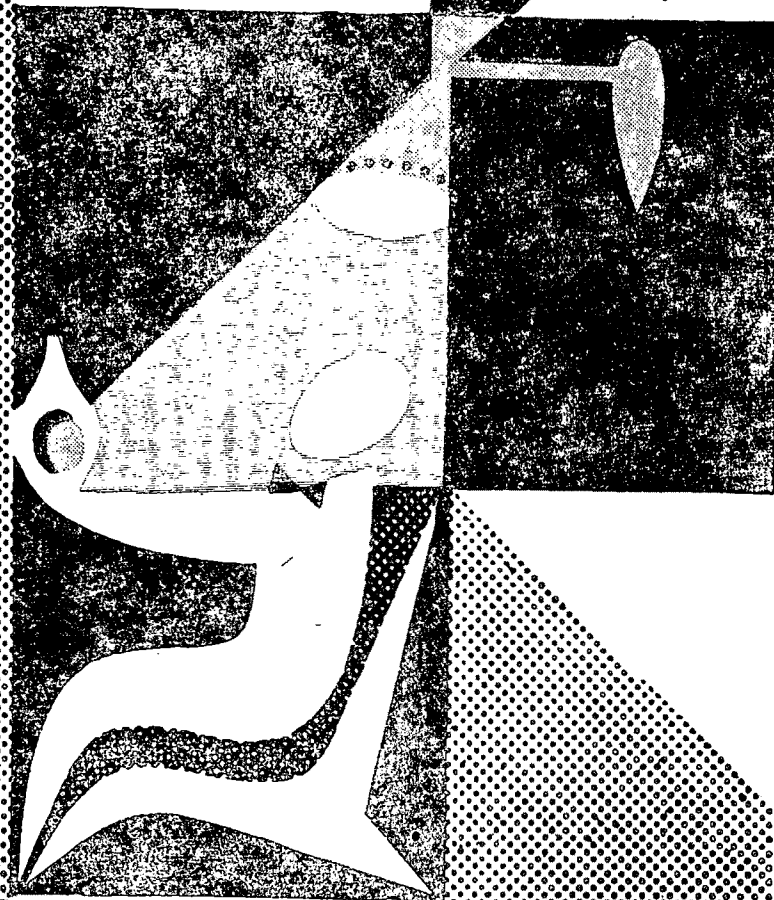
In practically every Asian country, the natural resources are meagre, and years of neglect of agriculture and irrigation, owing to war, malaria, poverty and ignorance, even in those countries which in the days of their past glory exported food and were known as the granaries of the East, have now made standards of food production miserably low.

The agricultural situation is complicated by antiquated and iniquitous systems of land tenure. A common problem is the concentration of land-ownership in a relatively small section of society resulting in large-scale land tenure. With modern developments in agriculture and industry, the demands of landlords become unlimited, and conditions of land tenure deteriorate, and the transition from status to contract, when it inevitably comes, under present conditions, makes the burden of the tenant heavier and that of an absentee landlord lighter as the years go on. Where peasants are small holders, the middleman and money-lender intervene, ultimately to make the peasant proprietor a share cropper in his own land.

In Asia, the concentration of economic power in a few private groups is far more dangerous than in the West. Such groups often control a fair part of the nation's economy through a system of economic ramifications which are not easily discernible. Workers and peasants long down-trodden and suffering are now waking up to their rights. In the years of depression the working classes discovered the peril of unemployment and the serious disadvantage of the lack of social insurance. It was then that labour unions gained in power and prestige, subsequently to be dominated in almost every country, owing to the failure of Governments and employers to take account of the human needs of the working classes, by Marxist forces whose social idealism, utter consistency to Marxist tactics and strategy, fervent sincerity and criticism of the *status quo*, proved so

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attractive to the starving and exploited poor. Today Asia is faced with a struggle not between white capitalist, and yellow or brown labourer, but between Asian capitalist and Asian labourer, determining to a large extent almost every political and social issue and ultimately the structure of government of Asian countries. The nature and spirit of the leadership of Asian trade unionism will to a large extent determine the future course of the Asian revolution.

#### Lines of Reconstruction

In the Asian economic revolution the perspectives of Marxist and neo-Marxist materialist and other totalitarian social philosophies play a role of increasing influence today. In practically every Asian country, however, there is a minority or occasionally a majority of politically conscious people who seek to channel the Asian revolution, if this is at all possible, through democratic processes and towards a democratic ideal. For the problem of Asia is to lead the Asian revolution for freedom and justice and search for human means to achieve it without turning the governmental mechanism into a new instrument of oppression.

The needed socio-economic surveys have been undertaken in some countries by the World Bank or by U.N. agencies.

In many Asian countries today the view is gaining ground that the Government has a far more active role in the ordering of the economic life of the people in comparatively undeveloped countries, than in the case of the industrially developed countries of the West. For more perhaps than in the West, in Asia governments have to influence and even determine the direction of production and investment and lay the foundations, where necessary, of agricultural and industrial development. Without such overall guidance and the possibility of control the unfavourable aspects of the Asian economy to which reference was made earlier will be perpetuated. Government has the duty to provide essential social overhead capital, for example, the control of natural resources, power, transportation and highways, irrigation, soil conservation and public utilities. Government has to determine the place of private enterprise, face up to the problem of compensation for nationalisation, and the nature and extent of tax-structure and the control of exchange. The growth of government power which therefore is inevitable raises a fundamental problem—that of working for structural changes in society and at the same time keeping the political system and the administrative processes of government under constant public scrutiny and control, lest as a result of unbridled power and excessive planning government becomes irresponsible and totalitarian.

In the provision of capital resources, on which agricultural and industrial development can be based, enough has been said to show that no Asian country can be without foreign aid today. It is here that international, national and voluntary agencies, like U.N. and its specialist organisations, the World Bank, the Colombo Plan and Church World Service have been of so great value in the study and the solution of Asian economic problems. Such aid is 'a matter of social justice, i.e., arising out of a concern for man in his need wherever he lives and as a response to human solidarity'.

Such aid is needed in every sphere but particularly in the development of basic health and social

education if the widespread incidence of premature death, starvation, malnutrition and illiteracy is to be avoided. 'Social instructions and habits prevailing in the agrarian economies of backward regions are often impediments to economic development and social progress. They constitute in a number of cases obstacles to the mobility of capital, the mobility of labour, and to the formation of modern skills—factors all of which are required to meet the issues posed by present-day world economy . . . Educational aspects of society should be so organised as to contribute in easing the difficulties connected with social transitions'.

Also needed in Asia today is the solution of the problem of over-population and the very serious problems—medical, economic and emotional—created by excessive child-bearing among people who can ill afford to have large families. And both for the sake of the community and family welfare every family in need should be aided to solve its housing difficulties by governments and private agencies promoting scientific research for housing, with cheaper and easily available local material and the provision of technical and financial aid for the purpose.

Of particular interest to Asians today is the *Bhoodan Yajna* Movement of Vinoba Bhave. But along with the necessary support for such movements, radical changes must be initiated in order to abolish the old feudal landlordism, invest the peasant with adequate land for his economic needs and establish a system of land tenure which will help the rehabilitation of the peasantry in every country.

#### SOME NEEDS

With land reform, the peasant and the small industrialist have to be provided with adequate credit facilities and such extension services as are essential for agricultural and industrial development in backward economies. It is here that the co-operative movement has a real claim to public support in Asian countries. Credit co-operatives, agricultural produce and sales societies, fishing co-operatives, and other production co-operatives should be developed with marketing co-operatives. By so doing the bargaining power of small producers, their economic stability and education for democratic organisation will all be actively strengthened and a fairer distribution of economic power eventually achieved.

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may get and whatever socio-economic structure may be built, long term and stable economic development will be seriously hampered and the maintenance of the structure of society jeopardised unless, for both government and private business, there are *qualified administrators* who are also men of loyalty and integrity. Without competent and honest managerial capacity the complexities of social behaviour, especially of men in the mass, can neither be properly understood nor successfully controlled to fulfil the aims of a responsible society. It is not only in politics that the problem of power has to be solved; in the economic structure it is often more insidious and therefore more dangerous. Failure to solve it in day-to-day public administration or in labour relations can cause serious dislocation of the entire socio-economic structure anywhere in the world, but specially in Asia where ancient cultures are in the

process of adapting themselves to the complicated ways of modern democracy.

Ultimately also no economic structure can stand secure unless there is a *supporting culture* with a social philosophy and conventions, customs and institutions which feed the imagination of people, train them in orderly habits and help to evoke the necessary emotional responses which are a part of the community spirit. For Asians today this involves the adjusting of perspectives which, even if they may be based on age-old religious beliefs and sanctions, are sometimes not conducive to the spirit of fellowship and community life. When based on certain conceptions of nationalism, Asian community life—and therefore her economic life—can be and often is disrupted by the denial of basic human rights to those who do not conform to the majority view.

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### The Afrikaners of South Africa

Samuel Pauw, Principal of the University of South Africa, Pretoria, writes in *Careers and Courses*:

As you will know from what you call the Boer War, my people—the Afrikaners of South Africa—were once known to the world as the Boers. "Boer" means "farmer": we were indeed a nation of farmers.

A century ago there were no cities in South Africa. Cape Town, our mother city, was then, after two centuries of growth, still a town with only 10,000 people. Our other capital, Pretoria, celebrated its first centenary only a few months ago, and our largest city, Johannesburg, will be only seventy years old this year.

The Afrikaners, or rather Boers, came into being as a people in the wide expanse and quiet solitude of the South African veld. For two centuries they were isolated from Europe and the world.

At the end of this time, money and machines, stocks and shares had no meaning for them. They had other values and were not interested in money. They knew there were things money could not buy, and that material luxury and wealth were not the beginning and end of life.

So it happened that when diamonds and gold were discovered on their farms our people were not interested. They sold the farms at a price far below their value and moved off to resume their pastoral life away from the hustle and bustle of the mining-camps.

But they could not avoid the impact permanently. The mining-camps grew into cities which spread their influence throughout the land. They had been founded and were being built up by foreigners with foreign ways and foreign values.

A clash was inevitable. Whatever the merits of the two ways of life, they were incompatible. Ultimately the disagreements resulted in war—the Boer War of 1899-1902, a mere incident in British history, but for us the Second War for Freedom, the all important episode in our history. We lost the war and our freedom; that is why we remember it.

In 1895, the influence of the English language was increasing so rapidly in South Africa that Olive Schreiner who loved the Boers, prophesied that their language would disappear.

Olive Schreiner's words did not come true. The peaceful process by which we were slowly losing our separate identity was stopped abruptly by the war. We were awakened to national self-consciousness and to a determination to be ourselves and to fight for our freedom.

Even after fifty years, in which Britain has done much to make generous amends, we continue the endeavour to remove the remaining symbols of our subjection.

Fifty years ago South Africa was sharply divided into two camps. The war was over but real peace had not come. The impoverished, defeated, and embittered Afrikaners had withdrawn to the quiet isolation of their farms.

In the cities the prosperous and victorious English-speaking section were in complete command. More than 50 per cent of the white population of Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Durban of those days had been born overseas.

Not only were the Afrikaners unwelcome in

urban life and its occupations, but they themselves had a deep aversion to the cities. They even called Johannesburg the University of Crime.

Nevertheless, the burden of poverty in rural areas was increasing, and slowly more and more Afrikaners were being forced off the over-populated land. The "Poor White" problem was becoming one of the most pressing in the country. There was only one solution: the trek to the cities.

Although they lacked the necessary training and experience, Afrikaners gradually gained a foothold in urban occupations. Their first chance came in 1907 when employers used them to break a strike of white mineworkers. They proved their worth as workers, and it became the established policy to employ South Africans in the mines. Not many years later most of the underground white workers were Afrikaners.

In an expanding economy the number of the English-speaking section soon proved too small to fill all the vacancies. They were being attracted to the better-paid positions and left many vacancies in the less favourable occupations open to Afrikaners.

One occupation after the other was being filled by Afrikaners. They entered through the lower ranks, and as they gained experience they also succeeded in entering executive positions.

In 1921, the majority of directors of companies, merchants, doctors, architects, accountants and even fitters and compositors in South Africa were still of overseas origin. But even in those occupations Afrikaners are now appearing in increasing numbers.

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Thus the occupational structure of the Afrikaners has changed completely. They are no longer a nation of farmers: they fill the whole range of urban occupations.

The changing occupational structure is accompanied by a change in the distribution of Afrikaners. Fifty years ago only about 8 per cent of them lived in the cities; now 37 per cent live there, 33 per cent in the small towns, and only 30 per cent on the farms.

Fifty years ago all the cities in South Africa were predominantly English-speaking centres. Today the majority of the main urban centres have more Afrikaans-speaking than English-speaking people. This change is being reflected in the political situation.

The political division in South Africa is along language lines. The party in power is the National Party, which consists almost entirely of Afrikaans-speaking members. The supporters of the opposition, the United Party, are overwhelmingly English-speaking—more than 85 per cent.

The success of the National Party in the last two elections was mainly due to gains in urban areas. Formerly it was almost exclusively a rural party; now it also represents the urban workers. It has become the labour party of the Afrikaners, and has replaced the old English-speaking Labour Party which has all but disappeared because there are so few English-speaking manual workers left.

The difficulties of the United Party are in large measure due to the fact that the English-speaking people in the Union are so largely concentrated in three relatively small islands, namely, in Johannesburg proper, in the Cape Peninsula, and in Natal and the Eastern Province.

In these areas the United Party gained overwhelming majorities or unopposed returns. This means that a large part of the voting strength of the United Party was wasted in abnormally large majorities in some areas while it lost many other seats with relatively small majorities.

One is often asked by visitors to South Africa whether the breach between the Afrikaners and the English-speaking section is being healed or whether it is widening. As an Afrikaner I have no hesitation in saying that it is being healed.

True, we have had to fight for recognition in almost every sphere of life. We have had our successes but we have asked for nothing more than equality with our English-speaking countrymen.

We have known what it means to be in a position of inferiority. We do not wish to relegate the English-speaking section to an inferior position. We want to continue to exist as a separate people. What we ask for ourselves we gladly grant to others.

We now feel that we have reached a position where we have nothing to fear from our English-speaking countrymen. As far as we are concerned, real unity has never been nearer than it is today.

South Africa is not the unhappy country it is often made out to be. True, we have our disagreements, especially in the field of politics, but they have lost their erstwhile personal bitterness. In our desire for unity our hopes are fixed on our young people. They grow up without personal experience of past struggles; in addition they grow up as bilingual citizens.

While less than 50 per cent of the white people over seventy years of age know both official languages, more than 85 per cent of the young people in the age group fifteen to twenty-nine are bilingual. This fact holds great promise for the future.

A further fortunate fact is that the geographical isolation between the sections is being broken down. The number of Afrikaners in the cities is increasing. The rural areas are today less exclusively Afrikaners than ever before.

A further cause for separation in the past was the economically inferior position of the Afrikaners. Even today the higher positions in the economic life of the country are predominantly in the hands of English-speaking persons, often of overseas origin.

In the 'thirties' the Afrikaners started a movement to strengthen their economic position. They started their own bank, many co-operative trading stores, and their own finance companies. Through their co-operatives they gained control of the marketing of agricultural produce. They have entered the field of industry and have proved their capabilities in that field.

Nevertheless, less than five per cent of the control of manufacturing concerns is in the hands of Afrikaners, and in gold-mining we have only one small group of companies. If Afrikaners do not pay an important part in the control of large concerns, the number of small private firms which they control is increasing rapidly.

By and large, South Africa is a happy country. Wild statements by politicians and the press have spread the idea that South Africa is an unhappy country full of strife and disunity. The picture is largely a false one. The standard of living of the people is high; the whites if compared with the people of Europe, the blacks if compared with the people of Africa, and the Indians if compared with the people of India.

I have not touched on the relations between white and non-white in South Africa. Even there, conditions are not as bad as they are often made out to be. Although *apartheid* is attacked from all sides, more and more people, especially among the non-white groups, are coming to realize not only that it is a sincere and straightforward policy but also that it holds positive and definite advantages for all racial groups of South Africa.

In the development of our country we do not look for uniformity but for unity in diversity. In that sense we are working for a real Union of South Africa. In that sense we believe in our national motto: "Unity is strength."

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|   | 3A, Albert Road, Calcutta   |    |                           |  |  |    |                          |  |                                       |    |                     |  |  |    |                        |  |  |    |                   |  |                                 |    |                  |  |                                     |  |                          |    |                       |  |                           |    |                       |  |                           |    |                      |  |                           |     |                         |  |                           |     |                        |  |                           |
| 11.   | Mrs. Lakshmi Chatterji  |    |                           |  |  |    |                          |  |                                       |    |                     |  |  |    |                        |  |  |    |                   |  |                                 |    |                  |  |                                     |  |                          |    |                       |  |                           |    |                       |  |                           |    |                      |  |                           |     |                         |  |                           |     |                        |  |                           |
|   | 3, Short Street, Calcutta   |    |                           |  |  |    |                          |  |                                       |    |                     |  |  |    |                        |  |  |    |                   |  |                                 |    |                  |  |                                     |  |                          |    |                       |  |                           |    |                       |  |                           |    |                      |  |                           |     |                         |  |                           |     |                        |  |                           |

I, the publisher of the Modern Review, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Date—25. 2. 1957

Signature of Publisher—*S/d.* Nibaran Chandra Das

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Hamilton . . . and Young America

January 11 this year was the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Hamilton who was a brilliant administrator of the infant American Republic:

Alexander Hamilton, brilliant administrator of the infant American Republic, was described by Thomas Jefferson, his bitterest political enemy, as "a colossus to the anti-republican party. Without numbers, he is an host within himself."

His noted biographer, Douglas Southall Freeman, wrote of him: "If revolutionary America produced a more brilliant mind, whose was it?"

This man's influence and ideas left as deep an imprint on American political theory and institutions as perhaps any other leader of the Revolutionary War period except Jefferson himself. Even today, partisans of Hamilton and those of Jefferson form the two major camps of American political theory.

Hamilton was born in the island of Nevis, West Indies, on January 11, 1757. His father became bankrupt and it was necessary for Alexander to earn his own living at the age of 12. As a clerk in an accounting house, his "genius for affairs" became apparent and after two years he was entrusted with the management of the business.

Nevertheless, he left the West Indies to complete his education in America, arriving at Boston in 1772. In 1774, he entered King's College (now Columbia University in New York), and made a brilliant scholastic record.

Friction between England and her American Colonies was growing increasingly serious. Convinced that the Colonies were right, Hamilton, while yet a student, began the advocacy of their cause in a speech at a public meeting on July 6, 1774.

He now began to prepare for military service in the Revolution and secured the commission of captain of the first Continental artillery company, entering service in March, 1776—four months before the world-famed Declaration of Independence. He participated in the battles of Long Island, White Plains, Trenton and Princeton, winning his superior's commendation for skill and courage.

In March, 1777, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel and aide-de-camp on the staff of Washington and became the General's confidential secretary. He took part in the siege of Yorktown, where Lord Cornwallis surrendered, assuring Colonial victory.

To secure some relief from the deplorable condition the new nation was in—"bankrupt in money and reputation alike," as U.S. Senator Lodge said in his *Life of Hamilton*—the Annapolis Convention was held in September, 1786, and Hamilton was one of the New York delegates.

The convention adopted an address, drafted by Hamilton, reciting the intolerable conditions and calling for a convention to meet the following May in Philadelphia to form a Federal Constitution.

At the convention's close he heartily embraced the work of the convention and signed the Constitution as actually adopted.

The same year Washington was inaugurated President, in 1789, he made Hamilton first Secretary of the Treasury.

Masterfully, he organized the new Treasury Department; reduced the confused finances to order; provided for a funded system and a sound method of national taxation; induced Congress to assume the State debts; and authorized methods for establishing a national bank and mint, raising and collecting internal revenue, and managing public lands. He also made possible the government's purchase of West Point, now the seat of the National Military Academy.

In 1791, he inaugurated the protective tariff system.

He was active in government until 1795, when he resigned from the Cabinet to give attention to his neglected private interests.

But he continued to take an active interest in political affairs, and continued to support Washington throughout the two administrations.

Because of his prominence in public affairs, Hamilton felt obliged to accept a challenge to a duel by a political opponent, Aaron Burr. Hamilton was wounded and died the following day, July 12, 1804, at the age of 47.

He was universally mourned by his countrymen, though he was not popular, nor did he ever strive for popularity. However, he had lived for the public good, and his achievements are remembered. Eloquent and refined, able and brilliant, the embodiment of devotion, integrity and courage, his ideas have probably influenced U.S. policies as much as those of any other statesman the United States has produced. —*American Reporter*, January 2, 1957.

## Book Day

A. Yelagina writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union*:

Can you imagine the noise raised by one thousand or more children gathered in one place and burning with impatience? If you do, you will know how noisy the Hall of Columns of the Moscow House of Trade Unions was in the morning of March 25. And, indeed, how could one help jumping from his seat, climbing onto the velvet-draped chairs, or calling out to his comrades, on the first day of the school vacations, when one is no more than eight-nine years of age and



filled with the anticipations of what is to come? However, the third bell put them all back into their seats; the lights went out and the hall was comparatively quiet when the curtain was pulled apart.

... Not a soul on the stage, nothing with the exception of several giant books in bright covers. For a moment the children are breathless with excitement, and then the hall rumbles with suppressed exclamations:

*Andersen's Fairy-tales! The Street of Junior! "I Read That!" "I Did!" The Son of the Regiment! Silver Skates! A Lono Sail Looms White! The Prince and the Pauper!*

To the accompaniment of soft music the books open slowly and familiar heroes come right off their pages. A little Mermaid waks gingerly, barely moving her feeble little feet; Volodya Dubinin, the young resistance fighter, and Vanyo Solntsev, the son of the regiment, march forward with firm step: the brave sailor Zhukov and his friends Gavrik and Petya, peer into the distance, the Prince and Pauper come down, holding hands . . . .

Recognizing them, the children cheer their old friends. Of a sudden the procession of book heroes comes to an end, and a group of men and women in ordinary clothes (not book suites) come onto the stage. Writers! Together with the personages of their books they take their seats at the table, and Lev Kassi, the author of many favourite books, says: "Children! Our celebration today is held in honour of the books . . ."

"This is a birthday of books, is it?"—cried a little boy in a voice which rang through the hall. He had come to the celebration with his elder brother.

Yes, like a birthday celebration. That is how the children call their traditional holiday, Children's Book Week, observed in spring. These "birthdays" are celebrated by all the Soviet children in town and country, at the schools and Pioneer Houses, in the parks and libraries, at the clubs and kindergatens. The children are making elaborate preparations for these celebrations: they learn poems by heart, arrange performances and concerts, write book reviews, arrange book expositions, discussions of books and readers' conferences . . . And the authors of the books celebrate together with their young readers.

Let me take my readers to some of the places where the authors met their young readers.

In one of the halls of the Polytechnical Museum of Moscow school-children have assembled at a conference to discuss scientific fantasy stories. L. Platov, N. Kazantsev, V. Ivanov and V. Nemtsov, authors of these stories, have just acquainted the audience with their plans, and they are now carefully listening to their youthful readers. And I must say that they are very severe critics. They keep well abreast of current developments in science, and they are quite able to judge the artistic merits of a book. Here is a serious-looking boy in spectacles summing up their demands: as many scientific fantasy books as possible; they must be fascinating, well written, and must take into consideration the latest achievements in science and engineering. And most important, the flight of scientific fantasy must be irresistible, breath-taking, so

as to drive home to everybody the limitless power of human reason. When the writers speak one can feel the emotion in their voice, each one is conscious of the great responsibility of writing for these children; who knows, but perhaps there are in this hall many future scientists who will turn into reality what seems like a fantasy today!

Vita i Blanki, the Leningrad writer (with a passion for hunting and thorough knowledge of nature) whose books about animals and plants are known to all Soviet children, went with a group of young naturalists who meet at the City Pioneer Palace to a collective farm in the environs of the capital. The meeting with the village school-children was arranged in the open air. His conversations with the children inspire the charmingly poetic stories which delight thousands of Soviet children.

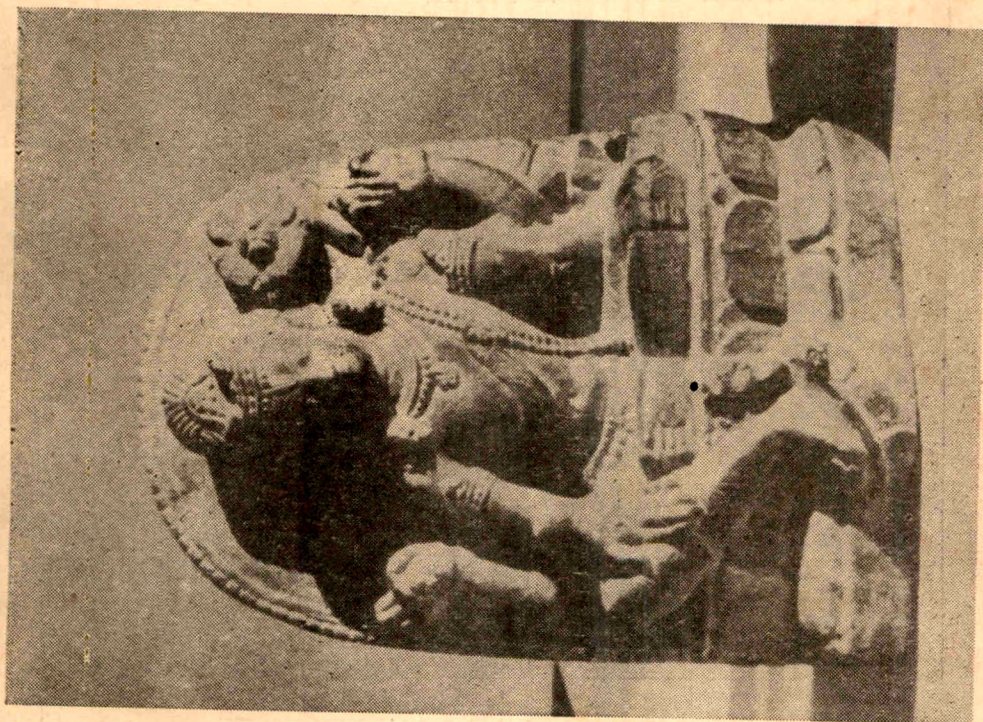
At the same time, youngsters of a whole district have assembled in the House of Culture at Mozhaishk, Moscow Region, to meet the author of one of the most popular books of the youth, *The Tale of a Real Man*. Moreover, Boris Polevoy did not come alone. He came together with Meresyev, the pilot who is the hero of his book. The writer and the hero were greeted with loud cheers. The lads and girls were simply bubbling with questions and they showered their visitors with them. How did the writer succeed in divining the inner world of his hero? What was Meresyev like in his boyhood? Was he training himself for heroic exploits? Where did he find the strong will necessary for returning to his favourite occupation as a pilot when he was crippled? Could every boy become a hero, if he wants to? The writer and the hero were busy answering questions. Their conversation lasted until late in the evening; the children go home, thinking of great deeds which require courage and heroism, of duty and honour.

Numerous groups of school-children are visiting the Moscow print-shops where children's books are issued. Writers and artists are on duty there to tell the children how books are written, to show how illustrations are made for books, and the way followed by the manuscript to the compositors' shop, to the printing presses, etc. The children are given the opportunity to see the printers at work, to watch the operations of the linotypes, rotary presses, engraving, etc. They now know how books are made, the books which give them so much delight.

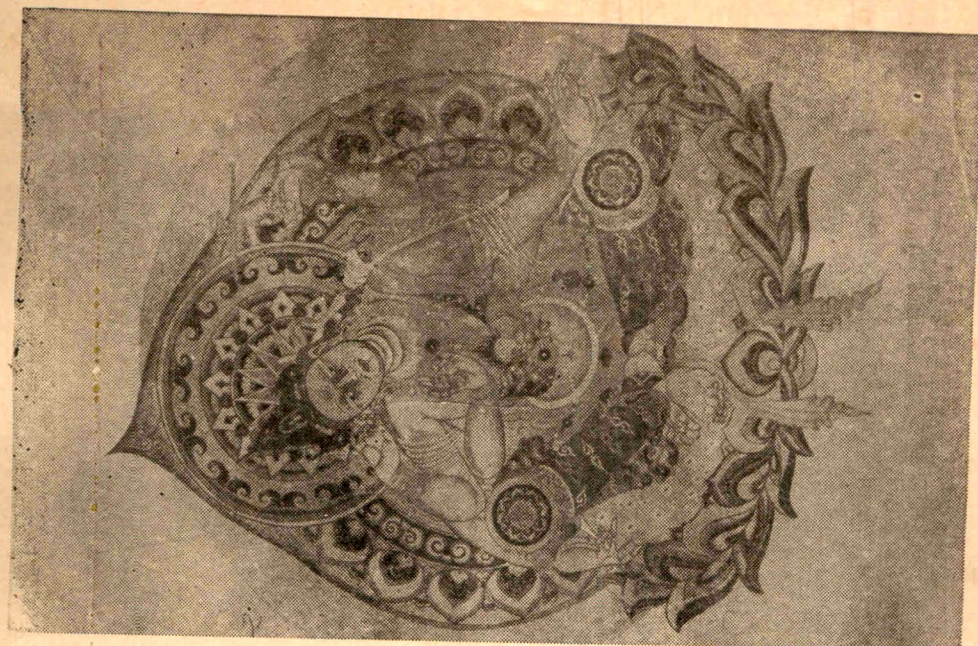
Young readers are more numerous than ever at the libraries. The teachers come, bringing entire groups of first-form pupils to "sign up" at the library. They have already learned to read independently. They are told how to handle books, how careful they must be not to tear or soil the pages. They are initiated into a most fascinating world where the greatest treasures of human thought and endeavour have been collected for them.

The writers, teachers and librarians give direct guidance to the children. They assist them in selecting the books, cultivate their taste for reading, teach them to respect the book, to acquire knowledge and experience from it.



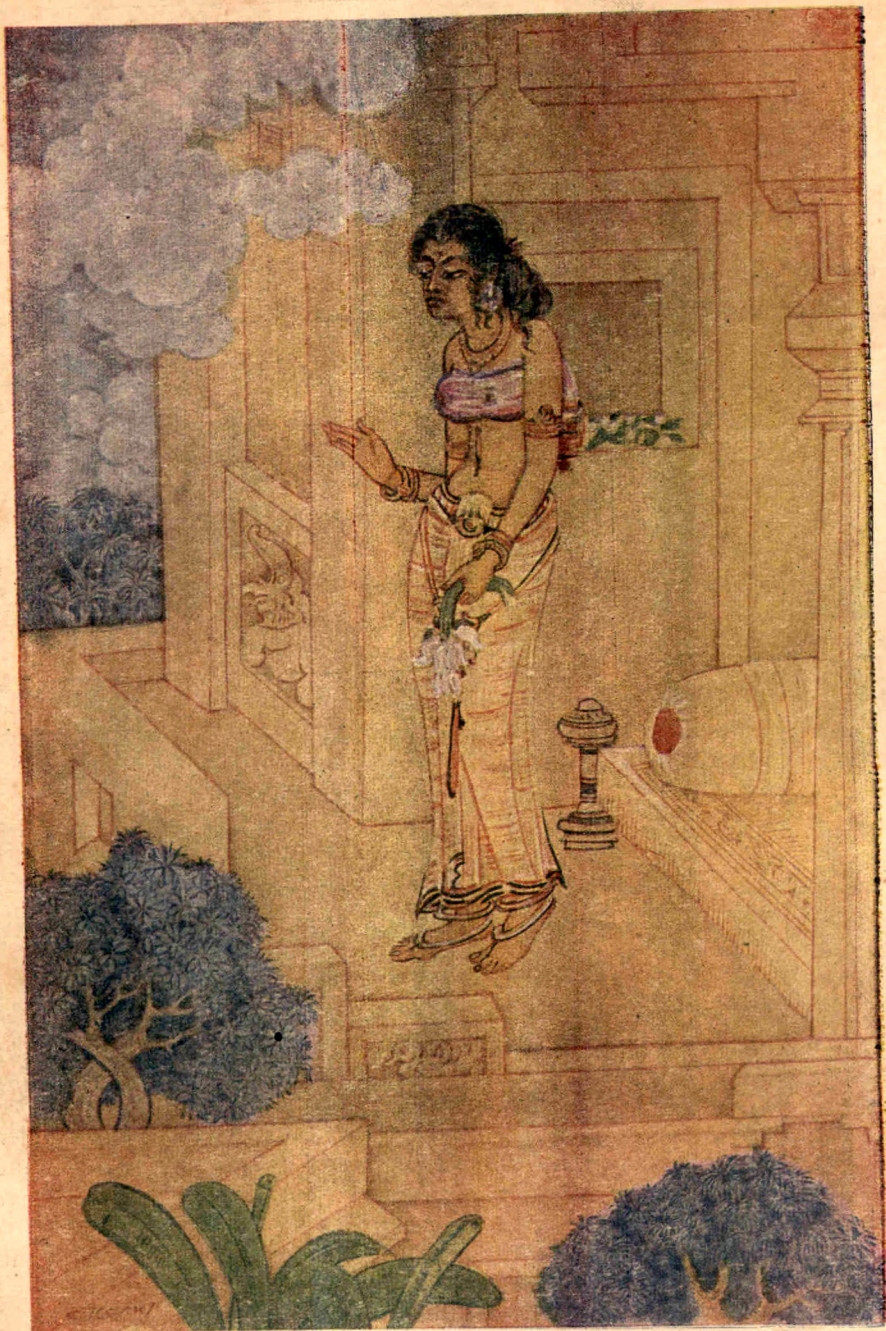


Avalokitesvara (Nalanda, 9th-10th century)



Multi-armed Kwen-yin (Avalokitesvara), reproduction of a mural painting of Tan-huang Cave No. 40 (Tang dynasty, 827-906 A.D.)





YAKSHA'S BELOVED PINING FOR HER LOVER

Prahasi Press, Calcutta

By Bireschandra Ganguly



# THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL



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## NOTES

### *The Elections and After*

The Elections are over and the results have provided considerable food for thought for all discerning persons, who are capable of weighing facts and drawing logical conclusions therefrom. Needless to say, we do not find any outward evidence as yet that there has been a careful and correct attempt on those lines in the Congress Hierarchy itself. What we have heard so far, is likely to cause dismay amongst all those whose creed follows the tenets laid down by the Fathers of the Indian National Congress and the Congress of Mahatma Gandhi. For what is patent in all those utterings made public, including those of Pandit Nehru himself, is that there is an attempt to draw a screen of self-delusion, to put it in the most charitable language, over unpleasant facts, disturbing as they are to those most complacent and inefficient of Olympians.

What are the facts? Let us state them in the baldest fashion, without any corollaries of any kind.

In Kerala the Congress has not only lost ground but has had to concede control to the Communist Party. *This is a major defeat and cannot be explained away.*

In Orissa the Congress has not been able to advance to a position of control. It has lost 20 per cent of its strength in comparison with 1952. The peculiar feature of the Orissan election is the very large representation obtained by the ruling families of feudatory Orissa. In any case the Congress hold on the state has been made precarious.

In the Assam Elections, the Congress could secure only one seat, in fifteen of the seats reserved for the Scheduled tribes in the Hill areas.

In Uttar Pradesh the Opposition strength has advanced from 47 seats in the old Assembly to 144 seats in the new, which indicates a threefold gain in strength. The Congress has lost 95 seats, a most serious recession.

In West Bengal the Congress has not suffered seriously. *But it cannot be denied that the Congress has lost ground, instead of gaining, and that in Calcutta, the nerve centre of West Bengal, the Congress could secure only 8 seats out of 26.*

To complete the picture we should point out that the Hindu Mahasabha, with its strong communal outlook, has been virtually wiped out. On the other hand the Moslem League, which is the *raison d'être* of the Hindu Mahasabha, has reappeared in Kerala, of all places. This latter is indicative of the confusion and dimness of wits in the Kerala Electorate. The other Right Wing parties, the Jana Sangha and the Ram Rajya Parishad—which is the “lunatic fringe” of the Hindu Mahasabha—have also suffered eclipse.

Taken as a whole, the P.S.P. has made considerable progress in the State Assemblies though it has come nowhere near to that point where it could challenge the Congress. The Communist Party, apart from its spectacular gain in Kerala, has barely maintained its strength in some States and lost in most others.

The overall picture that emerges, from all

the facts noted above, is certainly not one that can be called roseate and full of promise, where the Congress is concerned. Indeed, on the contrary.

For it clearly indicates confusion in the ranks of the electorate, and weakening of the faith in Congress. It also indicates a sense of defeatism amongst those of the electors who used to guide the political reasoning and decisions amongst the masses. It is needless to point out that we mean those who were of the staunchest, and most disinterested in the division of loaves and fishes, amongst the following of the old Congress. Their faith has been shaken by the double-talk of our tin-gods, and their credit has collapsed amongst the masses. Even so, some of them plunged in the fight against the forces of disruption, in many places where the Congress hold became shaky.

The failure to abolish—or even check—profiteering in the essentials of life, resulting in ever increasing costs, the deterioration in law and order, consequent on the most malaprop placing of reins in unworthy hands in most ministries, the decadence in education and culture, despite the tinsel glitter of Awards and Akadamies, has led to this!

### *The Second General Election*

The Second General Election in the world's largest democracy—that India is—is now virtually complete with the exception of the election to a few Lok Sabha seats from Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir. On all accounts the elections have been a great success and there has not been any untoward incident.

The verdict of the electorate has meant the return of the Indian National Congress to power in the Centre and in twelve of the fourteen State Assemblies. In one State—Orissa—no party could gain an absolute majority of seats though the Congress gained the largest number of seats as could any other single party. In the fourteenth State—Kerala—the Communist Party of India has been voted to authority.

From a general view (the detailed analyses are yet to be made) the Indian electors may be stated to have exercised their right of franchise with wisdom and restraint. The communal parties have almost been eliminated from India's legislatures with the exception of the Muslim League in Kerala, which also would have gone the way of the other communal

parties had it not been for the support of the Praja Socialist Party there. The electors had two alternatives: to vote Congress back to power or to vote for the conglomeration of other parties against the Congress which would only result in political instability. They have done the only wise thing to do and have voted for Congress. Yet at the same time they have voted for a stronger opposition.

Speaking of the position of the various political parties, the Congress has come out of the elections with a record of increased popularity in so far there has been a rise in the percentage of Congress votes. But in three States—Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Bombay—the Congress has suffered serious defeats.

In the outgoing 470-member Bombay Assembly, the Congress with 388 seats had a majority of 314 seats over the combined opposition strength of 74 (8 seats were vacant). The post-election picture in 396-member new Bombay Assembly is: Congress 232; PSP 36, Communists 18, Jan Sangh 4, Peasants' and Workers' Party 31, Scheduled Castes Federation 15, Hindu Mahasabha 1, Independents 55. (The results of four seats are to be announced later on). The Congress majority has thus been reduced to 72.

In the Uttar Pradesh, the opposition has just trebled its strength. In the 430-member Assembly, the Congress now has 286 members (as against 381 in the old) and the opposition parties have 144 members (as against only 47 in the old House). The final party position in the State Assembly is: Congress 286, PSP 44, Communists 9, Jan Sangh 17, Lohia Socialists 25, Independents 49.

In Orissa, the third State where the Congress has suffered losses, the Congress has been able to secure only 56 of the 140 seats of the Assembly. This means that the party has lost 15 seats since 1952. The second largest party in the Orissa Assembly is the Ganatantra Parishad led by the ex-Maharaja of Patna. The party has secured 51 seats only 5 less than the Congress. The chief gains of the Ganatantra Parishad have been achieved in those areas of Orissa which formerly had constituted the so-called "native States." The PSP has eleven representatives, the Communists nine, and the Jharkhande Party (led by former Adibasi members of the Orissa Assembly. Con-

by the shores of four States—Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. The Middle East thus provides problems that defy solution and raises niceties of international law that inspire solutions by violent means. The USA's participation will strengthen the Pact in so far as it is a military alliance. It will prevent Soviet intrusion in the area to a considerable extent. The USA as the strongest Power and chief creditor of the capitalist world has greater power for manoeuvre than Britain and France.

### *The Union Finance*

The interim budget of the Union Government for the year 1957-58 reveals an overall deficit of Rs. 365 crores, of which deficit on revenue account is placed at Rs. 26.87 crores and that on capital account at Rs. 338.13 crores. The revenue estimates for the year 1957-58 are put at Rs. 636.22 crores and the estimated expenditure stands at Rs. 663.09 crores. The increase in revenue is almost entirely accounted for by Customs and Excise duties. The revised estimates for 1956-57 reveal that the revenue from customs is now estimated to be Rs. 171 crores as against Rs. 150 crores under the budget estimates. The increase reflects largely the higher imports during the year and the increase during the year in import duties on a number of articles such as wines and spirits, clocks and watches, motor cycles and scooters, coal tar dyes and certain types of machinery and staple fibre and fibre yarn. But the budget estimates for the year 1957-58 indicate a shortfall in Customs revenue. It will be the result of reduced imports, and also reduced exports. Income-tax revenue is not likely to show any significant variation from the budget figure of Rs. 189.60 crores. This is somewhat perplexing as why the income-tax receipts should not rise in view of the rising incomes of the people on account of higher expenditures on planned economies.

The White Paper on Budget states that the requirements of foreign exchange for the period of the Plan will be larger than the original estimates indicate. It is fairly clear that the gap in foreign exchange resources over the Plan period will be substantially larger than the original estimates of Rs. 11 crores. Foreign exchange reserves have

already been drawn down to an extent which leave little scope for a further draft on them. The recent purchase of \$127.5 million from the International Monetary Fund and the standby arrangements for a further purchase of \$72.5 million however provide some respite. Nevertheless, it has become a matter of urgency to explore every possible avenues for promoting exports, of economizing on imports and of getting additional external assistance. The external resources available to the public and the private sectors will have to be much more than Rs. 900 crores envisaged by the Plan if the plans of both the sectors are to succeed without jeopardising the external resources of the country. Friendly foreign countries have continued to assist India in her economic developments. The total foreign exchange required by India for the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan has been estimated at Rs. 1,200 crores. Of this amount only a sum of Rs. 610 crores are visibly available, and the availability of the balance amount is still uncertain. Foreign exchange resources available immediately are as follows: Spillover from first Plan of unutilised foreign aid credits (Rs. 100 crores); Foreign exchange saving consequent to surplus commodities agreement with the USA (Rs. 137 crores); Gross amount available on steel credits (Rs. 83 crores); American aid (Rs. 150 crores); Assistance from Colombo Plan countries and others (Rs. 80 crores); and Russian credits (Rs. 60 crores).

India expects the World Bank aid for Railway projects for Rs. 400 crores and the surplus on balance of payments has been estimated at Rs. 190 crores. Thus the total estimated foreign exchange earnings for Rs. 1,200 crores would materialise if the World Bank loan is available and if India makes continued favourable trade balance. The World Bank loan may be available, but it is quite impossible for India to earn anything by way of surplus trade balance. The performance of India during the last five years discourages any favourable estimate. The actual annual current deficit during the First Five-Year Plan was Rs. 125 crores, excluding official donations. The total deficits in balance of payments for the period 1948-49 to 1955-56 amounts to Rs. 810 crores.



The annual average level of exports during the second Plan period, as estimated by the Planning Commission is slightly lower at Rs. 593 crores than that of the first Plan period (Rs. 621.9 crores) as well as the last two years of the first Plan period (Rs. 618.9 crores), largely on account of lower estimates for exports of vegetable oils, raw cotton, and jute manufactures. The annual average level of imports, however, is very much higher at Rs. 868 crores than in the first Plan period (Rs. 724.4 crores) or the last two years of the period reviewed (Rs. 717.2 crores). This estimated higher level of imports during the second Plan period is entirely on account of significantly larger imports of machinery and vehicles, iron and steel and other metals, arising out of the emphasis on heavy industries and railway transport in the second Plan. The estimated trade deficit during the Second Five-Year Plan is, therefore, much larger than that during the first Plan period, the estimated annual average deficit being Rs. 275 crores during the second Plan period as against actual Rs. 103 crores during the First Plan period. The total estimated current deficit, excluding official donations, during the entire Second Plan period is Rs. 1,120 crores as against Rs. 125 crores in the First Plan period.

The Union Finance Minister states that the total deficit in balance of payments over the Plan period is likely to be about Rs. 400 crores more than was envisaged in the Plan. The Second Plan as originally drawn up envisaged a foreign exchange gap or shortfall for Rs. 800 crores. Now the deficit is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 1,200 crores and the total expenditure will be about Rs. 5,200 crores.

The ways and means position of the Government is as follows: The Government needs Rs. 27 crores for meeting the revenue deficit, Rs. 772 crores for financing the capital outlay and loan requirements of State Governments and others and Rs. 32 crores for repaying the maturing market loan. Against this, it is hoped to raise Rs. 100 crores from the market loan and Rs. 80 crores from Small Savings. Foreign exchange expected next year amounts to Rs. 135 crores (against Rs. 65 crores in 1956-57) and other miscellaneous debt remittance transactions may bring in Rs. 151 crores.

This will leave a gap of about Rs. 365 crores in the available resources to balance the Budget. This gap is to be filled by the expansion of treasury bills.

The annual average expenditure, both on current and capital accounts, would exceed Rs. 1,600 crores. The question is whether the internal economy of the country will be able to absorb such large outlays on nation-building activities and whether they will not generate inflationary gaps. The price level has the tendency to go upwards. The general level of wholesale prices has recorded a rise of 13 per cent in 1956. The industrial production has gone up by 11 per cent, but the production of agricultural commodities has come down by about 4 per cent. The rise in national income in 1956 was insignificant as it stood in the neighbourhood of Rs. 10,706 crores. In terms of the rise in the cost of living, the rise in the per capita income is negligible. Moreover, the rise in per capita income signifies nothing in view of the fact that the general price level as well as the cost of living is tending upwards and in consequence the rise in income has been more than neutralised by the rise in the cost of living. The country is heavily in debt, both internally and externally. The internal debt is as high as 30 per cent of the national income. The rising cost of living will result in higher costs of planned projects. The Union Finance Minister has, of course, discountenanced any proposal for scaling down of the planned expenditure; but too much unproductive expenditures will tend to be inflationary without compensatory neutralisation. The military expenditure has gone up by Rs. 50 crores in the budget estimates and in the coming five years it would mean an additional expenditure of Rs. 250 crores. The rate of capital formation has not been up to the expected level and as a result the high expenditures will bring about inflationary gaps. The introduction of the decimal coinage has been most inopportune at this moment when the price level is going upwards. The prices will move further upwards in the process of conversion into the new coinage system. If the present system could have endured for the last 1000 years or more, it could have endured another five years more. The country stands

to gain little from the new coinage system, but now it appears the country may lose in purchasing power of the rupee.

### *The Tea Industry*

In recent weeks two propositions are being made persistently with regard to the tea industry, namely, that India should revive the International Tea Agreement and secondly, India should voluntarily restrict her tea crop acreage. Now, these two suggestions are closely connected and they deserve an examination as to their desirability. India is the biggest producer of tea in the world and also the largest exporter. In 1956 Indian tea production stood at 663.7 million pounds and she exported 516 million pounds at a cost of Rs. 140 crores. The year 1956 witnessed the record export of Indian tea and this was the year when there was no International Tea Agreement. The tea agreement was born in the economic crisis of the 'thirties.' The International Tea Agreement was itself an offshoot of the world trade depression of the thirties. Since its adoption in 1933, India has borne the brunt with regard to the expenses in connection with this organisation. With a view to introducing a certain amount of stability to the tea trade and industry, export quotas were fixed, acreage restricted and new planting regulated. India, Ceylon and the Netherlands East Indies were the founder members, and at the time of the second agreement in 1938, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, Malaya and Nyasaland joined the scheme. But they all left it a few years after. The whole scheme worked satisfactorily until the Japanese occupied the North East Asia in 1942. Thereafter, tea had a seller's market.

During the last few years of the existence of the International Tea Agreement, a certain amount of unreality crept into this organization. For instance, the percentage of export quota for the first year of the new period, that is, April 1950 to March 1951, was fixed at 130 per cent of the standard quota of 348.25 million pounds and for the second year, that is, 1951-52, the export quota was fixed at 135 per cent. India could have stepped up its export of tea well above 470 million pounds. But the international market for Indian tea did not expand to any large extent. Until the year

1952, tea exports from India showed declining trends. The depression in 1952 occurred to the Indian tea industry during the currency of the International Tea Agreement and that agreement could not save Indian tea industry from the slump. The exports from India stood at 441.51 million lbs. in 1949-50; in 1950-51 they dropped to 439.24 million lbs; and they declined still further to 425.54 million lbs. in 1951-52. The International Tea Expansion Board did propaganda for teas of all countries and no special effort was made for pushing up Indian tea in foreign markets, despite the fact that India had been the major contributor to the publicity fund. Therefore in 1952 India withdrew from the International Tea Expansion Board because the Government of India thought that a separate independent organisation was needed with a view to increasing the popularity of Indian tea in foreign markets. The record exports took place in 1956 when India was not fettered by the restrictions of the International Tea Agreement.

Vickizer in his *Tea under International Agreement*, states: "World absorption of tea might have been greater, had tea prices been lower, but they were moderate as were profits in comparison with 1920. International regulation of tea industry meant restriction of supplies, higher tea prices, and improved profits to producers." The control of production was possible because of the producer-combinations in exporting countries. Vickizer further states that the concentration of financial interests in two advanced countries, the heavy concentration of commercial production in a relatively limited area under British and Dutch domination, and the existence of a relatively few strong growers' organizations greatly facilitate agreements upon regulation of trade. Likewise the concentration of buyers in London tends to make the marketing of tea a matter of more or less direct dealing between strongly organized producer interests and powerful combination reflecting consumer interests, if not representing the ultimate consumer.

Internal expansion of tea acreage was restricted from 1938 onwards except to meet the needs of local consumption. This policy was adopted in order to prevent an excess supply resulting in the sale of export tea at a low

price. The International Tea Agreement of 1938-43 provides that if production of tea in any of the producing country is greatly in excess of the amount which it is entitled to export plus its requirements for local consumption, such country shall without delay take all such steps as it may deem necessary to restrict such excess production. Therefore, the object of the agreement was mainly to assist exports, internal consumption being neglected. The agreement resulted in crop reduction. (The Indian Plantation Enquiry Commission has recommended for the revival of the international tea agreement; but in our view that will be an ill-advised step. The whole object of the agreement was to restrict production and export and thereby stabilize prices. The agreement looked after the interests of the producers only and ignored the interests of the consumers. The system of regulation carried through to plantations had not, in a period of 16 years or more, been successful in adjusting productive capacity to the growing demands. Development of the Indian tea industry was until recent years by European interests chiefly concerned with exploiting Western markets. Prices of tea until the year 1930 remained beyond the reach of the common people.

The Indian tea industry earns the highest percentage of profits among the Indian industries. The average percentage of profits stood at 16 per year. At present the prices of teas in the internal market of India have been rising because the producer-combines would not sell their teas at a price which the Indian consumer can pay except for second grade teas which remained for them as remnants after export of the quality tea to foreign markets. The Indian consumption is rising rapidly from 51.8 million pounds in 1931 to 220 million pounds in 1956. The production of teas in India is not being able to keep pace with the expanding demands both in foreign markets as well as in the internal market. India produced 663.7 million pounds of tea in 1956. Of this quantity, the export quota released for the year 1956-57 amounts to only 453.3 million pounds. This export allotment is equivalent to 68.3 per cent of the year's crop. It represents a cut of 26.7 million pounds from the quantity allowed to be exported for the year

1955-56. In that year India exported 480 million lbs. or 69.3 per cent of the crop.

The cut in export allotment is on account of the Government of India's anxiety to meet the demands of the internal market. Tea today is the biggest earner of foreign exchanges for India and if Indian exports are reduced, foreign markets which are hitherto Indian customers will be taken over by other producing countries which are competitors to India in this respect. In order to meet both the requirements of foreign and Indian markets, Indian production must be not less than 710 million pounds. But the production at present is much below that level and as a result both the internal market and the foreign markets have to be starved. So it is quite unreasonable to talk of crop restriction. On the contrary, India needs rapid expansion of tea acreage and increasing tea production, so that she may not lose the foreign markets nor does she starve the internal market.

### *New Assembly in West Bengal*

The Congress has returned to power in West Bengal with a comfortable majority. The Government will, however, have to face an opposition much strengthened in numbers as well as in quality. Indeed, the Government would not find it easy to match with such opposition figures as Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji, Shri Hemanta Kumar Basu, Shri Jyoti Basu, Shri Somnath Lahiri, Shri Satyendranarayan Mazumdar and Shri Bankim Mukherji, more so backed as they are now backed by substantial numerical strength.

As before, the Communist Party has emerged as the leading opposition party with 46 seats in the Assembly.

The final party position in the 252-member West Bengal Assembly is: Congress 152, Communists 46, Praja-Socialists 21, Forward Bloc 8, Lok Sevak Sangh 7, Revolutionary Socialist Party 3, Forward Bloc Marxists 2, Socialist Unity Centre 2 and Independents 11.

The new House differs from the old one by the increased strength of the opposition, the absence of any representative of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh. Formerly no party in the opposition was given official recognition within the Assembly as none had secured



the required minimum of thirty seats. This time the Communists by virtue of their 46 seats would automatically be given recognition as the main opposition party—unless in the meanwhile the main opposition parties (Communists, PSP, RSP, Forward Bloc, SUC) who fought against the Congress as a single bloc, in the meanwhile decided to continue their United Front within the Assembly also by working as one team under a unified leadership.

On the Congress side the Government would miss the services of five Ministers in the old Cabinet: two were defeated, two did not seek re-election and one was elected to the Lok Sabha. Eleven members of the outgoing Cabinet would thus be in the new Assembly and, almost certainly, in the new Government also. As before, the new Ministry is also expected to be led by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray. There were sixteen members in the outgoing Cabinet. The new Cabinet would not be substantially smaller.

Among those who have failed to secure re-election to the Assembly are three Ministers—Shri Sankar Prasad Mitra, Dr. Amulyadhan Mukherji and Shri Jibanratan Dhar, the Speaker, Shri Saila Kumar Mukherji, the Forward Bloc leader Shri Bibhuti Bhushan Ghosh and the Communist leaders Shri Biren Banerji and Shri Ambica Chakravarty.

In the Lok Sabha elections also the Congress has retained its position in the State substantially as it was in the first Lok Sabha. The final position of different parties in the Lok Sabha elections from West Bengal is as follows, the figures in brackets indicating the strength in the outgoing Lok Sabha: Congress 23 (24), Communists 6 (5), PSP 2 (nil), Forward Bloc 2 (nil), RSP 1 (1), Lok Sevak Sangh 1, and Independent (supported by Leftists) 1 (1). In the general elections in 1952, the Jan Sangh secured two seats in the Lok Sabha and the Hindu Mahasabha one. After Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherji's death one of the Jan Sangh seat was captured by the Communists. This year the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha have completely failed to secure even a single seat either in the State Assembly or in the Lok Sabha from West Bengal.

The notable defeats in the Lok Sabha elections this year are those of the Communist

candidates Shri Kamal Basu, Shri Nikunja Chowdhury, Shri Tushar Chatterji, the Left-supported Shri Mohit Maitra, the Hindu Mahasabha candidate, Shri Nirmal Chandra Chatterji and of the Congress candidate, Shri Ashim Krishna Dutt, all of whom were sitting members.

A preliminary analysis of the results indicates that the Congress has suffered the greatest debacle in Calcutta and the Opposition in Midnapore. The Congress hold in Northern Bengal and the countryside remains as firm as ever.

Of the 26 Assembly seats in the City of Calcutta, the Congress has gained only 8 seats (against 16 in 1952) and the principal Opposition combination of CPI, PSP, FB, FBM, RSP, eighteen. The Congress has lost seven sitting members including a Minister. In the Parliamentary elections, however, the relative strength of the Congress (1) and Opposition (3) has remained as before.

The opposite has happened in Midnapore which had sent a majority of its representatives from the opposition parties in 1952 when Congress could secure only eleven out of the 35 seats. This year there were 32 seats in all in the district and the Congress bagged all but ten seats. The Leftist reverses in Midnapore become all the more significant as it is recalled that this year they put up a united stand against the Congress and yet failed even to maintain their position—far less to gain any strength.

An analysis of the election figures by the *Statesman* discloses the following facts:

Votes polled in the district totalled 1,530,189 against 1,224,893 in 1952—an increase of 305,296 or about 24.9 per cent. The votes cast in favour of the candidates set up by the Congress, which contested all 32 seats, represents 48.5 per cent of the total against 34 per cent in 1952. The increase in the total votes cast has very slightly been reflected in those in favour of the PSP and the Communists, their totals improving on those for 1952 only by 0.8 per cent and 1.8 per cent respectively.

"Analysis of the results of individual constituencies will also suggest that some of the areas which were the stronghold of the Leftists till recently have ceased to be so."

### *The Communist Ministry in Kerala*

The most interesting outcome of the General Elections has been the installation of the First Communist Government in India in Kerala, the smallest of Indian states. The Communists have won 60 of the 126 seats in the State Assembly and, in addition, the support of five Independents whom they had backed in the elections. They had only 23 members in the now-dissolved Kerala Assembly.

The ministry there has been sworn in about April 5. The Kerala Assembly Communist Party has elected Shri. E. M. Shankaran Namboodiripad, member of the Polit Bureau of the Party, as its leader and Shri C. Achutha Menon, the Secretary of the State Committee, as the Deputy Leader. The Cabinet would be ten-strong. The Communists invited the Praja-Socialists in Kerala to co-operate with them in forming the government but the Praja-Socialist Party has declined the offer.

In availing themselves of this opportunity to exercise State power the Communists would naturally like to set up an example so that their prospects in other parts of the country may brighten up. Conversely, any failure on their part in Kerala cannot but have profound repercussions elsewhere. The Communists, therefore, have been very careful in their recent pronouncements. In judging Communist prospects it is sufficient to recall that the State with the largest population density in India and with relatively small industry to support the surplus agricultural population is one of the problem provinces in India.

The Communists have not yet announced their programme in Kerala; the announcement has been deliberately postponed till after the installation of the ministry. Shri Namboodiripad, the Chief Minister-elect, said the other day at Ernakulam that his ministry would try to tackle two main tasks: the elimination of corruption and the raising of the standard of living of the peasants, the working class and other low-income groups. Among the other reforms the government is likely to ask the Communist-dominated unions to stop any further wage-disputes. According to a report the ministers in the Communist cabinet would draw Rs. 320

per month as their remuneration besides using a car and the official residence.

The Communists have assured that they would co-operate with the Central Government and would work under the Constitution of India. Realizing the magnitude of their task they have asked for the co-operation of all. The Praja-Socialist Party, however, has turned down a proposal of the Communist Party to join the latter in the formation of a Government there.

Though there were two non-Congress Governments, in PEPSU and Kerala, in the past, the Communist Ministry in Kerala would really be the first effective Opposition Ministry in any of the Indian States. People would naturally await the results of its functioning with great interest.

### *Civic Democracy*

Closely following upon the national elections, municipal elections were held in Calcutta and Howrah on March 30. The municipal franchise is greatly restricted; so that the Congress has obtained a secure majority in Howrah where it suffered heavy defeats in the general elections. In Calcutta as well, the Congress has retained its hold on power in the Corporation. Of the 80 seats in Calcutta, Congress has secured 42, the main opposition combination, the United Citizens Committee 26 and Independents 12.

A point to note in connection with the municipal elections is that even in the matter of registering the small number of voters, the Calcutta Corporation could not overcome its usual lethargy so that the electoral rolls excluded a substantial section of the eligible voters. Instances were numerous where the Corporation failed to include in the rolls even the names of house-owners and licensees which were available from its own records. One can well imagine why the majority of the other classes of voters (tenants paying Corporation rates, matriculates of the age 21, etc.) were excluded!

The thing is that in our democracy nobody is responsible to anybody for anything—despite the fact that one of the fundamental postulates of the representative government is the accountability of the officers to the popular representatives who in turn uphold the interests of their electors. But here, the

officer whose duty it was to enroll the Corporation electors would in all probability not even be asked for the reasons for the exclusion of such a large number of voters, far less brought to book on that account. As for the popular representatives, who were there all along, they awoke up to this fact only on March 26, four days before the election and thus considered their duty done!

### *Shri Nehru's Apology*

A section of the British raised a great hue and cry over an article published in March 1 issue of the fortnightly *A.-I.C.C. Economic Review*. The article, written by the editor of the paper, Shri Harsh Dayal Malaviya, referred to the visit of the English Queen to Portugal and took this occasion to criticize the colonial policies of Great Britain and Portugal. While the language of the article in places might not pass the strictest scrutiny of taste, there was nothing particularly offensive to the Queen personally. However, even before the article was published, the British press went mad over it and characterised it as Nehru's personal insult to the Queen. The British representative in India also took up the matter with the Indian Government.

Though neither Shri Nehru nor his government had anything to do with the article in question, Shri Nehru personally apologised for the allegedly offending remarks. The matter should have ended there. But the fury of the British press was not diminished and they continued to hurl all sorts of insults to Shri Nehru and India.

Shri P. T. Chandra, *Bombay Chronicle's* correspondent, writes from London that "the magnitude of India's gesture was completely missed by the Press (in UK) . . . Indeed, some newspapers presented the news in a manner implying India's Prime Minister had been forced to do so."

The Conservative Press had no word of praise for Shri Nehru's magnanimous gesture. The *Daily Telegraph*, for example, wrote, "Mr. Nehru's mind has never been very easy to fathom. We have borne with patience the inconsistencies of his attitude to British policy and to unity within the Commonwealth . . . Mr. Nehru's followers must realise that from no one—friend, half-friend or enemy will we endure

personal attacks on the Queen. Cobras disgust even when their stroke goes wide."

Shri Nehru's apology was obviously misplaced, since the majority of the hack writers of British press does not understand the language of the gentleman. It is sufficient to recall that the British Press had no words of protest about the discussions in the American Press on the intimate life of the Queen and her husband. Of course, there were one or two papers, such as the *Manchester Guardian* and the *News Chronicle* who did not lose their sanity.

The episode has a great lesson for the Congress leaders who almost lost their bearing in tendering apologies for the article. Quite contrary to all journalistic etiquette Shriman Narayan, the Chief editor of the fortnightly, publicly denounced the editor, Shri Malaviya. He also announced his decision to tighten up the control over expression of opinion in the journal. This was hardly called for since, whatever one might think of the language used (and we do not approve of bad language), no Indian worth his salt could take any exception to the opinions expressed by Shri Malaviya on imperialist repression in Goa and Cyprus. The country would be glad to notice similar alertness on the part of the Congress leaders and the officials of the External Affairs Ministry to hold up India's honour abroad. The remarks about Shri Nehru quoted above are many times more offensive to India, and are meant to be so, than were the remarks of Shri Malaviya about the Queen.

### *Naya Paisa*

India's new currency has been introduced from April 1. The old currency would, however, retain its validity for three years. The value of the rupee, the half-rupee and quarter-rupee coins would undergo no change. The value of the other coins—two-anna, one-anna and half-anna pieces and the pice—would, however, be affected as a result of the introduction of the decimal coins. The Government has circulated an official conversion-table for changing existing coins into new coins and vice-versa. The new system of coinage is intended to simplify the accounting process and there is not much to be said against it, though the public would have to experience considerable difficulty during the transitional period.



One of the effects of a change in the currency of a country is an invariable rise in the price-level. The introduction of the *naya paisa* (official abbreviation is n.p.) has also resulted in some increase in prices—particularly retail prices. There is further the danger that unscrupulous traders might take advantage of the ignorance of the villagers to dupe them. The local administration should firmly deal with any such offences.

### *Nepal*

C. L. Sulzberger writes in the *New York Times*: Politics in Nepal "as an utterly new medium is difficult to comprehend. There are five main parties. They differ more in leaders' personalities than in professed ideology. All seem to advocate land reform and that magic word 'democracy' and all applaud the King. Likewise, each appears to assume that any opponent who claims to be liberal is automatically reactionary—and *vice versa*."

The Ranas, who had for long despotically ruled over the land until their overthrow in 1951, were now trying to stage a come-back through the elections planned for October next. Mr. Sulzberger writes: "Other members of the clan (Ranas), however, are now distributing funds for a political come-back. The Gurkha Parishad Party openly recommends a return of the Rana influences. Its leaders, naturally enough, are Ranas. The Left complains that Prime Minister Tanha Prasad Acharya has sold out to the despotic family's agents. This seems unlikely . . . As a matter of fact, Acharya joins the complaint that the Ranas are hoping for a come-back."

Referring to Indo-Nepalese relations Mr. Sulzberger writes: "Hitherto, without even indicating as much openly, India has tended to treat Nepal as a satellite. New Delhi's ambassador in Kathmandu has the prestige of an American envoy in Guatemala. The revolution which put the present regime in power was abetted by the Indians."

"Hindus remain more influential here than Buddhists. The Premier and Foreign Ministers are Brahmins with close connections in Banaras."

"However, the Nepalis have heard the virtues of neutrality explained by India and decided to lessen their dependence on that

country. They complain—much as New Delhi complains of American assistance programs—that India's aid to Nepal has too many administrative and economic strings attached. So they are subtly courting China," he adds.

Mr. Sulzberger has evidently been greatly influenced by the anti-Indian attitude of certain Nepalese leaders. But India has no designs on Nepal, nor does India stand on Nepal's friendship with other countries including the USA and China. It was India who first acknowledged Nepalese sovereignty; again it was she who proposed for Nepal's membership of the United Nations. The Nepalese movement for democracy and independence has all along drawn its inspiration from India and the political leaders seeking refuge from the Rana persecution had always found a hearty welcome in India. The revolution in Nepal, while receiving the sympathy of all democratically-minded Indians, was an internal affair in Nepal with which the Government of India had nothing to do. When the present democratic set-up was installed there, India naturally helped the new leaders overcome their difficulties. But India had never tried to interfere in internal Nepali politics. A section of Nepali politicians, it seems, has found it profitable to indulge in anti-Indi-  
hysterics, time and out of time. And in this they have been helped by the irresponsible conduct of a few Indians in Nepal.

The *Statesman's* Kathmandu correspondent writes:

"Unfortunately, during the past six years, the bugbear of anti-Indianism or pro-Indianism has been used by nearly all political leaders in the country to whip up the flagging enthusiasm of the masses whenever it suited them politically. In more cases than one, bickering against India has been summed up by the question:

"Why does not India placate so and so?" More often than not, while some political pundits criticize what they call 'Indian interference,' the same people ask:

"Why does not India interfere and stop this or that?"

"During the past two years, it has become abundantly clear that India's policy towards Nepal revolves round two factors. First, India will have nothing to do with the politics

and political thought in Nepal. That is to say, India is not in the slightest way interested to foist a pro-Indian party or leader to lead the country's affairs. That is for the Nepalese people themselves to decide.

"Secondly, India's main interest in Nepal is to see her develop and to aid her development to the best of her ability. A friendly, strong, self-sufficient and stable neighbour is an asset rather than a weak, backward and underdeveloped Nepal. India cannot compete with Powers like the U.S.A. or Russia in giving financial assistance, but, however much foreign aid flows into Nepal it is the Nepalese themselves who have to work out their destiny.

"But there are those who see in the presence of the Indian Military Mission in Nepal, an 'army of occupation,' or in the Indian personnel employed on check-posts by the Nepal Government 'subversive agents of India.' More recently, under the head: 'Pseudo-Nepalese and ourselves,' a Kathmandu daily asked whether it was in the limits of propriety to send to an important international conference a man of questionable loyalty. The Indian Military Mission to Nepal is purely a body equipped to undertake extensive training on modern lines of the Nepalese Army. Its training work is nearing completion, while it will soon undertake thorough reorganization of the Army here. This takes the form of advice tendered by the mission personnel to their counterparts in the Nepalese Army. The Military Mission is here at the request of the Nepal Government, and it will go as soon as its work is completed or whenever the Nepal Government wishes it to go, whichever is earlier.

"The Indian personnel employed in check-posts are Nepal Government employees, paid for by the Nepal Government and maintained by it. They are also here at the pleasure of the Nepal Government, with no pretensions of encroaching on a friend's hospitality."

### *Martial Law in Indonesia*

The political situation in Indonesia remains uncertain. The crisis began last year with the revolt of some army men in Sumatra. The situation got worse with the public difference between two of Indonesia's top leaders

Dr. Mohammed Hatta and Dr. Achmed Sukarno. Dr. Hatta has since resigned the Vice-Presidency. Dr. Sukarno tried to save the situation by proposing the establishment of an advisory National Council composed of the representatives of all parties including the Communist Party of Indonesia.

However, matters did not improve. A martial law was, therefore, proclaimed all over the country on March 14. In a Presidential proclamation, Dr. Sukarno said: "At this very juncture when international conditions around us are coming to a head, when foreign subversive activities are still rampant in our territory, dissension and strife are also raging among us."

"Worse still, coups were frequently attempted against the Central Government, the President continued. In the provinces the authority has been successively taken over."

President Sukarno added that such a situation could hardly be tolerated, and he had, therefore, decided upon the imposition of martial law taking up all powers to himself. He appealed to all sections of the country to unite in an effort to complete the revolution of August 17, 1945, when Indonesia had declared her independence of the Dutch Colonial rule.

The following day, March 15, President Sukarno called upon the chairman of the biggest political party of Indonesia to form a new cabinet. Mr. Swirjo, the Chairman of the Nationalist Party, to which the outgoing Prime Minister Dr. Ali Sastramidjojo also belonged, would try to form a new Indonesian Government.

Mr. Bernard Kalb, *New York Times* correspondent in Djakarta, however, points out that "Mr. Swirjo may not actually become Prime Minister. In Indonesian politics, the man chosen as 'formateur' of a cabinet does not always assume the primary post, another leader may be called in, as Dr. Ali was in 1953 when he was recalled from duty as Indonesian Ambassador to Washington to head his first cabinet."

The correspondent reports that Mr. Swirjo, in assembling ministers for the new government might ignore the Communists. The Communist Party had, however, earlier itself declared that it would not insist for a seat in the Government so long as the Nationalist

Party and the Moslem Nahdatul Ulama formed the nucleus of the government. But if the anti-Communist Masjumi Party, biggest Moslem political group in Indonesia, was also included in the Government, the Communist Party added, they would demand for the inclusion of Communist representatives in the Government.

Mr. Swirjo, however, refused to say whether he would invite the Communists to join, but Nationalist Party circles were reportedly in favour of including the Communists.

"Meanwhile," reports the *New York Times*, March 17, "Djakarta's largest newspaper, *Keng Po* observed that any Cabinet formed by Mr. Swirjo would be helpless in solving the nation's problems unless the wishes of the Army and the faction led by former Vice-President Mohammed Hatta were taken into consideration.

"Military commander in the nation's outlying provinces who rebelled against the Central Government's authority all have called for restoration of joint Sukarno-Hatta leadership.

"Army Commanders from Indonesia's seven military districts held their third secret conference today (March 16) in Djakarta's State palace. An Army spokesman refused to disclose the subject under discussion."

However, in a communique issued at the conclusion of the Conference which had been called by the Army Chief of Staff, General Abdul Haris Nasution, the army Commanders said that President Sukarno and Dr. Mohammad Hatta should "participate together in an effort towards settlement of problems being faced by the country." Reporting this *Reuter* added: "Observers here (Djakarta) interpreted the emphasis on Dr. Hatta's co-operation as a sign that the 'rebel' officers and their supporters had formed the strongest group in the conference. The officers were returning to their commands free to acknowledge or not the authority of the new Government now being formed."

#### *French Editor on Trial in Algeria*

Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, the 32-year-old French editor of the weekly *L'Express*, is now facing trial in Paris for having told the truth about French atrocities in Algeria.

The trouble arose over a series of articles he wrote in the weekly, charging the French army of excesses in military actions against the freedom-fighters in Algeria. An ardent admirer of ex-Premier, Mendes-France, M. Servan-Schreiber was highly critical of French policy in Algeria, and he, along with M. Mendes-France, advocated for a change in the personnel of the Administration of Robert Lacoste, who directed Algerian affairs as Minister Resident there. In short, they pleaded for a more conciliatory policy in Algeria and contended that elections should be held there as soon as possible.

The articles of M. Servan-Schreiber, who had just completed eight months of service in the French Army in Algeria, made a great political stir in the French capital. The army authorities could not deny the authenticity of his statements but said that the articles conveyed only one side of the story and spoke little of the "terrorist" activities.

The editor was being prosecuted on the orders of the French Minister of National Defence, Maurice Bourges-Maunoury, under the Section of the Penal Code that provided punishment by solitary confinement for knowingly participating in time of peace "in an undertaking seeking demoralization of the Army, having for its object the injury of the national interest."

The war in Algeria was costing the French treasury a good deal. The war meant an annual budgetary drain of over 1,000 million U.S. dollars, an increased import of military equipment with the resulting aggravation in the foreign trade gap, and the loss of man-power which should properly have been in industry and agriculture (the significance of the last point would be realized if it was recalled that population in France was actually on the decline). Naturally the Socialist-dominated Government of Guy-Mollet was facing stiff political opposition to its policies within the country. The Servan-Schreiber articles were but a manifestation of the widespread dissatisfaction with the present Government policies. Without trying to get at the root of the problem, the Government of Guy-Mollet has conveniently thought that suppression of the truth would provide a way out for it. The fact that earlier French Governments also had



thought similarly in the case of Indo-China and failed miserably, has apparently not been able to impress upon the present Government the utter futility of such policies.

In this connection the following news-items, which appeared in the *New York Times* of March 29 and March 31 respectively, are highly informative:

"Paris, March 28—A French general has resigned his command in Algeria under circumstances suggesting a protest against the methods employed in repression of the Moslem rebellion there.

"Gen. Jacques Marie Roch Paris de Bollardiere, one of the first to rally to General Charles de Gaulle's Free French movement in 1940 has been relieved at his own request of command in the eastern sector of the Atlas Mountains in Algeria and has returned to France.

"According to the afternoon newspaper *Le Monde*, the general resigned after a categorical refusal to submit himself to orders and to apply methods that he deems to be inadmissible."

"Commenting on the general's action late tonight, Maurice Bourges-Maunoury, Minister of Defence, indicated that the officer had resigned because his command had been reduced in strength and importance.

"Gen. Paris de Bollardiere's action appeared to give support within the Army itself to the mounting campaign of protest by French editors and intellectuals against alleged killings of unarmed Moslems, torture of prisoners under questioning and unnecessary destruction of property in operations against rebel bands.

"A group of 357 persons, including some of France's best-known writers, religious and political leaders, recently submitted to President Rene Coty a protest accompanied by a file of testimony purporting to support these charges.

"General Paris de Bollardiere himself, conforming to French Army tradition, has made no public statement on his own case.

"But he came publicly to the support of a French editor who is under indictment for publication of articles said to be calculated to undermine the morale of the French Army by accusing it of brutality in repression.

"The editor, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber of the liberal weekly *L'Express*, based many of his revelations on his own observations during eight months of service in Algeria after his recall to service as a reserve officer. He had asked whether General Paris de Bollardiere believed the *Express* articles reflected reality and were suitable for publication.

"I think," the general replied in a letter to be published in *L'Express* tomorrow, "that it was highly desirable that, after having lived our action and shared our efforts, you should follow your profession as a journalist in underlining for public opinion the dramatic aspects of the revolutionary war that confront us and the frightful danger there would be for us in losing sight, under the fallacious pretext of immediate efficacy, of the moral values that alone, until now, have been the grandeur of our civilization and of our Army."

"General Paris de Bollardiere served with distinction in the Free French forces during World War II. He was wounded at El Alamein and later parachuted into France to lead Maquis irregulars in the Ardennes. He commanded French parachute troops in Indo-China."

Paris, March 30—A rightwing demonstration in support of the French Army in North Africa was held today in Paris. During the demonstration a small bomb exploded in the broad Avenue des Champs Elysees. The bomb, which injured a woman passer-by, was thrown by a young man described by the police as of Armenian origin. Several hundred youths clashed with the police during the demonstration, which was witnessed by 5,000 to 6,000 persons. Several of them were injured. The march up the avenue to the Place de L'Etoile where France's Unknown Soldier is buried, was called by Col. Pierre Bourgoin, commander of French parachute troops in the Normandy landings in 1944. The ostensible reason was to protest against the kidnapping of French officers in Morocco. It was turned into a demonstration in favour of French power in North Africa, and against those who had attacked the action of the French Army in Algeria. Some of the marchers shouted "Mendes to the gallows!" Others tried to break into the building housing the offices of the weekly *L'Express* which currently is publishing

a series of articles by its editor, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreider, attacking what he calls the Army's brutal methods of "pacification." A window was smashed.

The slogan referred to former Premier Pierre Mendes-France, a partisan of a liberal policy in North Africa, who has been consistently supported by *L'Express*.

After having been dispersed on the Champs Elysees, several dozen demonstrators reformed near the Madeleine Church, shouting, among other things, "The Army in Power!" They smashed several shop windows and damaged parked cars before the police were able to halt them. Several arrests were made.

One of the kidnapped officers, Lieut. Henri-Pierre Perrin, returned here today from Rabat where he was turned over to French authorities by Moroccan officials yesterday. He had been in the hands of Moroccan irregular troops since last November.

Today's demonstrators, as well as Paris newspapers, also asked about another officer, Capt. Rene Mourcau, who is believed dead after his kidnapping last summer. Colonel Bourgoin has demanded his return, dead or alive and has asked for appropriate ceremonies here.

### *French in North Africa*

The methods adopted by the French in Algeria have upset the entire Arab peoples of North Africa. As a result Tunisia and Morocco are also in ferment. The following news from the *New York Times* of March 31, illustrates that:

"Rabat (Morocco), March 30—Premier Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia ended a five-day visit to Morocco today by signing a treaty of friendship and alliance between Morocco and Tunisia.

The treaty provided the final flourish for Mr. Bourguiba's Moroccan stay, but an aspect of his visit matching the treaty in importance was his preoccupation with promoting a settlement of the Algerian conflict.

In pursuit of an Algerian solution, Mr. Bourguiba had final conferences on Algeria yesterday with Moroccan leaders. Members of his entourage said that he had talked as well

with Lamine Debbaghine, chief representative of the Algerian rebellion outside Algeria.

Mr. Debbaghine, who was last in the public eye in Tunis during the recent celebrations of Tunisian independence, was said to have arrived secretly in Rabat during the last forty-eight hours.

In a brief statement to journalists before leaving Rabat this morning, Mr. Bourguiba confirmed that he had talked with Algerian representatives in Rabat but made no specific mention of Mr. Debbaghine.

Mr. Bourguiba emphasized that Tunisia and Morocco had the same ideas with regard to an Algerian settlement and indicated that he had represented both the Moroccan and Tunisian approaches in his talks with Mr. Debbaghine.

With the acceptance of the principle of self-determination by both sides, the Algerians would have a referendum with a choice of voting for either a free association with France or the *status quo* with reforms.

The Tunisian leader declined to say much about his Algerian discussions. However, he did say that "some progress" had been made in lowering the wall of distrust that has prevented the Algerians from accepting any compromise with the French.

Sources close to Mr. Bourguiba indicated that the Tunisian leader had made an effort to temper somewhat the rigid insistence of the Algerians on French recognition of Algerian independence as a condition that would take precedence over any procedures for an Algerian settlement, such as elections."

Mr. Bourguiba was said to be urging on the Algerians the acceptance of some word besides independence, and of some formula that would permit Algeria to have substantial self-government as a stage toward a possible future sovereignty of some kind. The word "auto-determination" is said to have been suggested by the Tunisian Premier.

As a result of Mr. Bourguiba's arguments, informed sources say, the Algerians have promised to give fresh consideration to possibilities for an Algerian settlement.

The Tunisian Premier's effort to bring about a peace in Algeria is indicative of the growing concern in both Morocco and Tunisia over the effects on these two countries, and

their plans for all of North Africa. Because of the Algerian war they have been unable to reach a basis for co-operation with France and for working toward such an objective as a North African federation and their participation in the exploitation of the economic resources of the Sahara."

The *New York Times*' correspondent in Paris had made the following comments on the prosecution:

"Paris, March 14—The Ministry of Defense announced today it had decided to prosecute those responsible for 'a campaign of systematic disparagement' of the army's behavior in Algeria.

"It said this campaign had redoubled in the last few days 'in a certain press and various publications.'

"This was the official response to widely published reports of the killing by troops of unarmed Moslems assumed to be rebels, of torture of prisoners under questioning, of destruction of native property as part of the military repression of the rebellion.

"Many Frenchmen have long been troubled not only about France's position in Algeria but also about the methods of army, police and civilian authorities in trying to put down an elusive rebellion carried on in guerrilla fashion inside populous towns as well as in wild mountain areas.

"A nation with still vivid memories of Nazi atrocities in concentration camps and in occupied France has become troubled by reports that similar methods have been applied by Frenchmen against Algerians. One newspaper described them as 'German methods.' The author of a new book indicting military repression in Algeria contends the French must bear the same collective guilt that was placed upon the Germans.

"In an indignant defense, the ministry responsible for the army and military intelligence said the charges brought against the armed forces would encourage and prolong the rebellion.

"The ministry did not enter a flat denial of all the charges. However, it minimized them by saying investigation had shown the alleged facts to be 'non-existent or considerably exaggerated and distorted.'

"The ministry's statement said, the pub-

lic should know that 'the few exactions' had been punished when confirmed, and that the Algerian command had been constantly told to exert rigorous control over 'operations for the maintenance of order.'

"The statement asserted the ministry had ordered inquiries into 'all the facts brought to its attention directly and even indirectly through the press.' Yet it also has a duty, the statement said, to defend the army against 'odious slanders that can only disgust all those who know the spirit and courage and sacrifice shown by officers, non-commissioned officers and troops in Algeria'."

### *Portuguese, French and British*

To cap all we give the following extract from the *Times* (London), Literary Supplement of February 1:

"Remy: *Goa: Rome of the Orient*. Translated from the French by Lancelot C. Shepard. Arthur Barker. 21s.

This book throws a very useful light upon the dispute between India and Portugal over the ancient Portuguese possessions in India. The author journeyed to Goa to find out the facts; he talked with officials and with private citizens; he interviewed Indian prisoners; he investigated all the circumstances of the several organized "satyagrahi" movements which have been designed to bring "peaceful pressure"—and not infrequently pressure which is not so peaceful—upon the local Portuguese authorities. Moreover, Colonel Remy, himself one of the most daring and determined leaders of the resistance movement in Occupied France during the last war, knows all about the methods which a Government in power can use in face of a disaffected population; it would be a very clever official indeed who could pull wool over his eyes when he sets about discovering for himself how a given body of people view the administration under whose control they live.

The conclusions at which Colonel Remy has arrived are disquieting to every impartial person. They display the Indian Government in the poorest possible light as acting much as Hitler acted in the case of the Sudeten Germans, with the reservation that Hitler had far more local support than Delhi can reckon upon. Colonel Remy is quite clear, from his careful investigations, that the Goanese have not the



smallest wish to exchange the sovereignty of Lisbon for that of New Delhi. They would be glad of more local autonomy, but they want it to be exercised under Portugal, not under India; and they are wholly opposed to the campaign now being conducted for the alleged purpose of "liberating" them from a rule which gives them all the rights that citizens of Portugal enjoy and treats everyone—Hindu, Christian, Muslim—with an impartial benevolence. In such circumstances, it is thoroughly disturbing to learn that where Colonel Remy's conclusions have not been ignored by the bulk of the Indian Press, they have been distorted.

One of the most interesting portions of the book is that in which the author estimates the effects upon Portuguese India of the Indian attitude. The effects seem comparable in a way to those which have resulted from the Arab hostility to Israel; there has been a drawing together, a new determination to make the best use of the available resources, an energetic removal of administrative shortcomings, and an increase in attachment between the citizen and the State. The whole of Colonel Remy's investigation has been conducted with a thoroughness, and reported with frankness, which readers of his earlier books have learnt to expect from him. It is a brilliantly readable book, which sets out the facts of the present against the background of the heroic past."

It only needs to be said that the "heroic past" of the Portuguese pirates in South-West India of the past, has only been surpassed by the heroism of the British in Kenya and of the French in Algeria. We only await the writings of a British hero about Algeria. The old Jezebel of London should arrange it.

### *Mystery over the Question Papers*

The School Final Examinations in West Bengal had to be postponed for three weeks on account of the mysterious disappearance of an insured parcel containing the question papers from a post office in Serampore. As a result 75,000 boys would have to endure another month's suspense.

The parcel containing the question papers disappeared from the custody of the postal authorities and so the Secondary Board Administration cannot legitimately be held responsible for this incident. The Board of Secondary Education in West Bengal was

inaugurated, it would however seem from the irregularities so frequently recurring since its inception, in a very inauspicious moment. In 1954 the question papers of more than one subject leaked out. The Government promptly superseded the Board but could hardly show any administrative improvement. Last year a parcel containing answer papers disappeared. This year the question papers have disappeared.

The fact that irregularities could occur with such alarming frequency is a pointer to the fact that everything is not as it should be. The police was reportedly investigating the missing parcels. The interests of the future of the state's education demand that the culprits be caught and given exemplary punishment.

### *D. R. Mitra Majumdar*

The grand old man of juvenile literature in Bengal, Shri Dakshina Ranjan Mitra Majumdar, whose stories have inspired generations of Bengali children, breathed his last in Calcutta on March 30. Shri Majumdar, who was eighty at the time of his death, died of gastric ulcer, and is survived by two daughters.

Dakshina Babu made a life-long effort for enriching the Bengali literature. He widely travelled through the villages of Bengal for collecting folk-tales and songs. His book *Thakurmar Jhuli* (Grandmother's Bag) is a household ornament of Bengal. It would be difficult to find a Bengali boy who has not read any of his books. During his long life he wrote more than twenty books for the children—more familiar of them being, besides the famed book already mentioned, *Dadamahshayer Thale*, *Thandi'ir Thale*, *Charu Har*, *Banglar Bratakatha*, *First Boy*, *Banglar Chhele* and *Arya Nari*. His last published book is *Chiradiner Rupkatha*. In recognition of his outstanding services to the cause of Bengali literature, Shri Mitra Majumdar was awarded a number of laurels by various organizations in Bengal. The West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee also felicitated him last year for his great contribution to the cultural heritage of Bengal. It would not be easy to fill the void created by the death of Shri Mitra Majumdar.

Our heartfelt condolence goes to the bereaved family.

## NEW FORCES IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By SENARAT GUNAWARDENE,

*Ambassador of Ceylon and Permanent Representative to the United Nations*

THE magistral theme of our time is Human Rights and an attempt to understand and evaluate the contemporary forces at work in South-East Asia or any other part of the world must, of necessity, take into account the historicity of the problem. Today is not only the child of yesterday, but the heir of all ages. We have to rethink the premises on which the social foundations of the modern state stand. The individual has, since the war, been either submerged in gigantic social experiments as in the Soviet Union and China or has blossomed out and asserted himself as in the democracies of the West and the East. For this very reason, as the world marches on the path of progress and, we trust, peace, the sublimity of the individual's search for security must assume an importance which in the context of politics and economics is full of meaning. Human Rights cover a wide field—from social and political equality to economic and spiritual emancipation. "Nihil me sum alienum pluto" is the ethics of my lecture, and it is the unconquered spirit of man which is the key to the besetting problems which face us.

You have asked me to speak today on the subject of New Forces in South-East Asia and it is advisable to think for me at the outset, to define the geographical limits of this region. I say advisable, not because I have any doubts that the distinguished audience which I am addressing is unaware of the location of this region or the countries which it encompasses, but because it is necessary today more so than in any previous times to be specific in our reference to regional groupings. It is, I think, an interesting fact of recent history that the so-called shrinking of our world has produced at the same time a narrowing in our geo-political thinking. The vague generalisations to which we have grown accustomed in previous years have been replaced by more specific categories of thought. Not many years ago Ceylon

and the other countries in South-East Asia would, at least to the majority of the western world, have been considered a part of the Far East. Today, you distinguish—and rightly so—between the Far East and South-East Asia just as much as we have learnt to distinguish between Western Europe and Eastern Europe. It is true that much of the thinking has been shaped by political events. The emergence of the new nations of South-East Asia to independence has given this region an importance which it lacked before; and the embrace of Communism by many of the countries of Eastern Europe has tended to set them apart from the nations of Western Europe. But the political events have at the same time thrown into clear relief the important cultural bonds that unite those countries in these respective regions. In Eastern Europe there is the unifying factor of Slavonic civilisation, in South-East Asia, as I shall try to show, there exists the common bond of Buddhist influence and culture. I do not mean to say that the nations of the world are becoming more parochial in their outlook. On the contrary the tendency today is for the nations to seek wider areas of association. You will recall, for instance, that the Colombo Powers Conference which was confined to nations in South-East Asia gave rise to the much wider Bandung Conference which brought together for the first time the nations of entire Asian and African continents. The point I want to emphasise is that as our knowledge of the world has increased we have been inclined to demarcate more clearly the separate geo-political regions of the world. When we speak of South-East Asia therefore we must be quite clear what countries we have in mind. There must be no blurring of the edges. When I think of South-East Asia I think of the following countries: India, Pakistan, Burma, Nepal, Ceylon, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaya and Indonesia. The mention of these countries

until but recent times would have in a Western mind no more than pleasant associations of spices, of saffron-robed monks, of intriguing art and architectural designs and by and large peaceful and easy-going people. Today the westerner is not inclined to think of this region in these terms. He sees a tremendous religious and artistic revival in these countries and describes it as *ultra nationalism*. He sees a people endeavouring to establish their economies on *socialist* lines and concludes that this is but a prelude to Communism. He notices a determined effort on the part of their governments to free their countries from embarrassing military alignments and decides that *neutrality*, as he describes this policy, is either naive or antagonistic to his ideals. He sees in these tendencies new forces but does not remember that such tendencies have always been deeply rooted in the thinking and ways of life of these people. He calls these countries new nations but ignores the fact that this area has cradled a civilization which was old when the civilising process of the west was new.

My purpose today is to attempt to show first that these so-called new forces in South-East Asia are but a resurgence of old ideals modified by the demands and aided by the techniques of the age in which we live; and secondly that these forces far from being antagonistic to democracy represent the democratic concept in their most ideal form.

The nations of South-East Asia have one very definite characteristic in common. With the exception of Thailand they have but recently emerged from centuries of imperialist exploitation. The revival of a national consciousness in this area cannot therefore be adequately explained without a reference to the impact of Western civilization in these countries. It has been often said that one of the consequences of imperialist policy was that it aided the unification of those countries wherein it was imposed. Be that as it may, it is a consequence that was never intended by the colonial powers. Imperialist policy has always been governed by the cardinal principle of *divide et impera* (Divide and Rule) and the impact of Western civilisation contributed largely to that process. For it produced a privileged class of salaried officials who were educated in the ways of the West and had

become so Westernised in their outlook that they were as little able to communicate with the people as their imperialist masters. It broke up the family unit by encouraging a drift to the town where employment was more easily available. It destroyed the temple-schools which had been the touch-stones of our ancient educational system without filling the vacuum thereby created. It ignored the existing national arts and crafts and attempted to impose with varying degree of force its own foreign culture on a people who were ill disposed to assimilate it. Above all in emphasising the material comforts of Western civilization it contributed largely to the decay of those spiritual values in which the people of South-East Asia had been reared.

I do not, for a moment, suggest that Asia or even South-East Asia has a monopoly of spiritual values or that its people are inherently more moral than the people of the West. What I do wish to emphasise, however, is that there was in the region we call South-East Asia an intricate link with religion and more particularly with Buddhism which nourished the growth and existence of those values. On the other hand, Western civilization, or at least at the time it held its sway in the East emphasised the separation of Church and State. I would like to elaborate in some detail on the humanising influence of Buddhism not merely because my country in company with Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos and Nepal is a predominantly Buddhist country, but countries like India, which is now predominantly Hindu, and Indonesia, which is largely Moslem, have at one time or other felt the spiritual influence of Buddhism. India, as you know, introduced Buddhism to the other countries of South-East Asia. It was in India that Gautama Buddha was born and it is significant today, in this predominantly Hindu State it is the statue of Buddha that adorns the Assembly Hall of the Indian Parliament. In Indonesia, I venture to think that Islam has been somewhat tempered by the Buddhist faith with the result that there is little fanaticism and none of the eagerness to wage Holy Wars which have characterised other Moslem nations. This religious link was evident not only in the educational system of South-East Asia but



also in the arts and crafts which were inevitably spiritual in inspiration. It has been recorded in our ancient chronicles that during the reign of one of our great Kings, Parakrama Bahu, a woman carrying with her precious jewels could walk the length and breadth of Ceylon without fear of molestation. I cite this not only as evidence of the existence of a unified nation long before the advent of western imperialism but also as an example of those spiritual and moral values which prevailed in our countries in ancient times.

What is happening in South-East Asia is a revival of this national and religious consciousness. There is a deep-rooted desire to resuscitate our ancient arts, to revive our national religions and reinvigorate our peoples with that national consciousness which Imperialism did so much to destroy. It is not the kind of militant nationalism on which aggression is inevitably founded. It is democratic nationalism at its best for in so far as it is wedded to spiritual values—to toleration, to goodwill and to understanding—it cannot but contribute to peace and happiness of all its peoples.

I have mentioned socialism as another of these forces operating in South-East Asia today. This again is not a new force. I have observed that in this country socialism is a word one does not use in polite society. It has come to be associated with expropriation of other people's property, with state control, with bureaucratic red tape and surprisingly enough with certain evils which we always thought were attributable to some other political creeds—such as dictatorship and police surveillance. As we understand it, however, and as our forefathers understood it, long before its Western exponents had a political doctrine—it means above all else, partnership, co-operation and social solidarity built on social justice. This ideal co-operation was very well illustrated in the pattern of society as it existed in South-East Asia in ancient times. The countries of this region were, and for the most part, still are agricultural countries. The basic unit of society in ancient times was the tight-knit village community—the *panchayat system* as it was called in India and the 'gansabbha' system as we knew it in Ceylon. The welfare of the entire community was the primary consideration with the result that there was a degree

of co-operation which our own more highly developed society would do well to emulate today. In Ceylon and India this ideal is being revived. Since the achievement of her Independence, India has settled some hundred and thirty thousand villages on these lines and we ourselves have revived the system of Village Communities and Co-operatives and established Rural Development Centres to fulfil the same purpose.

The technique of socialism must, however, be adapted to more urgent purposes. All the countries in this region are commonly described as underdeveloped. This is an unfortunate consequence of the imperialist policy which we must remedy with a minimum of delay. We have to transform colonial economies to free economies. We cannot much longer continue to be dependent on the unstable prices of our primary commodities. We need to establish our nascent industries on a sound economic basis. There are tasks which private enterprise alone cannot accomplish as quickly as we would like to do. That is why vast majority of the countries in this region advocate a certain measure of nationalisation. The Government of Ceylon has already decided to nationalise certain essential services. We have, like India and Burma, established certain state-controlled industries. These are measures we consider not only expedient but absolutely necessary if we are to fulfil the tasks before us. At the same time the governments of these countries have welcomed private enterprise to work in co-operation with the States to achieve their respective national objectives. Here again, co-operation rather than forcible expropriation is what we in South-East Asia are endeavouring to achieve.

Our efforts to eliminate poverty and the running sore of unemployment which pervade the economy of the regions are geared at the same time to determined attempts to improve the social well-being of our peoples—to eradicate disease and ignorance. We consider that our Health Services should be available to all our citizens irrespective of their ability to pay for them. We believe that full equality of opportunity is an ideal which is capable of achievement. In my country we are particularly proud that our social services are second to none in the East or perhaps in the West. Our hospital services have aroused the admiration of experts

from the West, while every citizen whatever his station in life is entitled to a full and free education at the State's expenses. In the result, the average life-expectancy of our people which only recently stood at a miserable twenty-five years is now estimated as sixty years. In the educational field we have in the past decade achieved almost eighty per cent literacy among our peoples.

I do not wish to discuss here the relative merits of nationalisation *versus* private enterprise of a planned economy as against a free one. In a country like the United States it is I think true that its national objectives can best be achieved by the maintenance of its capitalist economy, that private enterprise is in accord with the genius of its peoples. In South-East Asia, the position is somewhat different. We were never permitted to share in the industrial progress of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries because it was in the interests of our industrialist masters that the countries in this region should function as markets for their manufactured goods. We have, therefore, considerable ground to cover and a formidable handicap to overcome. We cannot afford the luxury of trial and error and the inevitable wastage which attend a capitalist system, particularly in its early beginnings. We must, therefore, plan our economy, we must develop in accordance with the genius and traditions of our people. If we have chosen socialist methods it is because they are best adapted to our needs and most in accordance with our ancient traditions and ideals. It is ridiculous to assert—and so many people often do today—that this is a prelude to Communism. Communism, at least as we know it today, depends very largely on three factors—on a totalitarian government, on police surveillance and on a materialist dogma. This philosophy is completely at variance with the temperament and the history of the people of South-East Asia. We, in South-East Asia, have practised democracy long before Western theoreticians began to assess its value and the entire spiritual philosophy of this region has been based on a belief in the equality of man, and on individual self-respect and dignity. "Wash the mud off a cultivator of paddy and you will have a king," said an 18th century English historian writing of our people.

I now come to that much abused and maligned

word "neutralism." We, in South-East Asia, prefer to say that our foreign policy is governed by the principle of non-alignment with powers, but I shall use the word neutralism since this is how you describe it in the West.

May I begin by discussing what neutralism is not. In the first place it is not isolationism. Rudyard Kipling once wrote these lines of our people:

"The East bowed low before the blast  
In patient deep disdain  
It let the legions thunder past  
And plunged in thought again."

There are people in the West who believe that our policy is still governed by this attitude. They could not be farther from the truth. However disdainful we may be, we cannot afford the luxury of being unconcerned—certainly not when the modern legions are represented by hydrogen bombs, inter-continental ballistic missiles. Believe me, we are very much concerned with what goes on around us.

Secondly, neutralism is not derived from a cynical belief that it is possible for us to play one side against the other. If we are not naive, neither are we cynical. The whole philosophy of our people is testimony to this. We are, of course, receptive of aid, even to the ideas which Western democracies and the Soviet Bloc are prepared to give us, provided they accord with our philosophy of life. We are not prepared to mortgage either our self-respect or our independence in return for whatever assistance we may obtain. And as we have shown quite clearly in the United Nations that we have not failed to criticise both the West and the Soviet Union when we thought it necessary.

Finally, we are not uncommitted. The so-called uncommitted nations of South-East Asia are committed to the hilt. They are committed to the maintenance of goodwill and understanding between nations, to decent relations between States and above all they are committed to peace. No one needs peace more than the peoples of South-East Asia; and it is only in an atmosphere of world peace that we can achieve those social objectives to which our efforts are directed. Nationalism is not then a negative policy. It is a positive dynamic creed. It stems from the belief that peaceful co-existence between nations is not merely desirable, it is vitally necessary if mankind is to survive. It

is governed by the knowledge if all the nations of the world were to align themselves in various military blocs, total war would be inevitable whether these nations like it or not. We, in South-East Asia, believe that we are best fitted by virtue of our history and our philosophy to undertake the vital task of bridging the gulf between nations; and we do so in the full knowledge that we have everything to lose if we fail in this purpose.

Finally, there is in South-East Asia another force, another principle which is seldom mentioned in the West when the policies of our countries are discussed. In a sense this is the greatest force of all since all other forces stems from it. Yet to call it a force is somewhat paradoxical. Rather may I say that it is a way of life. You may call it non-violence, you may call it *ahimsa*, you may even wish to call it pacificism. But whatever description you may give it, it is a spirit which has animated our peoples from the time of Gautama Buddha to Mahatma Gandhi. It was the spirit of non-violence, of *ahimsa* which enabled our peoples to secure their independence with the minimum amount of bloodshed, it is the spirit which animates us today when we urge the peoples of the West to abandon the senseless armaments race and explore every avenue possible in their search for peace. Unless we learn not merely to live and let live but to understand that unless we let live, there can never be goodwill between nations. Abraham Lincoln expressed this spirit very well when he said: "With malice towards none and with charity to all." We, in South-East Asia, remember Lord Buddha's expression of it: "Hatred cannot be overcome by hatred. Only by non-hatred can hatred be overcome."

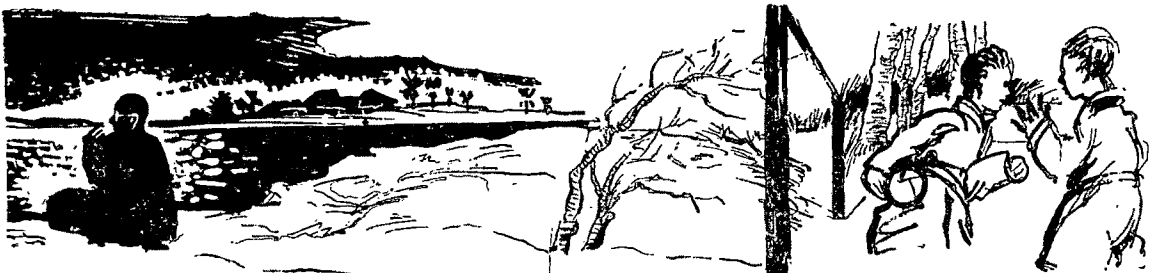
The categorical imperative of our age is what history has often held up as a lesson: adapt yourselves or die. Is it unreasonable then that we should search for a synthesis of the tradi-

tions which moulded us and the forces that compel us to an emancipation of the body and the spirit? To understand the character of a people we have to turn on it the limelight of its history. Having emerged from the thralldom of empires we are now collecting together the strands of loyalty which emerge as nationalism. The sense of unity which pervades us is a spiritual reaction of the mind against a manifoldness. We have always believed that the temple of truth must be built on an eminence and we have been prepared to tread the lonely path in arriving at the truth.

We have experienced vicissitudes and troubles. We have seen better days and worse. We have learned that in politics as well as in the things of the spirit there is a moderation which it is prudent to observe. It must be conceded that the political, economic and religious creeds of the West have been subjected to assaults. Everything seems to be going through a transition. Social morality, intellectual formulae, legal and economic relationships have all broken loose from their old moorings and are seeking readjustments. There is a void which the West has never penetrated, still less understood the East. Our distinctive spirituality depends upon our ability to think of things as a whole, to treat masses as social units and to fulfil our destiny by an appeal to reason. Our allegiance to the common ideal of peace and human happiness must be at once vivid and intelligent. For what there is of purpose in the world, what soil of goodness also is there by the deliberate effort of men.\*

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\* This is the ninth annual Mary Keatinge Das Memorial Lecture given on December 10, 1956, at Columbia University, for promotion of Indian studies and fostering cultural relations between India and the United States. The lectures have been provided for by a fund established in the University by Taraknath Das Foundation.





# TRIBES IN INDIA—THEIR CLASSIFICATION

BY PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (*Geog.*), M.Com.

## INTRODUCTION

The total population of India is 356,829,485, out of which the Scheduled Tribes account for 19,11,498.<sup>1</sup> Article 366(25) of the Constitution of India has defined "Scheduled Tribes" as "such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purpose of this Constitution." By the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, issued by the President in exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (1) of the Article 342 of the Constitution of India, 212 tribes in 14 States have been declared to be Scheduled Tribes.<sup>2</sup> These tribes constitute 5.36 per cent of the total population of the country, i.e., out of every 1,000 Indians, 54 belong to the tribal community.

## CLASSIFICATION

It is a somewhat difficult task to classify the tribes into different groups. However, the Indian Commissioner for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes recently investigated the possibility of adopting a classification criterion going beyond the legal concept cited above. With this aim in view the different State Governments were asked to suggest the characteristics which seemed to them most suitable for distinguishing the so-called "Aboriginal" groups from the rest of the population. The variety of elements suggested shows the difficulty inherent in such an attempt. For instance, (i) The Assam Government gave these characteristic features: (a) descent from Mongoloid stock, (b) being members of the Tibeto-Burman linguistic group and (c) the existence of a unit of social organisation of the village clan type; (ii) the Bombay Government: residence in forest areas; (iii) the M.P. Government: tribal origin, speaking a tribal language and residence in forest areas; (iv) the Madras Government: a primitive tribal way of life and residence in less easily accessible hills and in remote or interior

forests, with little or no contact with other population groups; (v) the Orissa Government: pre-Dravidian or Mongoloid racial origin; (vi) the West Bengal Government: residence in jungle and tribal origin; (vii) the Hyderabad Government: residence in jungle, animistic religion, the use of local dialect, forcible marriage, hunting, fishing and gathering of forest products as the main means of subsistence, etc.; (viii) the Mysore Government: habitation in remote hilly tracts in the jungle, (ix) the Travancore Government: habitation in the jungle, tribal religion and certain racial or cultural characteristics, (x) the Bhopal Government: habitation in remote jungle and hill districts, nomadism, hunting and gathering of forest fruits as the main means of subsistence; (xi) the Vindhya Pradesh Government: dark skin, flat nose, preference for fruits, roots and animal flesh, rather good grains, the use of bark and leaves of trees as clothes on ceremonial occasions, nomadism, witch-doctoring and the worship of ghosts and spirits.<sup>3</sup>

From the above description it will be evident that different Governments have given different characteristics for the people to be labelled as tribals, although certain features are common to them all. We may classify them on the basis of their (i) Territorial distribution; (ii) Linguistic affiliation; (iii) Occupation or economy; (iv) Physical characteristics; and (v) Culture-contact.

### (I) TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION

According to the first classification, they may be divided into four important groups: (a) the tribes living in the northern and north-eastern zone; (b) tribes inhabiting the central zone, (c) tribes scattered over the extreme corners of south-western India in the hills and the converging lines of the Ghats; and (d) small groups in several parts of the country or even within the political boundary of the country.

(a) The northern and north-eastern zone consists of the sub-Himalayan region and the mountain valleys on the Eastern Frontiers of India which merge imperceptibly with those of Burma in the South-east. The easternmost tribal concen-

1. *Census of India*, Paper No. 4 (1953), Special Groups, 1951 Census, p. 16.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 38-41 and 46-47. Of these 29 are in Assam; 24 in Bombay; 31 in M.P.; 40 in Madras; 12 in Orissa; 7 in West Bengal; 3 in M.B.; 6 in Mysore; 18 in Tripura; 14 in U.P.; 7 in Bhopal and 3 in Manipur.

3. L. M. Shrikant: *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the period ending 31st December, 1951*, pp. 109-11 (1952).

tration is found in Assam, Manipur and Tripura, where they number 2.1 million.

The most important tribes living between Assam and Tibet may be mentioned the Aka, the Daffa, the Miri, the Gurung, and the Aptanic on the West of the Subansiri river, and the Gallong, the Minyong, the Pasi, the Padam and the Pangi in the Dehong valley. The Mishmi tribes live in the high ranges between the Debong and Lohit rivers, the Chulikata and Belejiyas on the western and the Digaree and the Meju on the eastern parts. Farther east are found the Khamtis and the Singhpos and beyond them, converging on the south, are the different Naga tribes occupying the mountain valleys on both sides of the Patkoi.

The Naga tribes consist of five major groups: the Rangpan and the Konyak in the northern; the Rengma and the Sema, and the Angami in the western; the Ao Lahota, the Phom, the Chang, the Santam and the Yimtsunger in the central; the Kacha and the Kabui in the southern and the Tangakhul and the Kalyo-Kengu in the eastern section. South of the Naga hills running through the States of Manipur, Tipperah, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, live the Kukis, the Lushais, the Lakhers, the Chins, the Khasis and the Garos—many of whom are really overflows of the tribes from across the Frontiers or are closely related to them. In the Sub-Himalayan region in Sikkim and the northern portions of Darjeeling there are a number of rather primitive tribes of whom the Lepchas are the best known. In the U.P. also a number of tribes such as the Tharus, Bhoksas, Khasas, Korwas, Bijars, Bhuia, Majhi, Cheri, Raji, and Kharwar are found.

(b) The central zone, which is separated from the north-eastern zone by the gap between the Garo hills and Rajmahal hills, consists of plateaus and mountainous belt between the Indo-Gangetic plain to the north and roughly the Krishna river to the South. In this zone we have another massing of tribal peoples in M.P. with extensions in U.P., M.B., and Hyderabad.

The important tribes inhabiting this zone beginning from the Eastern Ghats and Orissa hills are the Savaras, the Gadabas, and the Boridos of the Ganjam district; the Juangs, Kharias, the Khonds, the Bhumjis and the Bhuia of the Orissa hills. In the plateau of the Chota Nagpur live the Mundas, the Santals, the Oraons, the Hos and the Birhors. Further west along the Vindhya

ranges live the Katkaris, Kols, and the Bhils, the latter extending as far to the north-west as the Aravalli hills. The Gonds form the largest group and occupy what is known as the Gondwanaland and extend southwards into Hyderabad and the adjoining States of Kankar and Bastar.

On both sides of the Satpuras and around the Maikal hills are found similar tribes like the Korkus, the Agarias, the Pardhans and the Baigas. In the hills of Bastar state live some of the most picturesque of these tribes, viz., the Murias, and the Hill Murias of the Abujhmar hills and the Bison-horn Murias of the Indravati Valley. Majority of these people show similarity of race and culture.

(c) The third zone consists of that part of the Southern India which falls south of the river Krishna (below latitude 16°N) stretching from Wynad to Cape Comorin. From the fact that they occupy these marginal areas and also from the records in the oldest Tamil literature of the Sangam period they appear to be one of the most ancient and primitive inhabitants now living in India having been pushed by the intrusion of more advanced people into their present habitats, where safety and shelter were found against increasing pressure.

Beginning from the north-east the Chenchus occupy the arc of the Nallamallais hills across the Krishna and into the Hyderabad State. Along the Western Ghats from the Koraga of South Kanara, the Yeruvas and the Todas living in the lower slopes of Coorg hills; the Irulas, Paniyans and Kurumbas of Wynad, and stretching almost to Cape Comorin along the ranges of Cochin and Travancore and sheltered in the isolation of the forest are found the most primitive of Indian aborigines such as the Kadar, the Kanikkars, the Mal-vadan, the Malakurvan, with many of their original traits still preserved.

(d) In addition to these three major zones there is a fourth small and isolated zone consisting of the Andamans and the Nicobar Islands. The main tribes living in this zone are the Jarawa, the Onge, the North Sentinelese, the Andamanese and the Nicobarese; though separated from the main body of India's aboriginal tribes, they are ethnologically connected with them.

## (II) LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

Linguistically these tribes may be divided

into a number of groups based on their affiliation to the various families of languages:

(a) The Austro-Asiatic linguistic branch under which come the Kol or Munda speeches of the Central and Eastern India, and Khasi of Assam. The languages spoken in different areas are: Nicobarese in the Nicobar Islands; Santali (2,811,578 speakers), found in Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Assam; Mundari (536,338); Ho (599,876); Kharia (180,000); Bhumij (101,508); Garo (239,816); Khasi (230,982) and a few others which belong to Bihar and Assam. The language of Korku (170,607) is spoken in M.P. and Berar; while Savara (Saura) (256,259) and Gadaba are spoken in Orissa. Outside the Kol group, there is the language of Nicobarese (only 10,000) in the Nicobar Island.<sup>4</sup>

(b) The Dravidian Linguistic Group is popular in Central and Southern India. It is spoken by Gonds—Gondi (1,232,886) in M.P., Hyderabad and Andhra States; Khondh or Khond (280,561) in Orissa; Kui (206,509); Kurukhor Oraon (644,042) in Bihar and Orissa; Malto (71,000) in Rajmahal Hills in Bihar; the other tribes under this group are: Maler, Polia, Saora, Koya, Paniyan, Chenchu, Irulas, Kadar, Malser and Malakurwan.<sup>5</sup>

(c) The Tibeto-Chinese family includes

Where found	Hunting and collecting stage.	Shifting or Jhum cultivation, lumbering, manufacturing catechu	Settled agriculturists who keep poultry, cattle, know weaving, spinning, pottery and terraced-farming
U.P.	Raji	Karwa, Saberia, Bhuia, Kharwar	Tharu, Majhi, Bind, Bhoksa, Khasa, Kol
Bihar	Kharia, Birhors	Korwa, Asur	Munda, Ho, Tamaria, Oraon
Assam	Kuki, Konyak, Nagas	Naga tribes, Garos, Lakhers	Khasi, Manipuri
W. Bengal	Kuki	Garos, Malpaharia	Polia, Santhals
M.P.	Hill Maria	Muria, Dandami, Maria, Gond	Parja, Bhatra
Madras and Hyderabad	Koya, Paliyan, Conta-Reddi, Hill Pantaram	Khonds, Kurumba, Gonds, Saora, Mudavan	Badaga, Kota, Irulas, Parja
Orissa	Juang	Saora	
Bombay and Rajasthan	Bhils	Bhils	Bhils and Gonds.

the tribal languages of various people belonging to the Mongoloid element; and they are found along the southern slopes of the Himalayas, from the northern Punjab to Bhutan and also in northern and eastern Bengal and in Assam, e.g., the Nagas, the Kukis, the Abhors, the Daflas, the Miris, the Khasis, and the Mikirs.

### (III) OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

The tribes of India not only speak different languages, but also have distinctive economy of their own. They live in different economic stages ranging from food-gathering and hunting through shifting cultivation to settled plough cultivation, e.g., the Birhor, Korua and Hill Marasia depend on food-gathering and hunting for their livelihood. The Baiga, Pauri (hill) Bhuiyan, Jhuang and Kutia Kandh tribals are shifting cultivators. The Munda, the Santal and the Oraon depend primarily on permanent plough cultivation for their living. The Naga tribes have developed a system of terraced cultivation with elaborate means of irrigation by aqueducts.

Dr. Hutton classified these tribes into three groups: (i) Primitive tribes collecting forest produce, (ii) Primitive tribes, pastoral, and (iii) Tribes practising agriculture, hunting, fishing and industries.

The following table shows the economic status of the tribes:<sup>6</sup>

4. *Census of India*, Paper No. 1 (1954), Languages, 1951 Census, p. 8.  
5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. D. N. Majumdar: *Races and Cultures of India*, p. 92.



## (IV) PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(a) Physically the tribes of the North-East frontier are Mongoloid with light skin colour, straight and dark hair, flat nose and prominent cheek bones. Majority of them are of medium stature with long heads, scanty hair growth on body and face, and almond-shaped eyes. All these tribal people, including the women, are muscular with great development of calf-muscles. They are great mountaineers and carry a considerable amount of loads to high altitudes. They are healthy, hard-working and of independent spirit and their life is well-balanced with democratic councils and considerable stress on personal liberty of thought and action. They have childlike simplicity. They are very honest but not trained for sustained labour and concentration of mind.

This type is represented by the Nagas, Semi-Nagas, Chakmas, Mughs, and Lepchas.

(b) In the central zone the Negrito strain is not marked. The tribes very largely conform to the pattern of what are called the "Australoid characters." Physically they are of short to medium stature, dark-skinned with long head, and generally possessing curly but not frizzly hair, broad and flat nose but depressed at the root, fleshy everted lips. They are strong, muscular and well-built.<sup>7</sup>

This type is represented by the tribes like the Chenchus, Kurumbas, Yeruvas, Malayans, Mundas, Kols, Santals and Bhils.

(c) In the Southern zone there is an undoubted Negrito strain, although at present greatly submerged, still surviving in some of the more primitive and isolated of these tribes such as the Kadars of Perambiculan and hills of Cochin, and the Irulas and Panyans of the Wynaad. Physically they are of short to medium stature, of deep chocolate brown skin colour, small head, bulbous forehead, smooth brow-ridges and feeble chin. The face is short and protruding and the nose flat and broad and the lips are thick and everted, the head shape is long, hairs fine and of wooly nature, and the body well-developed.

At the present time they are greatly inter-mixed and it is only in the extreme interior that more archaic types are to be found.

## (V) CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO CULTURE-CONTACT

There are four main cultural divisions among the aborigines. The first two classes consist of the comparatively small block of real primitives living in the hills. Their religion is characteristic and alive; their tribal organisation is unimpaired; their artistic and choreographic traditions are unbroken; their mythology still vitalizes the healthy organism of tribal life. Geographical conditions have largely protected them from the debasing contact of the plains.

The wilder aborigines have to be subdivided into four sections: (a) The first class, in the most primitive and simple stage of all, comprises Hill Marias of Bastar State, the Juangs of Keonjhar and Pal-Labara, the Gadabas and Bondos of Orissa, the Baigas of Pandaria and Kawaedha, etc. This group has the following characteristics: (i) Its members live a largely communal life like that of the Hill Marias, the Hill Baigas and the Juangs. (ii) Economically they share one another's property. (iii) Their life still centres round a peculiar form of agriculture (Jhum). (iv) They are shy of strangers, but among themselves honest, simple and innocent. Crime is rare and women are virtuous.

(b) The second class lives in regions equally remote. They are equally attached to their solitude and to their ancient traditions, but they have begun to change in many ways. The important tribes of their class are Bison-horn Marias or the Bhomia, and Binjhar and Baigas. Their chief characteristics are: (i) Their village life has become individualistic. (ii) They no longer share things with one another. (iii) Axe-cultivation is more a habit rather than a part of their life. (iv) They are more accustomed to outside life and are generally less simple and honest than the above class.

(c) The third class of aborigines is the most numerous. It consists of all those who under the influence of external contact have begun to lose their hold on tribal culture, religion and social organisation.

(d) The fourth class, which consists of the old aristocracy of the country represented today by the great Bhil and Naga chieftains, the Gond Rajas, a few Binjhar and Bhuiya land-

7. V. Elwin: *The Aborigines* (O.U.P Pamphlet on Indian Affairs, No. 14), pp. 8-12.

lords, Korku noblemen, wealthy Santal and Oraon leaders and some highly cultured Mundas. These retain the old tribal names and their clan and totem rules and observe elements of tribal religion though they generally adopt the full Hindu faith and live in modern style.

The process through which the tribal cultures are usually transformed or modified may be:

(i) *Simple adoption*, which means the acquisition of technical skill, adoption of tools, implements, ideas, customs and rites by one social group from another, e.g., the Warli of Thana district is yet simple and unostentatious, puts on a loin cloth without anything on his head but his colleague in the south being in constant contact with the Kolis puts on a shirt, dhoti and turban after the latter's fashion. Similar taking over of the elements of material culture from neighbouring groups is found in all tribes today—especially the Bhils, the Gonds, the Santhals, etc.

(ii) *Acculturation*, which is the process of change due to contacts with other people. It involves acceptance and adoption. A tribe in contact with civilization may accept some of the traits of their neighbours, e.g., the employment of Hindu priests in indigenous ceremonies and festivals among some of the tribes in Bihar is an example of simple acceptance. Similarly, Munda tribes have accepted some of the cultural traits from their neighbours, while Rajbansis have shown an adaptation to Hindu culture. The Lambadies of the Deccan have taken to agriculture, they have adopted the dress of their neighbours and the tribe is divided into sections based on occupations. Similar adaptation is found among certain sections of the Gonds, the Raj Gonds and the Navgharia Gonds and the Bhils.

(iii) *Assimilation*, i.e., by a gradual drift to Hinduism. When certain members of a primitive tribe move down into the plains they tend to become assimilated, in contrast to other members who remain behind. The evidence of assimilation in many cases is apparent. Certain Santhals of Bengal give distinctly Hindu names to their children, practise child-marriage before the age of 7, revere the Tulsi plant, abstain from beef, "cleanse" their living quarters with cow-dung, decline food cooked by Muslims, cremate their dead; the married women put

the vermilion mark on their forehead and the iron bangle in their hands.<sup>8</sup>

#### EFFECTS OF CULTURE CONTACTS

The effects of such contacts have been very far-reaching on the life of the aboriginals. Contacts with civilisation have undermined social solidarity, invaded tribal security, introduced discomfort, disease and vice. The results may be detailed as below:

(i) The rapid opening up of the communications has resulted more in conflict than in useful contact, not necessarily a conflict of arms but of culture and material interest. Says Dr. Hutton, "Attempts to develop minerals, forests or land for intensive cultivation can only be made at the expense of the tribes whose isolation is thus invaded; tribal customs which regulate the ownership, usufruct or transfer of land are normally superseded by a code in the application of which the tribe is deprived of its property, generally in the name of law, either by alienation to foreigners or by transferring the trusteeship of a tribal chief into absolute ownership of a kind foreign to the customs of a tribe. The complicated system of administration of justice has tended to impair the natural truthfulness and honesty of the people and the social solidarity of the tribes and has weakened the authority of the social heads and the respect they formerly commanded." In spite of the best intentions, a lot of injustice is done to the aboriginals by the judges and magistrates and the police officers of all grades owing to their ignorance of customs and mentality of the aboriginal tribes they have to deal with.

(ii) The introduction of the outstill system in tribal areas, in mines and industrial centres, where they frequent for employment, has led to an increase in drunkenness and immorality. "The temptation of distilled liquor," wrote Shri S. C. Roy, "introduced by the Government, in some aboriginal areas is another evil that is working havoc—economically, morally and physically."

(iii) One of the most important effects of contacts has been the spread of diseases in tribal areas. Mills has shown, while writing about the effects on some primitive tribes of Assam of contact with civilization, that

8. *Census of India*, Vol. V (Bengal and Sikkim), Pt. I, 1931, p. 383.

"Improved communications while they have immensely facilitated internal trade, have undoubtedly spread diseases; not only have specific diseases such as V.D. and T.B. been introduced, but epidemics have spread more quickly. The opening of the road to Manipur has led to an increase in prostitution." Emigration of labour from tribal areas to plantations and factories, where conditions are not favourable to settlement, has been the main source for the spread of epidemic diseases. The lure of free life unhampered by social control pulls women to plantations and factories where they are tempted to a corrupt life and the large incidence of venereal disease among the labourers is directly traceable to such indiscriminate mixing of the sexes. Missionaries and the philanthropic agencies have caused T.B., and other contagious and infectious diseases to spread in tribal areas through indiscretion, namely, by doling out second-hand clothes and apparels collected from the dead or the deceased, which are a foci of infection.

(iv) The village has ceased to be a living community; it is now an aggregate of isolated units. Old myths are being forgotten, the old gods neglected. Many of the traditional dances which used to provide recreation to the youths of both sexes, translating their joys and sorrows into the rhythm, are being abandoned. Village politics, rivalry and social disputes are replacing their old-time recreation. The effects of this transfer of interests have already been evident in the high incidence of imported diseases, poor physique, inferiority complex and a bitter antagonism to advanced groups in the neighbourhood.

(v) A large number of tribes have been living on hunting and collection of jungle products supplemented by Jhum cultivation. The effects of Jhum cultivation have led to strict rules regarding denudation of forests and today many of the tribes (who lived by shifting cultivation) have come down to the plains though most of them have not succeeded in adapting themselves to other kinds of agriculture. This is mostly due to tribal inertia, shy-

ness of the aborigines, their apathy for administration and, as Dr. Hutton says, "may be due to ignorance of appropriate magico-religious ceremonials necessary for other types of farming."

(vi) Many tribes have failed to maintain their tribal structures and have either been assimilated to more vital stocks or have withdrawn themselves from contacts as a defensive measure. The Andamanese, Korwas, Todas and Chenchus have fallen on evil days and are preparing themselves for exit. Some other tribes have left their tribal moorings, and have settled in the neighbourhood of higher cultural groups whom they serve. Today they have developed some sort of interdependence. The Gond tribe of M.P. may be taken as an example.

(vii) The nomadic tribes who secured their livelihood by catering to the periodical requirements of settled communities like the Marwari or the Lakhota supplying agricultural implements to the latter or repairing their indigenous tools and utensils, the Nats supplying crude nostrums for the restoration of the lost manhood, the Kanjars providing amusements, acrobatics and dances for the village communities, find it difficult to continue their customary life and have enlisted themselves into the ranks of criminal tribes whose attention to the rural communities is a perpetual concern of the administration.

(viii) Lastly, the itinerant seller of goods and trinkets, the moneylender, the licensee of excise shops, collectors of lac, honey and other forest produce are mostly aliens in culture and language. They have settled in tribal areas and have taken advantage of the gradual drift of tribal society from a moneyless economy to one in which exchange depends on the circulation of money. The implications of money economy are better understood by them and thus they have succeeded in solidly entrenching themselves in tribal areas and today they are a source of great discomfort to the tribal people. In many areas the lands have passed from the aborigines to the moneylenders and *sahukars* who make the tribals work for them.





# THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT IN THE WORLD TODAY

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EVER since 1950 when the Korean War started—nay, even earlier since April, 1949, when the North Atlantic Treaty was signed—the armaments spiral in the world has been revolving at a dizzy speed. The United Nations, as a mountain in labour for some dozen years, has not been able as yet to produce even the proverbial mouse in the field of disarmament. Rather, its Assembly and Councils, Commissions, Committees and Sub-Committees have become forums for continuous but fruitless repetition of identical arguments on disarmament with such bewildering complexity that few but experts can see where the trend is actually leading. Indeed, debates under the U.N. on disarmament might well be described as “cheiving the words” by brainy wranglers seemingly under instructions from their governments to maintain an iron rigidity of outlook which does not even try to see the opponent’s point of view.

Yet the armaments race has now brought us to a terribly disturbing situation. While we labour and tax ourselves for preparing weapons for war, our common enemies—hunger, disease, violence and ignorance—are silently and steadily marching upon all of us. Moreover, to the ancient horror of war was added a new and deadly dimension when on August 6 and 9, 1945, under orders of the then President of the U.S.A., Mr. Truman, two atomic bombs were dropped on Japan to compel her to accept terms of surrender. During the last dozen years newer and deadlier weapons have been discovered and are being tested in spite of warnings from scientists and statesmen regarding their evil effects. In his famous speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 8, 1953 President Eisenhower declared :

‘Atom bombs today are more than 25 times as powerful as the weapons with which the atomic age dawned, while hydrogen weapons are in the ranges of millions of tons of TNT equivalent. Today, the United States’ stockpile of atomic weapons which, of course, increases daily exceeds by many times the total equivalent of the total of all bombs and all shells that came from every plane and every gun in every theatre of war through all the years of World War II. A single air group, whether afloat or land

based, can now deliver to any reachable target a destructive cargo exceeding in power all of the bombs that fell on Britain in all of World War II. In size and variety the development of atomic weapons . . . has been such that atomic weapons have virtually achieved conventional status within our armed forces. In the United States, the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Marine Corps are all capable of putting this weapon to military use.”<sup>1</sup>

The U.S.S.R., which was rather some four years late in the atomic race, having discovered her atomic weapons only in the summer of 1949, appears to have gone ahead of the U.S.A. by August, 1953 when she even exploded her first H-bomb. The U.S.A. tested her H-bomb only in March, 1954.

The original Hiroshima bomb was equal to mere 20,000 tons of TNT. In scientific circles they now talk about a 60-megaton bomb or a bomb of 60 million tons of TNT; and this means that continents are now as vulnerable as cities. During the summer of 1956 it was reported that the Pentagon was thinking even in terms of cobalt bombs. If exploded sufficiently high above the earth such a bomb consisting of a hydrogen-plutonium core and a cobalt skin would spread radio-active cobalt dust sufficiently to wipe out life altogether and render the planet sterile for centuries.<sup>2</sup>

## ATTEMPTS FOR DISARMAMENT UNDER THE U.N.

What, then, has the U.N. done to deal with this “biggest arms race in the history of man”?<sup>3</sup> Even when the U.N. was an alliance, and not an organization under the U.N. Charter, governments of the U.S.A., the U.K., the U.S.S.R. and China declared from Moscow on October 30, 1943 that they would “confer and co-operate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post war period.”<sup>4</sup>

1. *United Nations Bulletin*, Vol. XV, No. 12, December 15, 1953, p. 556.

2. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, July 1, 1956, Editorial.

3. John MacLaurin: *The United Nations and Power Politics*, 1951, p. 173.

4. Goadrich and Hambro: *Charter of the U.N. Commentary and Documents*, Second Edition, 1949, pp. 571-2.

As the World War II ended, direct efforts for disarmament began anew under the U.N. On January 24, 1946 the General Assembly set up an Atomic Energy Commission to deal with the problems arising out of the discovery of atomic energy. In February, 1946 the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47 of the U.N. Charter, started work to draw up a set of basic principles which should govern the organization of U.N. Armed Forces. In February, 1947 the Security Council also set up a Commission on Conventional Armaments. The whole problem of disarmament was thus split into parts, each in charge of a separate body of the U.N., apparently on the exploded principle that things done by halves will somehow be done right. The U.S.S.R., of course, desired that all aspects of the problem in their organic interconnexions should be discussed at the highest level through the Security Council, which was given by the U.N. Charter the primary responsibility for the maintenance of International peace and security.<sup>5</sup> The Western Powers thus secured a procedural victory over the U.S.S.R. in the Cold War that started immediately the hot war ended—a hot war, indeed, in which the U.S.S.R. might have been an enemy of the Western Powers.<sup>6</sup>

In May, 1948 the AEC reported to the Security Council that it was useless to continue its work until a political accord had been reached between the Western Powers and the U.S.S.R. In July, 1948 the MSC informed the Security Council that it was not in a position to undertake final review of the over-all strength and composition of the U.N. Armed Forces or to make further progress in the matter until agreement had been reached in the Security Council on the General Principles. In August, 1948 the CCA also reported that "a system of regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces can only be put into effect in an atmosphere of international confidence and security" and that "provision must be made for effective enforcement action in the event of violations."<sup>7</sup>

Thus by the middle of 1948 the different bodies dealing with disarmament were dead-locked

because of political differences. In November, 1948 the General Assembly adopted two resolutions on disarmament: one approved the general findings, recommendations and specific proposals of the AEC based mainly on U.S. suggestion requiring surrender of certain parts of national sovereignty for purposes of effective inspection and control by the international authority; and the other proposed that the CCA should devote its first attention to obtaining and checking information from Member States on their effective and conventional armaments.

Nothing could be done to create the U.N. Armed Forces referred to in Article 43 of the U.N. Charter. But on the basis of a report submitted by the Secretary-General in September, 1948, the General Assembly, in spite of protests from Communist States, authorised him in November, 1949 to establish a U.N. Field Service with a ridiculous strength of up to 300 persons only. The uniting for peace resolution of November, 1950 adopted by the General Assembly in spite of Communist protests provided for a Collective Measures Committee. But it appears to enjoy very little confidence of the Members of the U.N., because the U.S.S.R. and China have been excluded from it.

No agreement was reached between the Western Powers and the U.S.S.R., the latter continuing to insist that the AEC should prepare two draft agreements, one on the control of atomic energy and the other on the prohibition of atomic weapons, both to come into force, at least, simultaneously, if atomic weapons could not be prohibited unconditionally. Similarly, little progress was made by the CCA whose plan for making a census of the armed forces of the Members of the U.N. and their armaments—excluding, of course, atomic arms, in spite of a Russian suggestion in 1949 for their inclusion—was rejected by the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. held that there should be prior agreement on the principle of a one-third reduction of armaments and armed forces by the permanent members of the Security Council and that atomic weapons should be banned.

#### WESTERN MOVE IN 1951 AND RUSSIAN COUNTERMOVE IN 1954

The arguments and counter-arguments were repeated in 1949 and 1950. In 1951 the U.S.A., the U.K., and France proposed a fresh

5. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

6. My essay on Panch Shila and World Peace, *The Modern Review*, February, 1956, and Laski: *Communist Manifesto: Socialist Landmark*, p. 84.

7. John MacLaurin: *The United Nations and Power Politics*, 1951, pp. 177-8.

approach through a new commission which would consider both nuclear and conventional weapons. This commission was established by the General Assembly on January 11, 1952. In April, 1952 the U.S. representative proposed a series of essential principles which called for a step-by-step programme of disarmament covering all categories of weapons including the atomic bomb. In May, 1952 the Western Powers also spelled out their proposal for numerical ceilings on armed forces—a total of 1.5 million each for the U.S.S.R., China, and the U.S.A., 650,000 each for France and the U.K., and between 150,000 and 200,000 each for other countries.

The U.S.S.R., at first, ridiculed and rejected these proposals. When, however, Mr. Vyshinsky outlined his disarmament proposals on September 30, 1954, taking as a base the proposals of a phased system of disarmament advanced by the U.K. and France in June, 1954, the U.S.S.R. seemed to modify its position. The most important part of the discussion now turned on the question of timing in the processes of disarmament. Russia now desired reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces to agreed limits before the international control organ was established on condition that the reduction is supervised by an international information organ. This agreement to reduce armaments and armed forces, not by one-third of an unknown strength, but to certain definite ceilings, was a Russian Concession. But the U.S.S.R. now demanded also a concession from the Western Powers in that they should reduce their forces and armaments before the information organ was actually replaced by a functioning control organ with all the necessary powers. The ban on atomic weapons would operate only when 50 per cent of the agreed reductions had been carried out and then the permanent control organ would also replace the temporary information organ.

The Western Powers, however, seemed to fear that this control organ might not actually come into being at all later, and that, in any case, it might be paralysed by the Veto right of the great powers.

On November 4, 1954, the General Assembly asked the Disarmament Commission to convene its sub-committee for private talks. The Russian attitude was clarified and ampli-

fied in their proposals of May 10, 1955. The U.S.S.R. acceded to the Western demand that reduction of conventional weapons should come first. There was also no talk of proportionate limitation any more. Instead the ceilings proposed by the Western Powers in May, 1952 were agreed to. The reduction of conventional armaments was to be carried out in three instalments during 1956 and 1957, 50 per cent of the reductions being in 1956 in the first instalment. In 1956, no atomic disarmament, not even a nominal ban on nuclear weapons was envisaged, but only an assurance by the Great Powers that they would not use such weapons against each other, that they would stop atomic tests, and that they would not increase their armed forces and armaments including atomic weapons above the level of December 31, 1954. In 1957, while the second instalment of the reduction of conventional forces is in progress, the ban on nuclear weapons is to be declared. The actual atomic disarmament should come only during the last and final phase of the limitation of conventional forces after 75 per cent of the agreed reduction would have been carried out.

"This declaration of Russia's readiness to give up her superiority in conventional forces in advance of atomic disarmament appears to come as a direct consequence of Russia's progress in the development of nuclear weapons and of the means to deliver them."

Regarding reduction of armed forces and its methods, Russia also proposed that (1) a special conference be convened in the first part of 1956 to fix the level of armament for small powers and for non-members of the U.N., especially for Germany and Japan, (2) the Big Four Powers withdraw their occupation forces from all German territory except strictly limited local police forces to be under Four Power control in both parts of Germany, (3) military bases on all foreign soil be liquidated, (4) countries with experience in atomic energy field give industrial, scientific and technical help to other countries for peaceful purposes, (5) Far Eastern questions be settled to avoid danger of a new war, and (6) discrimination in trade relations between all countries be ended.

Under the Russian plan, atomic energy should, of course, be owned nationally, but the



international control agency should set up on the territories of all the respective States, along reciprocal lines, control posts at major ports, railway junctions, roads and air fields. In 1956, the prerogatives of the control agency would have been limited mainly to checking traffic at crucial points and to watching that there should be no dangerous concentration of ground forces or of air and naval forces. Only in 1957 would there be inspection on a permanent basis on the scale necessary to insure the fulfilment of the convention with unhindered access at any time to all objects of control.

Regarding enforcement measures, Russia proposed that the control organ should make recommendations to the Security Council on measures to warn and punish the violators of the convention.

#### WESTERN REACTION SINCE JULY, 1955

The importance of the Russian Concessions was recognised on all hands. Indeed, they seemed to be dazzling and puzzling. The Western Powers for a moment did not know how to react. An occasion for suitable action came at the Big Four Summit Conference in Geneva in July, 1955. There President Eisenhower made on July 18, 1955 a dramatic proposal of his "Open Skies" plan for an exchange between the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., the U.K. and France of military blueprints and reciprocal air reconnaissance. The Heads of the States directed the up-coming Foreign Ministers' conference to pursue the subject of disarmament further. At the Foreign Ministers' Conference in October-November, 1955, discussion on disarmament was inconclusive.

The issue then reached the General Assembly where a Western Plan was approved on December 16, 1955, after all the Russian amendments were rejected. Pending agreement on a more General disarmament plan, the resolution called on the Disarmament Sub-Committee to give priority to President Eisenhower's "Open Skies" plan, Mr. Bulganin's scheme for ground control posts under which inspection teams would be stationed at key points in the countries concerned and all such measures of adequately safeguarded disarmament as are now feasible. The resolution also instructed the Sub-Committee to take into account other disarmament plans, which included the Nehru plan for suspension of experimental nuclear

explosions and an armament truce, the Faure plan for exchange and publication of military budgets, and the Eden plan for "pilot" projects in problems of inspection and control.

The game of disarmament talks was played in its final phases at the Disarmament Sub-Committee Meetings in London from March 16 to May 4, 1956, at the meetings of the Disarmament Commission itself in New York in July, 1956 and in a series of correspondence among the heads of Governments of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., the U.K. and France. On August 7, 1956, President Eisenhower appealed to Mr. Bulganin to honour the arms pact at the summit talks of July, 1955 and rejected, like other Western Powers, the Russian scheme of unilateral and unsupervised reduction of armed forces and armaments. Bulganin in his letter, dated September 11, 1956, only proposed negotiation between the powers concerned for reduction of armaments and ban on atomic weapons. A few weeks later Mr. Bulganin in his letter, dated October 19, 1956, repeated his proposal for ban on tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Answering immediately Mr. Eisenhower in his letter, dated October 21, 1956, expressed his annoyance at Mr. Bulganin's remarks, amounting to interference in U.S. domestic affairs, proposed to "evaluate all proposals from any source which seem to have merit" and only hoped that "direct communication between us may serve the cause of peace."\*

#### RESULT OF DISARMAMENT TALKS

##### THROUGH THE U.N.

When the disarmament debate opened in 1946, there were four major areas of disagreement: first, ownership of atomic energy; second, inspection and control to ensure uses of

\* Russia in her latest move on November 17, 1956, called for a "summit disarmament conference of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., the U.K., France and India to be followed by a broader conference in which the heads of the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Governments as well as those of China, India, Yugoslavia, Burma and Indonesia who are not members of the NATO, the Bagdad Pact or the Warsaw Pact could participate. Russia now proposed a non-aggression pact between the North Atlantic Treaty Powers and the Communist Warsaw Powers and a limited acceptance of President Eisenhower's open skies plan in that she was now agreeable to aerial photography up to 500 miles on either side of the East-West border in Europe. Otherwise, there seems to have been no vital change in the attitude of the powers concerned on the issue of disarmament.

atomic energy exclusively for peaceful purposes; third, timing or phasing of the different processes of disarmament; and, fourth, enforcement in case of violation of the disarmament agreement. At the outset the U.S.A. appeared to be magnanimous beyond measure because of her readiness to give up her monopoly over atomic secrets for their peaceful uses if only suitable control, inspection and enforcement could be ensured. But the U.S. reputation continued to diminish when news began to pour in by 1949 that Russians "were razing mountains and irrigating deserts with atomic energy."<sup>9</sup> The reputation was only partially regained when on December 8, 1953, President Eisenhower in his speech before the General Assembly called for an Atomic Energy Authority under the U.N. (1) to pool the know-how of world scientists for applying atomic energy to industrial, agricultural, medical and other peaceful endeavours, (2) to provide abundant electrical energy to the power-starved areas of the world and (3) to control and store atomic materials. But soon after Russia also offered the world the knowledge it had gained from its atomic power station operating there since June, 1954. Thus the question of ownership in the atomic debate lost its significance by 1949, with subsequent loss of U.S. reputation of magnanimity also by 1954.

Regarding timing, the U.S.S.R. position at the beginning was that prohibition of atomic weapons must precede that of any arrangements for control, inspection and enforcement, while the Western Powers insisted that arrangements for control, inspection and enforcement must have precedence over any prohibition here. By 1948 the U.S.S.R. made a concession that the two processes might possibly be simultaneous, and by 1954, when she was atomically as powerful as, if not more powerful than, the Western Powers, she accepted Western ideas on the subject almost in toto. The importance of timing in the disarmament processes was thus lost with growing Russian prestige, when in spite of her possession—indeed, earlier possession—of even hydrogen bombs, she could demonstrate to the world that she would never be the first to use atomic weapons—the first

is, of course, the new eve of the U.S.A. throwing the whole humanity into a most deadly hell since August, 1945—and by September 30, 1954, she also agreed to all that the Western Powers had insisted in this respect.

The problem of enforcement also appeared in a new garb with the destruction of the atomic monopoly and the subsequent speed in the atomic race. Since 1949, at any rate since 1954, peoples of the world lost all distinction between peace and terror and surrendered themselves to living more in terror than in peace. This they did in the Churchillian belief that

"When the advance of destructive weapons enables everyone to kill everybody else, nobody will want to kill any one at all!"<sup>10</sup>

and that

"It may well be that we shall by a process of sublime irony have reached a stage in this storm where safety will be the sturdy child of terror and survival the twin brother of annihilation."<sup>11</sup>

But no one can forget the distinction between peace and terror, though it is not certainly as clear as that between peace and war. There is, moreover, the warning from Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, according to whom:

"When a certain point of desperation is reached there is no question of deterrence through self-interest. Mad courage takes the place of calculation and history has recorded many instances of this."<sup>12</sup>

The question of inspection still demands an answer, as before, for removing any kind of insecurity; and must be considered along with the question of enforcement, if we want peace without unbridled terror; if, that is to say, we want that men like Eisenhower and

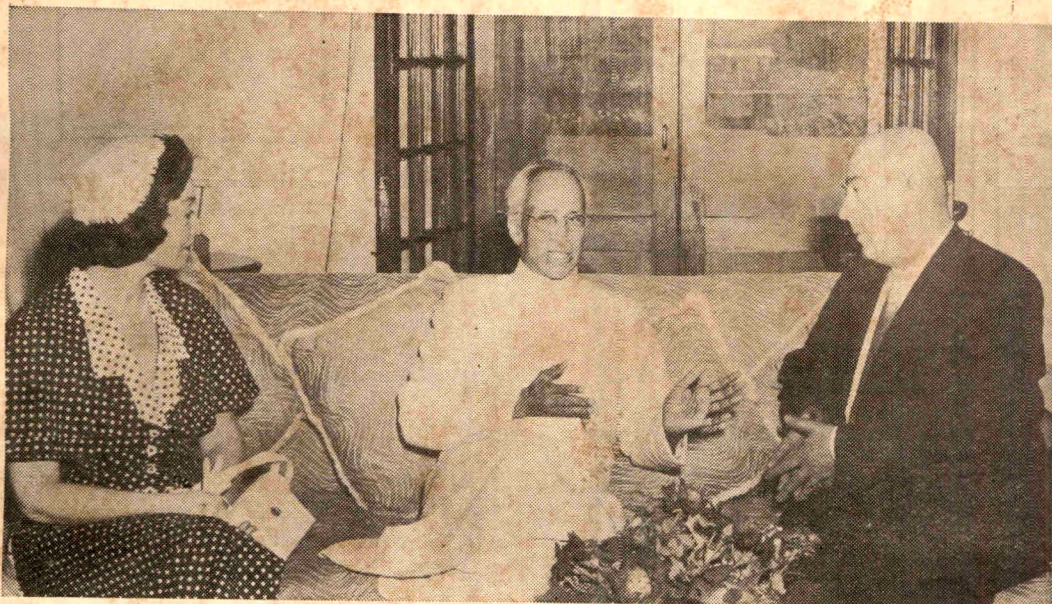
10. House of Commons Debate, November 3, 1953, Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 520, Col. 30. Also, *India Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 1, January-March, 1954, p. 30.

11. Churchill's declaration on March 1, 1955. According to Mr. Lloyd (U.K.), "When it is everywhere understood that recourse to war is going to mean the complete destruction of both sides, may that not be the supreme deterrent to war which has hitherto been lacking?" (*U. N. Review*, Vol. 1, No. 5, November, 1954, p. 8). On February 8, 1955, the Premiers of the British Commonwealth except India and Ceylon also declared: "They agreed that the overwhelming superiority of the Western powers in nuclear weapons offers at the present time the most effective and practical assurance that world peace will not be disturbed by any deliberate act of aggression."

12. "Stop These Atomic Tests," III. Published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) in a series of articles in April, 1955.

9 John MacLaurin: *The United Nations and Power Politics*, 1951, p. 153.



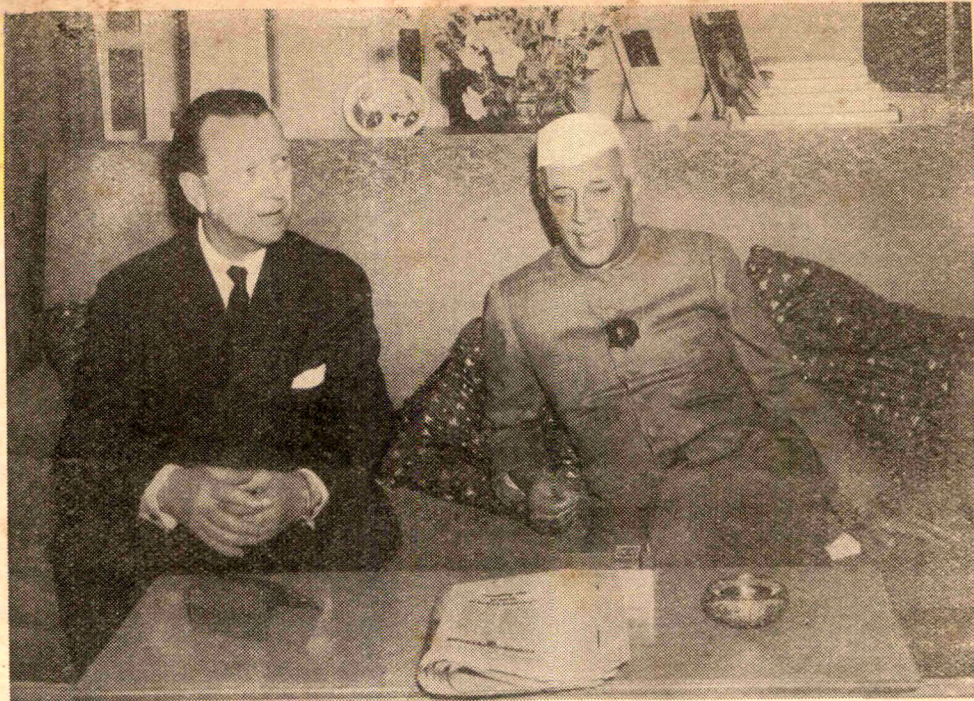


Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in conversation with Mr. Josef Cyrankiewicz, Prime Minister of Poland and Madam Cyrankiewicz

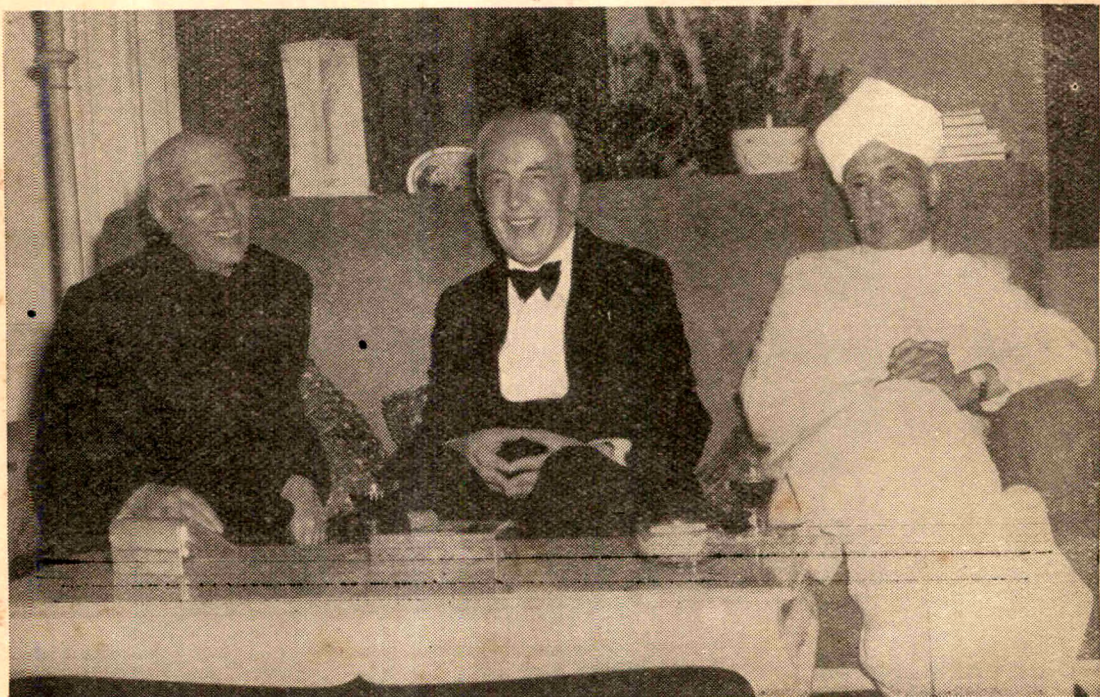


Banquet held in New Delhi on March 25 in honour of Mr. Josef Cyrankiewicz, Prime Minister of Poland and Madam Cyrankiewicz





Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in conversation with Mr. H. C. Hansen, Prime Minister of Denmark



Dr. Arnold Joseph Toynbee, a famous British historian, is seen with the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India



Bulganin armed with atomic weapons should not behave as the worst terrorists in the whole of human history.

At the end of the London talks on disarmament, Mr. Harold Stassen could declare on May 5, 1956, that the differences between the Soviet Union and the West had been narrowed "from nine miles to five miles," but that the remaining five miles would be "very difficult to travel." The difference, Mr. Stassen admitted, was further reduced by a "small step" through Russian agreement, announced on July 12, 1956, to the revised higher ceilings for national armed forces suggested by the Western Powers, *i.e.*, 2.5 million men for the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China and 750,000 for the U.K. and France.

#### DISARMAMENT THROUGH THE WORLD STATE

The distance between the Eastern and Western attitudes seems now so small, yet so big, because we have somehow resigned ourselves to the prejudice that world peace is not attainable in the same way and to the same extent as national peace is attained within each nation. Yet there need be no such blind resignation to fate, if we can conquer the present distrust among nations through a conscious exercise of our will to live decently as world citizens in a single world State, which is the balance of truth that remains after we reject age-long prejudices based on balance of power or balance of payments among nations. The argument for creating trust through the world State in the modern world is, of course, very simple. Groups and individuals within any nation have no armaments race among them—indeed, they have among them, what may be called a disarmament race—because, first, the struggle for power among them is subordinate to the struggle for peace, prosperity, service and culture; and, secondly, the struggle for power itself, in its limited field, is also duly controlled through a monopoly of the armed forces under the State. The armed forces of the State are effective, because, first, they are monopolised by the government of the State; secondly, they are neutralised in outlook; thirdly, they are used mostly against individuals behaving criminally, and only occasionally against groups so behaving; and,

fourthly, they are backed by the will of the State. If disarmament of groups and individuals has been possible in spite of a struggle for power among them, there is no reason why, under suitable conditions, nations cannot be disarmed in spite of the international struggle for power. The required suitable conditions are: first, the international struggle for power must be deemed subordinate to the international struggle for peace, prosperity, service and culture; and, secondly, the struggle for power itself in the international sphere, as in the national sphere, should be controlled by the armed forces of the world State. In practical terms, the first condition requires that our national loyalties should be considered subordinate to our primary loyalty to the whole human race, and that the General Assembly, the Security Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat of the U.N. should have powers similar to those possessed by the legislature, the ministry, the court and the civil services in any State; and the second condition requires that there should be a U.N. Army operating under Articles like 43, 46 and 47 of the U.N. Charter. More briefly, the sovereign equality<sup>13</sup> of all members of the U.N. should be realised through the superior sovereignty of the whole world.

But for international distrust the Western Powers would not have supposed, as they have actually done, that problems like German Unification or European security, should be given priority to the world's No. 1 problem—the problem of atomic disarmament.<sup>14</sup> But for international distrust, also, the U.S.S.R. would not have rejected President Eisenhower's "Open Skies" plan, and Mr. Khrushchev also would not have described it as "letting strangers into our bed-rooms," though Mr. Bulganin in his letter to President Eisenhower, dated September 19, 1955 had said, "In principle, we have no objection to this proposal" and that "at a definite stage" such an exchange would be necessary.<sup>15</sup>

13. The U. N. Charter, Art. 2(1).

14. Disclosure by France on May 4, 1956, of the Anglo-French plan to link German re-unification and European security with the first stage of any disarmament program.

15. President Eisenhower's Open Skies Plan, printed and distributed by the United States Information Service, Delhi.

## OUR POLITICAL MYOPIA

But when will this "definite stage" arrive? It seems it arrived long ago; only due to our political myopia we are unable to see the emerging contours of the world State which must be associated with this stage.

Let us re-read what Mr. H. G. Wells wrote in 1920:

"Until the Roman Republic extended itself to all Italy, there had been no free community larger than a city state; all great communities were communities of obedience under a monarch. The great united Republic of the United States would have been impossible before the press and the railway. The telegraph and telephone, the aeroplane, the continual progress of land and sea transit are now insisting upon a still larger political organization . . . Our true State, this State that is already beginning, this State to which every man owes his utmost political effort must be now this nascent Federal World State to which human necessities point. Our true God now is the God of all men. Nationalism as a God must follow the tribal gods to limbo. Our true nationality is mankind."<sup>16</sup>

Bertrand Russell also similarly declared in 1932 that the survival of our scientific civilization "will demand, as a minimum condition, the establishment of a world State and the subsequent institution of a worldwide system of education designed to produce loyalty to the world State."<sup>17</sup> Since 1948 Prof. H. J. Morgenthau also has been insisting that

"In no period of modern history was civilization more in need of permanent peace and hence, of a world State,"

and that

"Peace-preserving and community-building processes of diplomacy must be directed towards the achievement of the ideal of the World State"<sup>18</sup>

There will, of course, be many doubters. Even so eminent a thinker as Prof. H. J. Lasswell observed in his *Grammar of Politics*, first published in 1925:

"We cannot, at least in any practicable future, visualize the Prime Minister of a World State unfolding his policy to a popularly elected parliament at Geneva."<sup>19</sup>

This is also the background of his unfortunate conclusion regarding disarmament:

"Ideally, the solution of the disarmament question is a position where no State possesses more armed forces than are necessary for the problems of internal police; as a matter of practice, that solution is utopian at the present time."<sup>20</sup>

This conclusion in the name of "the present time" is certainly out of date in this atomic age, if not earlier.

Atomic weapons are a threat not only to international peace, but to all kinds of peace,—indeed, to the lives of all persons on this globe irrespective of their class, national or other considerations. If National Governments do not act urgently here, individuals, especially men of culture in all parts of the world, should now come out of their national shells and declare that their ultimate loyalties are not to their national states, but to the human race as a whole. This will greatly help the development of the present trends towards protection of the fundamental human rights against the horrors of atomic war by establishing a World State which will have sufficient power to suppress in advance even eminent statesmen thinking in terms of brutal and inhuman destruction with atomic weapons.

Those who take the initiative in founding the World State will be respected by generations to come as the greatest benefactors of mankind, if not for anything else at least for rescuing "civilization from the scourge of an Atomic World War III."<sup>21</sup> Some 2300 years ago Aristotle declared that "he who first founded the State was the greatest of benefactors."<sup>22</sup> This he said with reference to the City States of those days. But the days of City States are gone. In these days of wide and rapid communication, who is there to stick to the Aristotelian idea that "A State cannot be made out of ten citizens and one which is made out of ten times ten thousand is no longer a State."<sup>23</sup> Our scientific discoveries, especially in the sphere of communications, industries and destructive weapons, have led us to outgrow all theories and institutions even of nation-States which attempted to

16. *The Outlines of History*, p. 601.

17. *Education and the Social Order*, p. 27.

18. *Politics Among Nations*, Second Edition, 1954, pp. 481, 485, 534.

19. *Grammar of Politics*, Fourth Edition, Seventh Impression, February, 1938, p. 238.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 591.

21. *Goal: Disarmament*: a speech by Harold Stassen at a luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington on April 21, 1955.

22. *Politics*, I, 2. 15.

23. *Ethics*, IX. X. 3.



claim exclusive loyalties of citizens everywhere during the last two centuries or more. Mill's theory that "boundaries of governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities,"<sup>24</sup> is today as outmoded as was Aristotle's idea, within a few years of his death, that the boundaries of governments should coincide with the boundaries of cities. The Aristotles and Mills of the 20th century have to declare that the boundary of the government should now coincide with the boundary of the whole world. The new ideal is 'one world, one humanity and one State.' Aristotle believed man naturally grew into his City State *via* the family and the village. The City State in its turn now is naturally growing into the World State, *via* the nation-State, the League of Nations and the United Nations. The Marxian idea that the State will one day wither away is true only in the sense that the 'nation-State', not only for economic reasons, as the Marxists think, but more so, for reasons of scientific discoveries of the 19th and 20th centuries, will naturally, perhaps immediately, be replaced by the World State.

#### A HISTORIC MISSION

Will this historic mission capture the imagination of statesmen like Nehru, Eisenhower, Bulganin, Eden, Mao Tse-tung and Mollet who lead the governments of their nations? If not, the paradise lost in August, 1945, when the first atomic weapons were burst, will not be regained in this generation. As Sir Winston Churchill once said, it had not been easy to discover atomic weapons, but it might be "even more difficult to abolish them."<sup>25</sup>

Fortunately, there is a "growing world public opinion that it is cowardly to be occupied in producing instruments for mass killing by pressing a button without even the compensation of personal sacrifice and risk which went with conventional weapons."<sup>26</sup>

Unfortunately, even men like Mr. Rajagopalachari are so unrealistic as not yet to believe in the ideal of the World State. He

realises that negotiation over atomic disarmament has become equivalent to "a process of quiet secret competition."<sup>27</sup> Yet he refuses to recognise that "war cannot be regulated like a football game. It cannot be humanised. It must be abolished."<sup>28</sup> He, along with many others, seems to hold the unrealistic belief that war is a lesser evil than atomic weapons. He, therefore, urges that we should be first against atomic weapons, and then against war, and appeals to the U.S.A. to "unilaterally throw all the atom bombs in the deep Antarctic and begin a new world, free from fear."<sup>29</sup> But this is to forget almost a political axiom of these days that under conditions of existing scientific knowledge any large-scale war and atomic weapons are inseparably connected.

Even the All-India Congress Committee of the Indian National Congress in its famous Quit India resolution of August 8, 1942, drafted by Mahatma Gandhi himself declared:

"... the committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a world federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas, and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries; national armies, navies and air-forces would no longer be necessary and a world federation defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression. An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems."<sup>30</sup>

#### ROLE OF THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL

Before the Dumbarton Oaks talks from August through October, 1944, the Government of the U.S.A. seriously considered a plan of having for the new world organisation a

27. *The New York Times*, December 26, 1954. Also published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) December, 1954.

28. Rajagopalachari: "Stop These Atomic Tests (III)".

29. *The New York Times*, December 26, 1954.

30. *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-3*, published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi, p. 54.

24. *Considerations on Representative Government*, Ch. 16.

25. His speech on March 23, 1954.

26. Rajagopalachari: "Stop These Atomic Tests (V)". Published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in a series in April, 1955.

"President" who would deal with political and executive matters of concern to the world organisation, and a Secretary-General, who would manage the internal administration of the Secretariat.<sup>31</sup> It may be that if his life had not been suddenly cut short on April 12, 1945, Mr. Roosevelt would gladly accept the honour of being the first President of the World State. Mr. John Gunther reports that Mr. Roosevelt had some such ambition.<sup>32</sup> Actually, however, just before the Dumbarton Oaks talks the U.S. State Department decided in favour of a single permanent officer combining the external political prerogative of the President with the administrative responsibility of the Secretary-General. Is it too much to expect that the Secretary-General of the U.N. will behave in near future like a Prime Minister or President of the World State with a definite policy of his own in so terrible a matter for the whole human race as the atomic armaments race?

The present Secretary-General of the U.N., Mr. Hammarskjöld, appears to have the greatest caution, if not hesitation, to take any action in the matter. According to him:

"Whoever wants to grip the world and shape it will fail, because the world is a spiritual thing that cannot be shaped."<sup>33</sup> "No State, no group of States, no world organization can grip the world and shape it either by force or any formula of words in a charter or a treaty. There are no absolute answers to the agonies and searchings of our time. But all men and women of good will can influence the course of history in the direction of the ideals expressed in the charter."<sup>34</sup>

Mr. Hammarskjöld believes that

The activities of the U.N. Secretariat, especially of the Secretary-General, are "never in any way in competition with the activities of governments. The Secretariat is not a kind of super-diplomacy or super-foreign office. It is not even a co-ordinating organ of that kind. It is in a very qualified sense a service organisation here too: it supplements, but never competes with, the activities of governments. It follows that the Secretariat or the Secretary-General, never tries and never should try to tell any country, any government, what it should do."

"Personally," says Mr. Hammarskjöld, "I am firmly against any kind of attempt at policy-making through statements from the Secretary-General. And, finally, the Secretariat should not, unsolicited, mix into inter-State affairs in the sense of volunteering as a mediating body or something of that kind. If it is called upon, that is another matter. But that is not its natural function on the basis of the terms of reference laid down in the Charter."

"Its function," he continues, "is to find and to keep alive and to broaden whatever may be the common denominator in the foreign policies of the nations. To find this common denominator is not too difficult, because there is no doubt about the unanimity as to general aims, to the extent that they fall within the sphere of interest of the United Nations. As to keeping it alive, very much can be done in that respect, and very much is done in direct contacts and in public relations as well. As to broadening it, there we come to what is really a crucial point—that is, to work not as a mediator but in such a way that you daily and constantly increase the understanding of the other point of view; increase the understanding of the extent to which the common denominator, the common element, is to be found in the policy of the other side."

In "terms of practical action," all this means, Mr. Hammarskjöld adds:

"The Secretariat has to analyse the positions and problems; when asked to do so, it has to give the results of its analysis in terms of advice; and has itself to use the opportunities which constantly arise to smooth out those unnecessary differences and misunderstandings which are bound to develop in any big world system."<sup>35</sup>

It may be a bit difficult to understand the finer aspects of Mr. Hammarskjöld's description of the role of the Secretary-General of the United Nations as a great world figure, indeed, a world leader. Mr. Hammarskjöld says he does not try nor should try to tell any country or government, what it should do. Yet he also says he constantly uses opportunities to smooth out unnecessary differences and misunderstandings arising in any big world system. He is against policy-making statements, but apparently not against policy-making diplomatic contacts and public relations. Besides, he may be against policy-making statements only 'personally,' yet 'officially' he may have to make policy through statements in view of the high 'international' position he occupies. He certainly

31. Schwebel: *The Secretary-General of the United Nations*, 1952, p. 17.

32. *Roosevelt in Retrospect*, 1950, p. 81.

33. *United Nations Bulletin*, Vol. XV, No. 7, October 1, 1953, p. 277.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

35. *India Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 2, April-June, 1956, pp. 151-2.

cannot issue orders against recalcitrants amongst governments, yet he can exercise influence on them. And in the region in which he acts and moves influences may be more important than actual orders. It may be safely presumed that Mr. Hammarskjöld very subtly does what he intends to do. Certainly he plays in the world today the most significant role directing world events towards peace, prosperity, service and culture in the name of the whole human race.

#### LEGAL BASIS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S ROLE

And he has a sure basis on the United Nations Charter itself in this respect. As he himself says:

"When the Secretariat is referred to as a main organ<sup>36</sup> of the United Nations, it is, perhaps, not primarily because of its important executive functions, but because of its political responsibilities—responsibilities which are rather meagerly expressed in the Charter."<sup>37</sup>

Under Article 100 of the United Nations Charter, he is required to maintain "an exclusively international character" without seeking or receiving any "instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization." Selection of proper personnel under Article 101 may be a source of political influence of the Secretary-General; and, by assigning "appropriate staffs"<sup>38</sup> to the different organs of the Organization, he can prevent the rise of rival Secretaries-General. The supreme administrative position<sup>39</sup> of the Secretary-General of itself carries a modest political potency. As Mr. Schwebel observes:

"The normal work of the Secretariat under the Secretary-General's ultimate direction . . . in preparing the documentation, the draft reports, the summaries, and the working papers, which constitute much of the frame of reference within which the delegations take decisions, inevitably exercises an indirect influence upon those decisions."<sup>40</sup>

The fact that under Article 97 of the United Nations Charter, "The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council," sug-

gests that he should be an "international statesman"<sup>41</sup> with policies of his own, and remain in office only so long as he enjoys the confidence of the General Assembly, and must have, at least at the time of his appointment, also the confidence of the Security Council. It should also be noted in this connexion that the term of the Secretary-General is not fixed in the Charter, but is left to the discretion of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

While appointed as a "rapporteur" under the clause "other functions" in Article 98 of the United Nations Charter, or, more specifically, under Rule 23 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Security Council, he could evidently suggest political solution of any problem of world importance. His annual Report under Article 98 of the United Nations Charter could set the tone of discussions in the General Assembly and, also, perhaps, in the Security Council. Under Rule 12 of the General Assembly's Rules of Procedure, among the items of the General Assembly's provisional agenda shall be all items which the Secretary-General deems it necessary to put before that body. By exercising his diplomatic powers, the Secretary-General can also convoke special sessions of the General Assembly under Article 20 of the United Nations Charter. Under Rules 63 and 101 of the General Assembly's Rules of Procedure and under Rule 22 of the Security Council's provisional Rules of Procedure, the Secretary-General or a member of the Secretariat designated by him as his representative may make, at his own initiative, either oral or written statements to the General Assembly and the Security Council and their committees and sub-committees including the Military Staff Committee concerning any question under their consideration.<sup>42</sup> The Secretary-General has analogous functions in relation to the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council.<sup>43</sup>

#### ARTICLE 99 OF THE U.N. CHARTER

But the most widespread diplomatic and political activity of the Secretary-General has

36. U.N. Charter, Article 7.

37. *India Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 2, April-June 1956, p. 151.

38. U.N. Charter, Art. 101(2).

39. *Ibid.*, Art. 97.

40. Schwebel: *The Secretary-General of the United Nations*, 1952, p. 43.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

42. Kelsen: *Law of the United Nations*, First Edition, 1950, p. 304. Also, Schwebel: *The Secretary-General of the United Nations*, p. 86.

43. Rule 30 of the Rules of Procedure of the Economic and Social Council and Rules 26 and 53 of the Rules of Procedure of the Trusteeship Council.



grown and may further grow out of Article 99 of the United Nations Charter which states:

"The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security."

This Article gives him a prerogative to place any matter on the provisional agenda of the Security Council, and the President of the Security Council shall call a meeting of the Council if the Secretary-General acts under this article.<sup>44</sup>

This Article has been "the prime and unmistakable affirmation of the political character of the Secretary-General."<sup>45</sup> It gives him the character of a "vital link" between the Security Council and the other organs of the Organization, because he is here authorised to report any developments, even if they be in economic and social fields, if only they could have serious political implications remediable only by political action. It gives him, by implication, "the right to make such enquiries and investigations as he may think necessary in order to determine whether or not to invoke his powers." It also provides "a specific legal justification for that extensive, informal, behind-the-scenes political activity of the Secretary-General for which the essential character of his office, and the precedent of the League, provide a more general basis."<sup>46</sup> It "could be called into play as the authorising clause of declarations, proposals, and draft resolutions which the Secretary-General may wish to offer in connection with the Security Council's work." It also "supplies the Secretary-General with a Security Council springboard for a dramatic appeal to world public opinion."

"The Secretary-General of the United Nations coming upon the Security Council, in the full blaze of world publicity, to meet what he, as the servant of all the nations, sees as a threat to the peace, has qualities of high drama which could considerably influence international feeling in the direction the Secretary-General considers desirable. Were such an appeal well chosen, well timed, and colorfully staged, Article 99 might after all prove itself as

a weapon to which even the colossi of the cold war would find it advantageous to adjust their policies."<sup>47</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

Evidently, if the Secretary-General of the United Nations remembers that he is not merely an "employee of the governments," but also a "servant of all the peoples behind those governments,"<sup>48</sup> that more than anyone else he stands for the United Nations as a whole,<sup>47</sup> he could do a lot. Mr. MacLaurin suggests that

The Secretary-General "might one day consider that the disregard for the Charter and the sole consideration of cold war objectives in the dealings of the Big Two on the armaments question is threatening world peace and security. He could then force that very aspect of the matter on the Council, thus laying a weapon in the hands of critical and anxious small powers and rousing enormous interest around the globe not only in the technical question of arms reduction but in the specific behaviour of the big power delegates in dealing with it."<sup>48</sup>

Perhaps now is the appropriate time for Mr. Hammarskjöld to be enthusiastic about his peace-making mission and to act under Article 99 of the United Nations Charter suggesting the inter-connexion between the World State on the one hand, and the problem of disarmament and even other political problems like the Suez Canal, Germany, Korea, Formosa, Indo-China, Kashmir, Israel and Algeria, on the other. The suggestion will lead us towards the conquest of the summit of the psychological Everest of narrow nationalism, and may well be remembered for centuries to come as the new Sermon on the Mount, bringing us all nearer to the United Kingdom of God of Earth, the World State, against which no one can or should declare any war, an Ayodhya Rastra or Rama Rajya. The ground seems to have been well prepared by the almost universal acceptance of the ideals of peaceful co-existence or the Indian Panch Shila. The World Movement for World Federation has also been gaining strength day by day in recent times.

The first Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Lia, raised the question of disarmament in the General Assembly in 1950 through his twenty-year program for achieving peace through the United Nations. He had dis-

44. Rule 3 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Security Council.

45. Schwebel: *The Secretary-General of the United Nations*, pp. 24-26.

46. MacLaurin: *The United Nations and Power Politics*, p. 421.

47. Schwebel: *The Secretary-General of the United Nations*, p. 19.

48. *The United Nations and Power Politics*, p. 422.

cussed his program in the spring of 1950 with the Heads of Government and the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.A., the U.K., France and the U.S.S.R. But then there was mounting tension among the Great Powers themselves, and Mr. Lie's action was roundly criticised on grounds of partiality and his involvement in the United Nations' illegal war<sup>49</sup> in Korea. Apparently, he underestimated the bearing of the Soviet walk-out from the Security Council in January, 1950, on the issue of Chinese representation in the United Nations, and in the Russian eyes did not act at all "in the cause of peace."<sup>50</sup> Mr. Lie appears to have mistaken some dogs for wolves in Korea, and misusing his powers under Article 99, unnecessarily and unwisely cried out on June 25, 1950 "Wolves, Wolves." If, instead, he used all his diplomatic and political powers to persuade his Western friends to recognise the new Communist Government in China, Russia would have certainly renounced her policy of Security Council boycott, and the so-called dogs might not have even barked, not to speak of biting. Actually, Mr. Lie's action led almost to a Third World War, localised and brought to a halt in July,

1953 through the efforts of statesmen like Prime Minister Nehru and Mr. Menon. In the course of the war, the U.S.A. was accused of cleverly occupying Formosa under cover of a so-called Security Council Resolution for the sake of the Nationalist China and her own political and military interests in the Far East. As the war went on the Uniting for Peace Resolution of November, 1950, short-circuited the Security Council and its Military Staff Committee and made the Secretary-General virtually the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the General Assembly.

But that Great Power tension has now subsided. If now at this great juncture in history when under Article 109 of the United Nations Charter and a General Assembly resolution of November 21, 1955, a Committee of all the Members of the United Nations are also searching for an appropriate time for the revision of the Charter itself, Mr. Hammarskjöld raises his fingers towards the road to the World State, he may be instrumental in saving the whole human civilization,—not simply its Eastern or Western segment, or its Capitalist or Communist part or its any other sub-division,—from joining Prof. Toynbee's list of earlier civilizations smashed on the rocks of history. All other solutions suggested so far for the gigantic issues we confront are like quacks' pills for curing almost an earthquake.

49. My paper on Revision of the U. N. Charter, *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XV, No. 4, October-December, 1954.

50. Mr. Lie tries to justify his acts in his book, *In the Cause of Peace*, published in April, 1954.

—:O:—

*Causes +  
Remedies.*

**(DOLLAR SHORTAGE)** ✓ A-59

By K. VENKATARAMAN, M.A.

It is important before we begin to talk about Dollar Shortage, to really understand what we are talking about. This essential preliminary may be best done not by indulging in some deft definitional dialectics but by keeping in mind the pre-eminent position of the (U.S.) in the international economy which some wag has nicely driven home by coining the term ["the Almighty Dollar."] The U.S. occupies a peerless position in the economic world in terms of size and solvency. In the post-war world, countries had to import from her under compelling necessity the goods they required for post-war reconstruction. On the other hand, their own export earnings were handicapped for two reasons. There was first the competitive position of U.S. vis-a-

vis the exporting nation with regard to a third country. Moreover not much could be exported to U.S. itself since there were not many goods that the U.S. wanted to import and since her economy was also surrounded by high tariff walls.

Under these conditions, it happened that many nations found themselves spending (by way of imports) more dollars than they could earn (by way of exports). Consequently such countries found themselves to be short of dollars, a sort of incorrigible Micawbers vis-a-vis the U.S.

But to say that a nation was short of dollar without reference to its price is incomplete and misleading. It was at a particular exchange

rate between dollar and its own currency that it found itself short of dollars. Perhaps if it offered more units of its own currency in exchange for one dollar, it might get the requisite amount of dollars. ✓ But a country may want to keep a particular exchange rate on account of various considerations and if at that particular exchange rate it spends more dollars than it receives we can say that the nation is suffering from the disease of Dollar Shortage. ✓

It is here that we usually stop in defining Dollar Shortage, but this writer feels that we should go a step further. It is not proper for a nation to bemoan its Dollar Shortage in all valedudinarian self-pity when it keeps an unsuitable exchange rate and does not wish to devalue its currency for political or prestige reasons. So we should say that a country is suffering from Dollar Shortage only when at a certain exchange rate alteration of which is not likely to improve its economic position, it finds itself short of dollars.

(This shortage of dollar will usually present itself in terms of malignant dollar deficits over a considerable period but it is possible to envisage situations when a country may perhaps find a sort of balance in its international accounts but with vast unemployment at home. In such cases to diagnose the disease only on the appearance of a sizeable dollar deficit will be inadequate and delayed. This is, however, a special case and it will also be difficult to pinpoint the exact amount of guilt to be laid on dollar.)

(Thus the Dollar Shortage is a phenomenon of vital import to the international economy and is especially apt to be aggravated "from a sullen ache to a raging fever" when there is a business depression in U.S. In such an event the imports of U.S. will fluctuate and hence the exports and export earnings of other countries also.)

But to point out what Dollar Shortage is, is one thing, to explain the why of it is another. If the explanation of Dollar Shortage will be more important and interesting it is also bound to be more difficult. Before that, however, we have to answer one relevant question that may be asked. There was a period when the U.K. much like the U.S. today, occupied the front rank in the international economy. Why was then no Sterling Shortage comparable to the Dollar Shortage of today?

The answer to this question is easy, but it is

also important. It is that conditions between the two periods are different and that certain structural changes have occurred in the pattern of international trade.

(There is first the fact that Dollar Shortage had its beginnings in a war-devastated world. In contrast the heyday of sterling was comparatively of peace;) and also one in which multi-lateral trade and free convertibility of currencies prevailed so that if a nation spent international currency it could also earn it. Great Britain herself followed a policy of free trade as it was to her interest and capital from her flowed in a fertilising stream altering the pattern of comparative advantage. It was also a period of general and all-round expansion. Moreover there was not so glaring a gap between the productivities of U.K. and other countries as there is between U.S. and other countries today.

It is in this last point that we enter a territory of dispute. Learned controversy has developed round the question as to whether Dollar Shortage is the offspring of difference in productivity as between U.S. and other countries. The question as to what really is the cause of Dollar Shortage is a very important one, because the cure obviously depends on this diagnosis. ✓

(As regards the theory of Dollar Shortage and its therapy there are two schools of view. The first view holds that Dollar Shortage is nothing foreign to the classical theory of comparative advantage while the second view holds that it is some thing peculiar and arises out of vast difference in productivity. The writers belonging to the former school stick to the general proposition that one country cannot continue to undersell another and export always more than it imports and that there will be a particular exchange rate at which the deficit country will be able to wipe off its deficit in its balance of international accounts. ✓ Therefore their prescription is, in the words of Prof. Kindleberger, "Stop inflation and adjust the exchange rate." In other words, they are strict believers in doing one thing at a time and would therefore at any time of sizeable deficits first put their internal economy in order and then see what deficit remains and wipe it out by appropriate devaluation.

It is with this supposedly devastating answer that advocates of the productivity approach are silenced. However, there are many chinks in the



classical armour. For one thing, the argument assumes that generally devaluation will have salutary effects. But there are possible situations in which a country may devalue and get deceived. Moreover it is possible that a country may recurrently import more than it exports if its deficit is financed by it vis-a-vis by non-repayable "loans".

Therefore it is possible that great and graving differences in productivity between two countries may result in recurrent balance of payment deficits. Indeed more and more writers are coming round to the view that Dollar Shortage is something peculiar and cannot be strait-jacketed into the pure theory of comparative advantage, e.g. Professor Robertson has argued that when one of the partners in international trade is a country of towering strength "the law of comparative advantage for all its inexorable truth needs a string of footnotes." And Mr. Harrod who once called dollar famine almost a hoax has come recently to acknowledge its existence.

It is incorrect to deny the existence of Dollar Shortage altogether, as purists would like us to do. Its existence is a fact and no simple explanation of it will suffice. The towering economic strength of U.S. as well as the ravages of war have much to do with it. At the same time the classical explanation of inflation and inappropriate exchange rate has also a large amount of truth in it for countries often do tend to overspend and to live beyond their means.

A more elaborate discussion of the theory of Dollar Shortage is not necessary for us and we may proceed to point out certain milestones in its history. (It is of interest to note that Lord Keynes, usually a Cassandra, had turned optimist and written in the last article of his life that the chances of dollar becoming scarce in the post-war world were not great.) However the rapid exhaustion of the Anglo-American loan as water in a sieve and the ill-conceived restoration of convertibility in U.K. in 1947 in the context of inflation and unsuitable exchange rate (Prof. Haberler, a purist called it a fancy exchange rate) belied Keynes' prediction. The course of events leading to the devaluation of 1949 and the devaluation itself again underlined the existence of Dollar Shortage. The ghost of Dollar Shortage however almost seemed to be

laid low when by September 1954 talks about restoration of convertibility of sterling were in the air. Sterling Area had achieved a surplus both in its Dollar and its over-all accounts and countries like Benelux and Germany were ready to restore convertibility '5 minutes after Britain.' The sterling reserves since then registered a sharp decline and Macmillan's raising of the British Bank Rate to unprecedentedly high levels and restrictions of consumer spending proved that not everything was well with U.K.'s economy and talks about convertibility have faded like last year's snows.

Convertibility of other currencies into dollar however occupies a crucial place in the whole story of Dollar Shortage. Paradoxically enough convertibility and the strength of a currency feed on each other in snowball fashion. While restoration of convertibility is no doubt conditioned on the strength of a currency the strength of the currency is itself improved by convertibility which leads to greater trade. (Convertibility is therefore "a consummation devoutly to be wished," but we should remember that large reserves are necessary so that convertibility is not only restored but also maintained.) Some sort of underwriting the convertibility manoeuvre by the I.M.F. and/or U.S. will be necessary too. The modus operandi of convertibility also presents serious problems, e.g., whether we should have a floating or fixed ex-rate, whether we should get rid of discriminating restrictions also at the same time, etc.

Devaluation presents itself as a standard recipe for balance of payments problems, especially when a country does not want to strain its internal economy. But the difficulty about devaluation is that (1) its over-all effects have to be considered, including whether it will improve the payments position and (2) the point that a country cannot go on devaluing should also be kept in mind. Indeed a country which does not care about its international accounts just because it can devalue if necessary, will be like a person who does not care about fever so long as he has got a set of antibiotic drugs.

Imposing discriminatory restrictions on trade will also help in mitigating Dollar Shortage but it is quite evident that it deals only with the symptoms and not with the disease. Further it may develop frictions also. However

there are times when a country has no alternative but to resort to it.

(The rejuvenation of international finance also depends on a bigger and better fund with the fullest collaboration on its part with the GATT. Action by I.M.F. to raise the dollar price of gold (shall we say, lowering the gold price of dollar) has also been suggested since it will mark up the reserves (in terms of dollar) of the various countries.) But the defects of this

proposal are that U.S. is averse to 'monkey' with the price of gold and that also the benefits of such an action will not be evenly shared. While we may hope that (better times will bring about a mitigation of Dollar Shortage,) the existence of big productivity differentials combined with overspending will keep Dollar Shortage alive, which countries will have to take for granted as something like the weather.]

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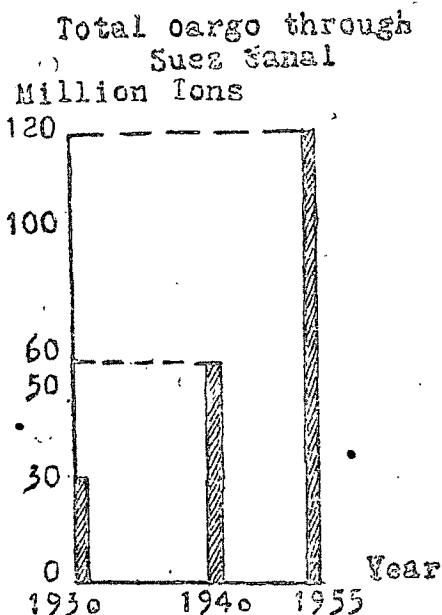
## THE MIDDLE EAST

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.T. (India)

### III

#### FACTS—CONSEQUENCE OF IDEOLOGY

To live without interfering in others' affairs and to let others live in their own way of life, unless offensive, would be ideal, but dogmatic or sectarian imposition of an ideology or doctrine invites pacts and counter-pacts.



In 1955, 14666 ships passed through canal—3 times that through the Panama Canal.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO, 1946), between the U.S.A. (now not interested) and various West European countries; the Bagdad Pact (1948-51), between Britain, Pakistan, Iraq and Turkey; and the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO, 1954), based on Manila Treaty, between Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and other south-east

Asian countries, arose out of fear of Russian, Chinese (Communist), or Japanese penetration.

Lavish help in finance and arms to West European countries, Turkey, Greece and Jordan to counter the Russian objective was given by the U.S.A. and the U.K. for bases in those countries. On the other hand, Russia made the Warsaw Pact against the NATO and, previously supporting both Israel and the Arab States had been helping Syria directly and Egypt indirectly to counteract the Baghdad Pact (above).

The United Nations, organised for international peace by negotiations, strangely enough, encouraged regional pacts and authorised coalition, though with the obvious objective of begetting decent trust and co-operative effort by mutual trade and aid. In this, the U.S.A., formerly isolationist, now converted to the idea of collective security concurred, in spite of George Washington's ominous warning against entangling alliances. President Wilson was for abandonment of all secret international undertakings. On the other hand, a pact is natural for a small weak country to seek protection, when faced with encroachment from a powerful neighbour. So Kashmir could not become absolutely independent, because of the danger of powerful neighbours swallowing it up. Neutrality involves suppression of independent ideas for an individual and independent action for a nation, which does not mean that one should not express his own convictions when taking part in a discussion, or a nation should always take sides in world controversies. But majority rule has to be obeyed in a democracy (even of the socialistic pattern) when ruled by a single party. Military pacts create distrust, hatred and enmity. They arise out of fear, suspicion, jealousy, malice or anger from a sense of frustration. They are made for convenience in exploitation which requires maintenance of foreign armed forces and bases. Pacts only create differences in neighbouring countries. A high state of tension grows as in a cold war, which (except lately) has always been succeeded by a burst-out. There is always the choice of not joining any pacts, although

pressure is sometimes put against neutrality. Non-military pacts, to which more attention is being paid now and to which nations are veering for beneficial purposes, are quite a change for the better.

Mr. Nehru is against all pacts and even of outside military help, which are really bribes. India does not want any arms as gifts (with strings attached). Even buying arms would mean diversion of funds from meeting urgent needs. Pakistan is accepting free American arms for likely use against Russian aggression, or against India, as disclosed to the Soviet. Any accumulation of arms in close proximity is a matter of concern for India, in any case.

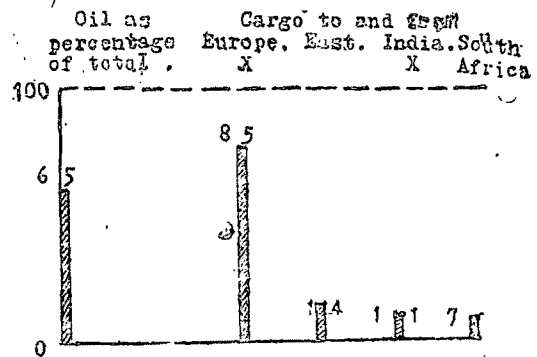
#### THE MIDDLE EAST ARABS AND RUSSIA

The Arab League and the Baghdad Pact, as already stated, were not effective political organisations, owing mainly to jealous, rough and quarrelsome nature of the parties. They were constantly at war with one another and were making separate treaties with outsiders and between themselves. Thus there was a separate treaty of Jordan with Britain (for funds against bases), one between Turkey and Iraq and so on. There was Russian backing accepted by some from local fears or political ambition.

Syria was aided by arms by the Soviet recently. This was alarming not only to the West but also to Syria's Arab neighbours. They were alive to the dangers of subversion of the Middle East and had formed the Baghdad Pact alliance of Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq and Iran and Britain. This is the background of the solemn warning that U.S. "would view with utmost gravity any threat to the territorial integrity or political independence of Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq or Iran." Czechoslovakia, cold-shouldered by the allies in the war, had sought the help of Russia and Russia forcibly occupied the country, leading to the sacrifice of Masarik and Benes, erstwhile leaders of the country. An attempt, however, was frustrated in Greece. East Germany and other States have been converted into satellites. The present attempt at Hungary is another example of penetration. The constant Russian veto in the U.N. Council has only been perverting the good ends in view. The Russian effort to reduce the Western influence, to create confusion and to maintain tension in the East, so as to make it easy for penetration, is obvious. Russia has repeatedly but unsuccessfully attempted to enter Iraq from the adjoining Arab Kurdistan in Russia. Russia opposed the internationalisation of the Canal and arranged supply of arms to Egypt, through Czechoslovakia. Russia had earlier supplied arms both to the Arab States and Israel and recent Russian accusation against Iraq is plainly a move to distract attention from the fact that there was going to be a Soviet build-up of arms. Expressions of hostility by Egypt backed by Russia, to other Governments, rearmament of Egypt and the abrupt seizure of the Canal have been ominous. In a back-

ground of armistice violations by Israel and Egypt, the latter has disregarded, as already stated, the Security Council resolution of 1951, for passage of Israel ships through the Canal. Again, Egypt had in 1947, and as late as in 1954, recognised the Suez Canal as economically, commercially and strategically of international importance and renewed its determination to uphold the convention of 1888. So the law is against Egypt's action.\* For long, (Russia believed in sub-

#### Oil through the Suez Canal.



X -- A fourth of Britain's and two-thirds of India's total trade 2,000 passengers yearly.

versive Communist activities in all countries. In a poor weak country, the bait of Communism (equal distribution of Nature's gifts in the eternal struggle between "haves and have-nots" is very catching. But every Government has to fight anarchy. Stalin, having repudiated it later, Russia agreed to abandon the international aspect of the question, which appears now to be revived, from the above examples. So the rich countries are fighting poverty by economic aids. The Middle East Arab countries are very poor and unruly. There is precious oil underground under the rugged barren hills, where nothing grows. So the Arab States have been one of the coveted targets. There are, however, strings attached, to contest Communism, which has to co-exist. Believing in co-existence, Sri Nehru has opposed intervention of America, for whom Communism is a dreaded spectre.

#### AMERICAN ATTITUDE

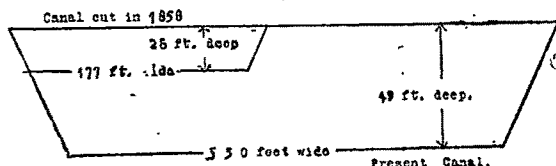
America is for economic co-operation and peaceful discussion for a solution of international differences. It supports political independence (on which economic well-being depends) and territorial integrity for all countries, and as such has been a strong supporter of

\* These perhaps led to the sudden British and French violence in the Canal area. Their withdrawal and American apathy apparently left a free field to Russia. This may be at the bottom of the return of America on second thoughts.



the U.N. America has now declared against the use of force and for refraining from introducing force into the area of recent hostilities, except those of the U.N. Emergency Force. So the offer of volunteers even in conjunction with U.S.A., for the Canal zone, from Russia was unacceptable as it might lead to penetration. The whole of the Arab States applauded the U.S.A. stand, regarding the use of armed forces as much as they were now against any Russian help.

SUEZ CANAL --- Longest in the world -- 103 miles. Crossing 16 hours.  
Second longest is the Panama Canal-- 50 miles. Crossing 12 hours.



The bugbear of Russian penetration is, however, a disturbing factor in the American attitude, as the militant Communism appears to be revived. The latest declaration is the Eisenhower Doctrine. Eisenhower is approaching the Congress for authority to use American military forces in support of any country, which might be invaded from outside area (say by the Communists), at the invitation of the country attacked and for enlarged economic aid. His approach is according to the U.S.A. constitution that all economic and military aid to foreign countries must be voted by the Congress. It may be noted that there is no contribution from America to the Emergency force of the U.N. although U.S.A. supported the resolution. So the approach may only be for the Emergency force or simply for a watching force. If so, there is no cause of despair in India, or of jubilation in Pakistan.

The Eisenhower Doctrine† program, heartening to Britain, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, was hailed as the next best course to America joining the Baghdad Pact, which has been pressed for some time. Israel supported it. Egypt was doubtful. Russia, of course, condemned it, as a Military Protectorate regime was Imperial Interference. It must be admitted, however, that the Middle East is more important to the West than to the Soviet as it is their petrol market and all air transport between East and West is through the Middle East. The program could be quite harmless, but for the fact that cold war is now spreading through these events. It is as bad as pacts arising out of fear and creating suspicion. Brandishing of swords, which if not to be thrown away to ensure even disarmament, should be kept sheathed. The excuse of filling power vacuum invites contending parties to counteract. It is a dangerous thing for

† America has been wavering in its attitude. With an excuse to suit the progress of time, it has given up isolation. It interested in the Middle East, then withdrew and now has returned with full force.

newly-freed people, because it may mean only a change of masters. It admits that foreign influence is undesirable as its object is to counteract such aggression. It is worse than the hot war. Germany contended during the war that German submarine sinkings with warning, were open and better than the British slow strangling of Europe by blockading.

U.S.A. now formally recognises the right of people to form their own form of Government under which they would live. It finds improvement in Russian conditions from education and industrial development, creating demands for intellectual and spiritual freedom for greater personal security through the protection of law and for greater enjoyment for the good things in life. There has been quite a good response to such appreciation. It may be hoped that a sense of fellowship will come, and objectionable as pacts are, they may ultimately extend to form a world community.

#### IV

#### THE MIDDLE EAST STATES

Palestine has its natural capital at Jerusalem, which is its important city, and as a sacred place of Jews, Christians and Moslems alike, is situated in Judea a few miles over the hills, west of the Northern extremity of the Dead Sea and therefore of the river Jordan, which joins the Dead Sea with the Sea of Galilee. Bethlehem, 6 miles south of Jerusalem, is the birth-place of Jesus Christ. A few miles further

Transport of Middle East Oil in million Tons :

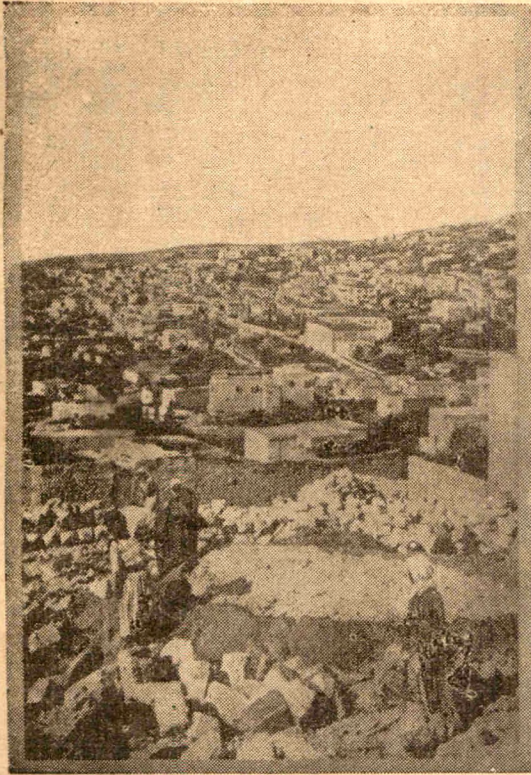
Through Canal	Pipe Line	To East	E. & S. Africa	Australia
67	40	20	10	5

N.B. Britain took 21, out of 67 million tons.

south stands Hebron, where Abraham, Isaac and Jacob lie buried. A mosque stands there now, as the Moslems also hold these Patriarchs in great reverence. Jericho, where the exodus of the Jews terminated, is on the Jordan, just above the Dead Sea. Christian pilgrims bathe in the muddy turbulent waters (because of the steep fall of 2,000 feet—1,300 feet above and 700 feet below the sea level) on the banks of the Jordan, where Jesus was baptised by his cousin, John the Baptist. North of Judea, we cross Samaria and reach the fertile land of Galilee, a resort of the Jews owing to repeated destruction of Jerusalem. Here nestling amongst the Hills is Nazareth, home of Jesus, where he passed his boyhood, his parents having only gone to Bethlehem to be counted according to the custom. To the south of Nazareth is the vast area of Esdraelon, the battleground of the Empires of the Nile and the Euphrates, and where armies from the north and south, east and west have often closed in deadly combat, through ages. Here many a Crusader lie buried. Here the gathering on



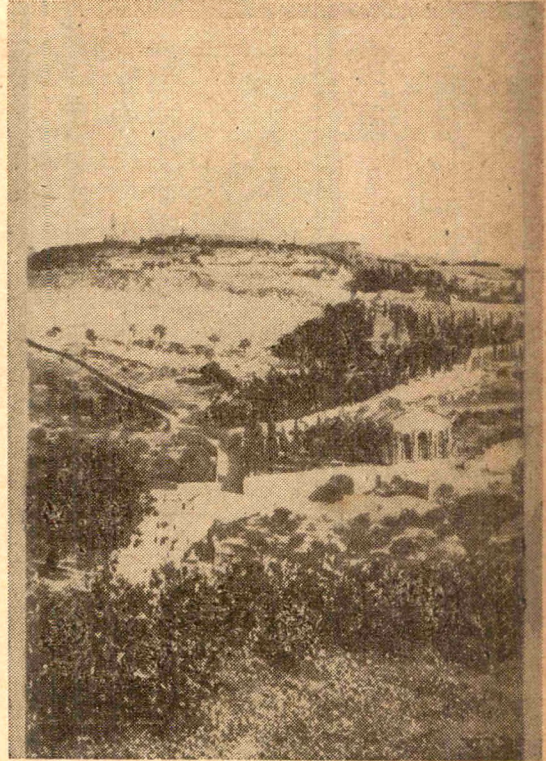
the Judgement Day (Armageddon), it is believed, will take place. On the shores of the Sea of Galilee, Jesus met the fishermen, who became his Apostles. At the head of the Sea lies Capernaum, where he performed most of his miracles.



Nazareth, from the East

Jerusalem stands centrally on the west side of a mountain range, not far from the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, on a plateau, 2000 feet high, safer from the attacks of powerful invaders from the south and north, than any towns on the plains, such as Hebron on the south or Samaria on the north. That is why Palestine had been chosen as the capital, owing to its impregnable position, and yet close to the Sea. In spite of its safe position, its walls were built, destroyed and rebuilt, many times, through war and peace, during long ages in the past. The site of the Temple in the south-east corner of the city, is in ruins and the Mosque of Omar, built during the Moslem occupation (637-1096) now stands there. Here is the Wailing Wall, the ruins of a Jewish Temple, where the Temple of Solomon is supposed to have stood. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the tomb of Christ, in the Christian quarters in the north-west. On the north of the city is Calvary or Golgotha, where Christ was crucified. From the garden of Gethsemane, beyond the Temple, the ground rises towards the east to the Mount of Olives, overlook-

ing the whole city, where Jesus knelt and prayed in anguish. The Hebrew University is close by. Two-thirds of the population live in modern suburbs, built in recent years. The Jews, Christians, Armenians and Moslems live in separate quarters. The Jews, however, form only half the population. The



The Mount of Olives from the city wall

Arabs occupy the old parts of the city by the ramparts in the north-east, over the Jewish quarters. The Christians live on the north-west, over Armenian quarters. The Moslem and the Jewish quarters face the Temple grounds to the east, while to the west, between the Christian and the Armenian quarters lies Herod's tomb.

*Egypt* situated in the north-east corner of Africa is the home of the earliest civilisation of the world. After a long chequered history, Egypt became a Moslem country, as soon as Mahomed appeared. Even under control and later as a protectorate of Britain from the early 18th century, it was under the Khalifa of Turkey, the spiritual head of all Moslems. In 1918, at the end of the First World War, the Khalifat was dissolved; Turkey became a republic and Egypt independent under the Khedive or ruler, in 1922, but still under strong British influence. In 1952, King Farouk of Egypt was forced to abdicate, when Major General Naguib seized power and pressed for an anti-corruption campaign. In 1953, Egypt was proclaimed a Republic by Naguib as President



and Nasser as Premier. An attempted murder of Nasser removed Naguib and Nasser became President or Director. Then soon after, Egypt and Britain agreed to grant self-government to Sudan in 2 years. In 1954, Egypt and Britain entered into an agreement, ending British occupation of the Suez Canal in less than 2 years and the British garrison left the Canal Zone. Nasser, however, disappointed about the Assuan Dam, closed the canal, on grounds of nationalisation and evoked the Israel and Anglo-French attack, which has been decried by the world opinion and U.N. has taken up the case. Now he abrogates the 1954 agreement on the ground of the attack.



The River Jordan and the mountains of Judea

Syria was under the French mandate from 1921 to 1941, after the First World War as a Republic, the President being elected by a popular referendum. It is a member of the Arab League and of the U.N.

Lebanon is a Republic with a Parliament, the President being chosen for 6 years and the Chamber of Deputies every 4 years. It is a narrow State (120 miles by 30 to 35 miles) on the Mediterranean. It was under the French mandate after the war, but is now one of the independent States.

Jordan (formerly Trans-Jordan) is the country to the east of the river Jordan. After the war a monarchy

was established and mandated to Britain. It was recognised as a sovereign independent State in 1946. A Legislature was set up in 1952 with a Lower House of 40 elected members and a Senate of 20 nominated by the King. It formed a mutual assistance treaty with Britain in 1948, but is now trying to back out.

Iraq (formerly Mesopotamia) is at the head of the Persian Gulf. After the liberation from Turkey in 1918 as the result of the First World War, Iraq was put under the mandate of Britain from 1923, with a 25-year treaty of control created by Churchill and Lawrence. But soon the mandate was terminated and Iraq was recognised as a hereditary constitutional monarchy, when in 1924, King Faisal II was elected and the Constituent Assembly was formed by a plebiscite. The Legislative body consists of a Majlis of 141 elected deputies and a Senate of elder statesmen, nominated by the King for 8 years, of less than a quarter of the number of the Majlis members. It became a member of the League of Nations in 1932. It is a member of the Baghdad Pact. It joined the Arab League and U.N. in 1945.

#### OLD HISTORY OF IRAQ

Iraq has always been the coveted land for which mighty people from all directions have fought through ages and founded kingdoms until ousted. Long before 3000 B.C., the Sumerians were living in City States (City and State in one, small and isolated) along the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates in their lower course. Not only did they improve agriculture by irrigation, but they also learnt to write (in sixties against our hundreds). The great tower of Babel was built by them at Babylon, although relics of other towers about the country were unearthed lately. In 2750 B.C., Sargon, a Semitic Chieftain from the Arabian desert, created a kingdom from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea. He was followed by a new kingdom of another Semitic tribe, which was established at Babylon under Hammurabi, about 2100 B.C. He propounded a set of laws, unearthed from clay tablets. Commerce and Agriculture flourished. Later the kingdom was destroyed by tribes under Saragon II (name assumed for celebrity, 722-705 B.C.) from the south and finally by the Assyrians from the north. They destroyed the Northern Hebrew kingdom of Israel as well as the ancient city of Babylon and made Nineveh, on the upper reaches of the Tigris, their capital. (Iron had been introduced by now, and to this they owed their success). In 606, a desert tribe of the Chaldeans from the south over-ran Babylon and joining the Medes from the mountains of the east, assailed Nineveh. They rebuilt Babylon and made it their capital. Here Nebuchadnezzar (604-561), their greatest king, constructed the Hanging Gardens (one of the wonders of the world) on arches and terraces and effected considerable improvements in astronomy,



trade and industries. He took Jerusalem and left a governor there. The Israelites broke out in revolt and massacred his soldiers. In retaliation, Nebuchadnezzar sacked Jerusalem and carried all the people there as slaves to Babylon, until Cyrus from Persia restored them to Palestine, when they rebuilt Jerusalem. Persian, Greek, Roman, Arabian and Turkish rule succeeded one after another until Iraq was relieved by the British in 1819.

In 1950, when the Middle East was partitioned into separate States, Iraq came into being in accordance with the Peace terms which are now cracking and the States have resumed fighting.

*Saudi Arabia* is an absolute hereditary monarchy under King Saud, with an advisory council. Legislature is a consultative assembly. It has, however, taken a progressive part in the political and economic resurgence of the Middle East countries. Its importance lies in its being the custodian of the Moslem holy places of Mecca and Medina. It is now decidedly anti-Communist and does not believe in pacts or alliances. In the southern fringe there is a large number of Protectorates, which as well as its despotic rule is bound to disappear in due course, with education.

(Concluded)

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## GOLD COAST BECOMES GHANA

By ZAMIR H. KAZMI

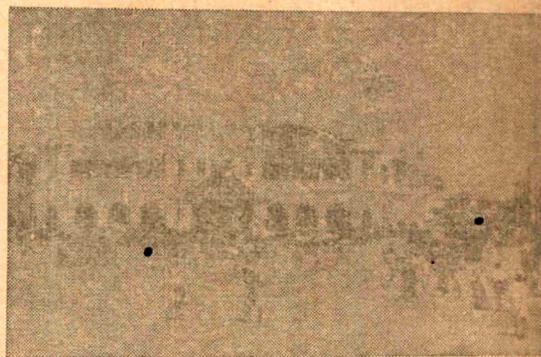
GHANA, hitherto known as the Gold Coast, is today throbbing with a new life and activity as on March 6, 1957, it has achieved its long-cherished goal of independence. Yet another African nation—fifth since the end of the World War II—has risen to take its place in the comity of free nations.

Two reasons are ascribed for renaming the country. Firstly, the name 'Gold Coast' is tabooed because of its association with the inhuman slave trade; secondly, most of the Gold Coasters are descendants of the migrants from the Kingdom of Ghana that flourished in the Western Sudan in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. The nationalists, therefore, want their country to be known as 'Ghana'.

Bounded by the French West Africa on three sides and by the Gulf of Guinea in the South, Ghana is a country of 92,041 square miles and is inhabited by about five million people (65 per cent Pagans, 30 per cent Christians and 5 per cent Muslims). The country is divided into four separate regions—the hot and humid coastal strip or the Gold Coast colony, the Kingdom of Ashanti, the Northern Territories and the British Togoland. (Formerly a German dependency British Togoland was a United Nations Trust Territory under the British Administration. At a plebiscite held in 1956 it voted to integrate with the Gold Coast).

Of these regions, Ashanti, due to its militant people and the mysterious "Golden Stool" is best known to the outside world. The "Golden Stool" (stool means throne) is believed to be a Divine Gift to the Ashanti Kings and is regarded as the 'soul of the Nation.' The resistance by the Ashantis to the

penetration of the British into their kingdom was so firm and fierce that once the public opinion in England strongly opposed the annexation of the Gold Coast either in part or whole. When in 1900, the British authorities—with a view to break the morale of the people—foolishly demanded the surrender of

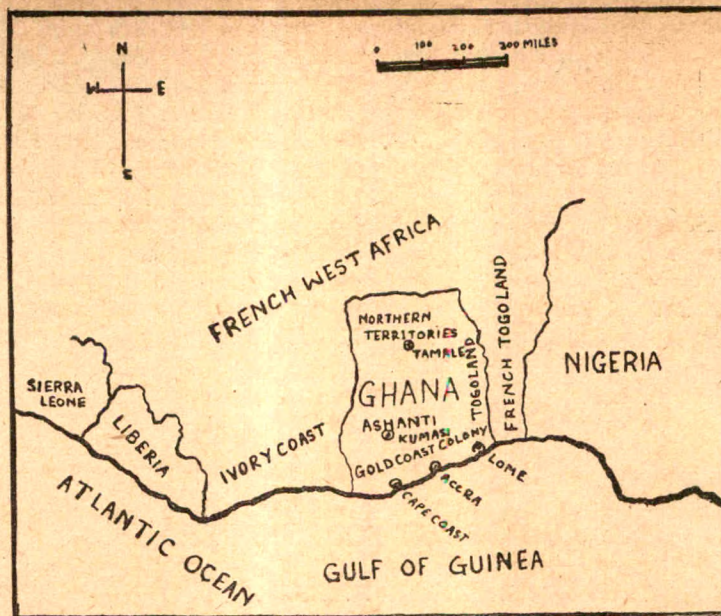


General Post Office at Accra

their sacred stool, the whole of Ashanti rose to a man to defend it. A savage and sanguinary war ensued in which both the sides suffered very heavy casualties. After months of heroic defence, the Ashanti host dispersed in face of the much superior arms. The British won the war—the eighth and last—but failed to get their object for the Ashanti patriots concealed it so cleverly that all attempts to search it out proved abortive.

The Golden Stool was, however, quite unexpectedly discovered in 1921 by a group of labourers





engaged in the construction of a road. The British authorities, who had by that time become wiser, immediately handed it over to the Ashantis instead of inviting the trouble afresh.

Contrary to the common practice, the Kingship of Ashanti is not hereditary. There the nephew and not the son succeeds the deceased King. Sir Osei Agyeman Prempeh II is the reigning monarch of Ashanti. His exalted office is now merely a symbol rather than an authority which rests with the Parliament.

Portugal was the first among the colonial powers to have established its colony in the Gold Coast in 1482. The unending supply of slaves for the American markets and gold, which gave the colony its name, brought other European nations on the scene. The Portuguese were followed by Swedes, Danes, the Dutch and the British. The British succeeded in dislodging all other powers during the nineteenth century, abolished the slave trade and incorporated the Gold Coast in their empire. The British Government encouraged education among the population which has produced responsible hard-working political leaders.

The last three decades saw the rise of nationalism and striking political progress in the country. Gradually the liberation movement—greatly inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence, became so strong and stable that in 1946 the British had to grant a limited constitution (internal autonomy) providing for the establishment of a Legislative Assembly elected by the universal suffrage and formation of a cabinet of African ministers, later, a

promise for independence within the Commonwealth was also made.

Dr. Kwame N'Krumah (pronounced as 'enkroo-mah'), whose Convention People's party captured a majority of the seats in the election held under the new constitution, was then in jail. He was released and called upon by the Governor to shoulder the responsibilities of the first Prime Minister of his country. The new African Administration was such a success that the British Government realized that it was time for them to pull out of their richest possession on the Dark Continent.

The credit for the glorious achievements the Gold Coast has made within such a short period goes mainly to the untiring efforts and wisdom of its great leader, Dr. Nkrumah. Educated in the United States at America and England, the forty-eight year-old Prime Minister of Ghana is a self-made man. He has passed through many a vicissitude of life before reaching the present dignified position, highest that any of his countrymen can dream of. His career is inextricably linked with the Gold Coast's struggle for liberation from the foreign domination.

Many times jailed and exiled, Dr. Nkrumah is a patriot of outstanding merits. Only to devote all of his energies, attention and time to the service of his people and country he has not even entered the conjugal life.

J. B. Danquah, Kojo Botsio and K. A. Gbedemah are among other distinguished political leaders of the Gold Coast, who have played remarkable roles in the attainment of the national aspirations of their country.



It is Danquah who brought Nkrumah in the political arena by appointing him Secretary of his United Gold Coast Convention Party. Difference of opinion between the two over taking positive action against the British Government, however, made Nkrumah to quit U.G.C.C. Party and form a new party under the name of 'Convention Peoples' Party' in 1949.



A dance by tribal girls

Botsio and Gbedemah are the close associates of Dr. Nkrumah and ministers of his cabinet.

Accra with a population of 1,60,000 is the rapidly expanding capital of Ghana. It is the commercial centre as well as a busy seaport of the country. A network of roads and railways connects it with other important towns.



Dr. Kwame N'Krumah addressing the Legislative Assembly

The capital is well provided with modern housing estates and other civilized amenities. In the

centre of the city stands the attractive building of the General Post Office from which all official mileages are measured. The imposing five-storey structure, known as Swanmill, houses the United African Company and other big commercial concerns. Built in 1657 by the Swedes in the suburb of Accra, the Christianburg Castle is the only existing building of the country which may be termed as 'historical'. The castle is the official residence of the Governor of the Gold Coast since 1880.

Situated on the crossroads of the Gold Coast interior, Kumasi, the capital of Ashanti, is the centre of both the cocoa and gold-mining industries. It was the seat of an old African civilization but very little is known of its heyday.



Central market of Kumasi

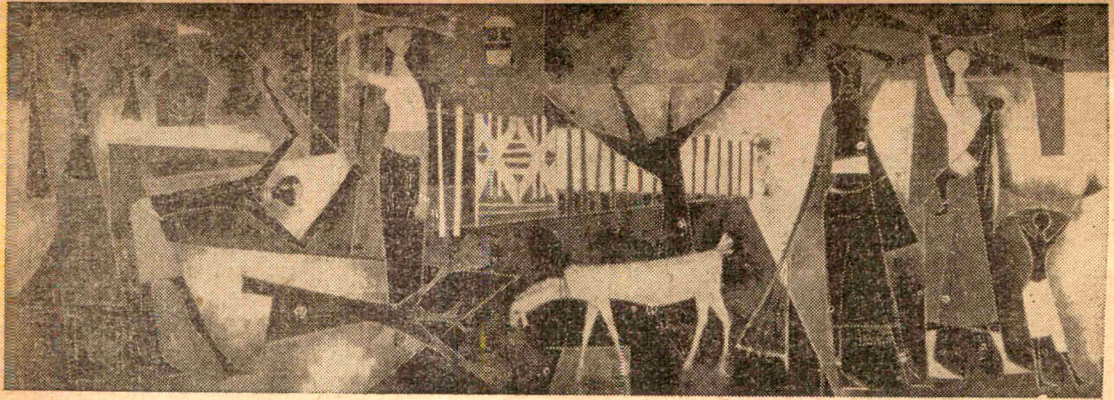
The central market of this colourful town of 70,000 people, may be called an African world's fair in miniature and remains crowded night and day by the customers in their gaily-coloured dress.

The country yields gold, diamond, manganese and timber, but most of its wealth comes from cocoa which is extensively grown by African land-owners and is exported to America and Europe. With the completion of the ambitious development project on the Volta River, the country will become one of the greatest producers of aluminium and hydro-electric power.

Ghana has two curses. One is illiteracy and the other poverty. The leaders of this young nation are striving with the conscientious zeal to eradicate both. Although the country has taken great strides in this direction, it is yet to go a long way.

Despite the lack of interest of the tribal chiefs and other difficulties, Dr. Nkrumah and his Government are gradually and steadfastly leading their backward country towards progressive enlightenment.





"Life" by Shanti S. Dave

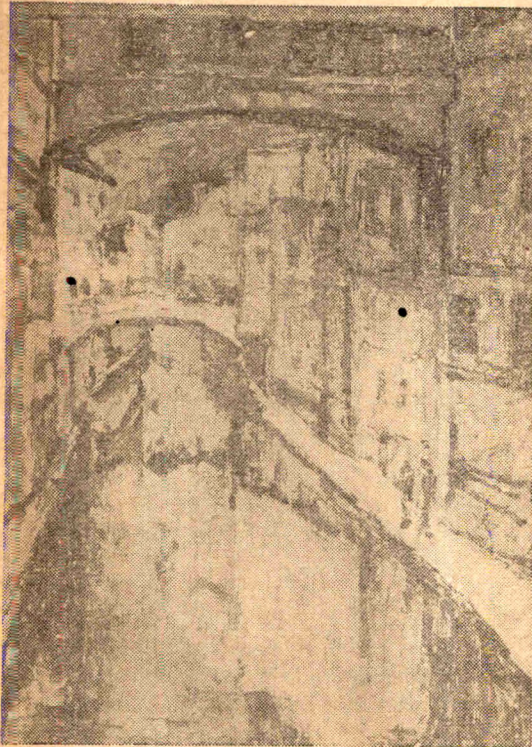
## THIRD NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART

### A Review

By "ART-CORRESPONDENT"

THE Annual Exhibition held at New Delhi under the auspices of the Lalit Kala Akadami (National Academy of Art) claims to be the supreme Forum of Art in India, of the same status as the Royal Academy Exhibition in London, the French Annual Salon in Paris, or the Venice Bi-Annual of inter-

national fame. One is entitled to examine this ambitious claim in a critical spirit, free from bias or prejudice. And this critical examination can be best achieved by reviewing this year's output which was opened at Delhi in the third week of January last. Such a review could be given in two ways, either by an independent appraisal of all the exhibits by going behind the official appraisal, or by appraising the appraisal of the official judges by considering the limited number of exhibits which have won prizes awarded by the judges. The latter course is the more convenient as the reviewer's task is lightened, being confined to the ten items of prize-winners which the judges have considered as the best exhibits in the year's show, revealing, according to them, the finest qualities in expression, in conception, in originality and in technique. In this case, we have to accept the judgment of the official appraisal, and to assume that no other items in the formidable array of exhibits revealed any significant indication of the progress of Art in India in contemporary productions. If we run our eyes in a sweeping manner over the ten fortunate pieces it becomes apparent that they are all executed in the fashionable modernistic manner borrowed from the current representatives of the Post-Impressionists, Cubists, and Abstractionists of Europe, and not one of them give any evidence of the existence of survival of the Indian language of art, which has for a period of at least four thousand years bequeathed a rich array of remarkable masterpieces, which have illuminated the well-known schools of Buddhist, Guzerati, Rajasthani, Pala, Moghul, and the Pahari phases the products of which extorted chorus of admiration from European critics when they were presented in the famous Exhibition of Indian Art held in London in

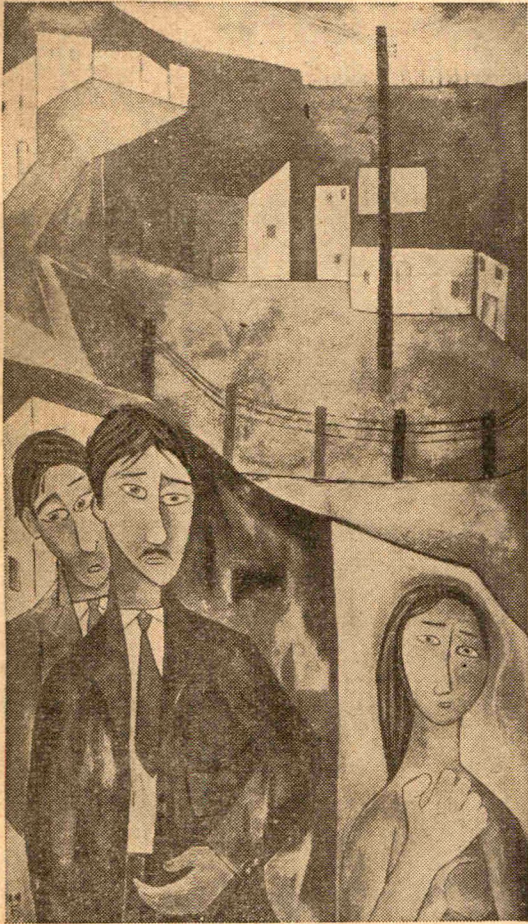


A Street in Venice  
By Vidya Bhushan



1948, under the auspices of the London Royal Academy, and commemorated by a richly illustrated catalogue. We are driven to the conclusion that our contemporary practitioners of Art, the so-called representatives of National Art in India, find nothing in the magnificent heritage of Indian Art to inspire, to guide, or to influence the modern expression of the national genius in the realm of Art. They are thoroughly repudiating the idea that India had ever

natural death out of sheer exhaustion and incapable of any manner of further development. Curiously, the so-called revolutionary artists of modern Europe who are now being slavishly imitated by the moderns of India have not repudiated the great traditions of European Art, and one can find numerous evidences of their use, exploitation, and development of ancient and mediaeval conventions, formulas and techniques borrowed from Duccio, Margaritone, and El Greco, and from the Gothic and the Byzantine traditions and manners. What they had repudiated are the over-done realism of High Renaissance Art. According to them, if the conventions of Renaissance Art had spent itself out and emptied all their possibilities the other great traditions of Europe have treasured fruitful and inexhaustible sources of inspiration for present and future development. But in the implied and vociferous judgments of our own contemporary artists the traditions of Indian Art are dead as mutton incapable of any manner of revival or resuscitations. For what is dead cannot come to live again and its dead carcass must be buried six fathoms deep and the memory of the past achievements should not be permitted to disturb the contemplation of the modern artists deeply engrossed in the development of the magic incantations, the charming



Sad Town  
By Ram Kumar

developed a significant form of national art, parallel to the regional expressions of Asiatic Art revealed through the centuries in Persia, Central Asia, China, or Japan. If any modern practitioner of Art in India has any realization of the magnificent history of Indian Art throughout the ages such as was revealed in the Royal Academy Exhibition of Indian Art according to our modern artists, the old masterpieces are no longer of any use as guide, or inspiration in the present psycho-social situation in India, and that the great traditions of Indian Art have died a



The Condemned  
By Satish Gujral





"A Marriage in Saurashtra" by B. Parmar Khodidas

*mantres*, donated by the great *gurus*—Picasso, Van Gogh, Matisse, and Gauguin.

According to the practice of the Calcutta Academy of Fine Arts (which has just celebrated its 21st Exhibition), a special Hall is assigned to works executed in Indian style but this wholesome practice is not followed by the Lalit Kala Akadami and the Indian pieces are mixed up with the Academic, Abstractionist and Cubistic pieces. It is quite possible that many Indian pictures were exhibited in this year's show at Delhi but they have not obtained any recognition of their merits, perhaps, justly ignored on account of their inferior quality. Alternatively, the official judges have developed a bias against Indian works and have only recognized merits in servile imitations of European modernistic works. That is to say that Indian National Art has no chance in the National Art Exhibition at New Delhi. But we shall assume that the exhibits have been competently appraised without any manner of bias or prejudice and if any Indian exhibits have not won any prizes we have to admit that the present exponents of the principles and doctrines of Indian Art are not producing any works of merit, and the path shown by Acharya Abanindranath, Dr. Nanda Lal Bose and Jamini Roy is no longer attracting any new followers in any new manner of interpretations of Indian aesthetic principles. And we have to assume that the long and glorious history of Indian Art is destined to close with the chapter written by Jamini Roy, its last living exponent. Yet surely matters are not as gloomy as the Delhi Show is persuading one to believe by asserting that the ten imitations of Modern European doctrines blessed with prizes, are the best modern representatives of National Art in

India. It is quite possible that scared away by the pronounced bias of the Delhi Akadami in favour of European modernistic art, our exponents of national Indian Art are not submitting their works to the Delhi show monopolized by the so-called exponents of modernism. It will be relevant to make extracts from the magnificent speech that Sri Chintamani Kar, Principal of the Government Art College, made at the Academy Banquet in Calcutta on the 31st January last. Sri Kar pointed out that

"Recently, at a meeting of the Bharatiya Lalit Kala Akadami many representatives put the open question why should the Indian artists try to be like somebody else instead of remaining what they were. Would it redound to the prestige of an artist of this country to become French instead of remaining an Indian?"

But the Delhi Akadami appears to have contradicted this critical attitude by awarding prizes to ten exhibitors who have aggressively exhibited pronounced French manners. Sri Kar had pertinently pointed out:

"Another question that often crossed his mind was whether it was at all proper for the Indian artists to express in their work, the transitory life of frustration, disintegration and chaos which pervaded the Western countries and was represented in their art creations. Should they in this country also show these gloomy things in blind imitation of their counterparts in the West? India certainly had not lost hope as the West had. We in this country, are on the contrary, more full of hope than ever. Why should artists in India take the gloomy view of things when these are not the true expressions of our life?"



It will be useful to refer to the reactions of the artists of Turkey, (a region with a background of ancient Eastern culture) to the impact of Modernistic Art.

"The Turkish artist after acquiring his art education and technique had to find a means of identification, to acquire such *rational* traits that would make him unique and stamp his personality in his work. The young Turkish artists have gone into the very roots of the old Turkish art and drawn such resources to have won themselves a *national Cachet*."—Zahir Guvelam, *Studio*, December, 1956.

Unfortunately in India the contemporary Indian artists are perversely setting their face against the

modernistic formula of which Picasso set the fashion in 1910.

Illustration II: In this perpendicular picture (?) called *Sad Town* by Ram Kumar, the upper half is devoted to a Cubistic city scene, and the lower half depicts ugly distorted figures of two Europeans and of a nude girl, from which all elements of beauty have been deliberately banished.

Illustration III: This is a representation of *A Street in Venice* by Vidya Bhushan in the common technique of slap-dash brush-work of no manner of distinction. It is a normal presentation of a hackneyed theme fortunately free from any distortion or abstraction.

Illustration IV: This is a study of landscape *Through the Forest* by A. P. Santhana Raj, in the impressionistic manner following a *via media* between the superficial realism of academic painting and the analytical formula of Cezanne. It is a normal presentation of no particular distinction.

Illustration V: It is a decorative composition depicting a group of women planting paddy and called *Song of the Field* by K. K. Hebber. It is a powerful composition of an animated group of figures making a virtue out of a succession of right angles but not quite worthy of this artist.

Illustration VI: This is a powerful study of a grim subject depicting the *vibhatsa rasa* and entitled *The Condemned* by Satish Gujral. It is a creditable presentation executed with verve and vigour. Unfortunately, it recalls G. F. Watts' famous picture *Minotaur*.

Illustration VII: It is a happy application of modernistic principles to an Indian theme, a group of mother and child both standing, interpreted in terms of a series of significant and dynamic lines, entitled *Peace* by Shri Santosh. There is considerable expression in the tilted head which remarkably punctuates the powerful attitudinized gestures of the two figures revealing commendable originality.

Illustration VIII: This is an original and convincing presentation of *A Marriage in Saurashtra* by B. P. Khodidas. It cleverly uses local colour, types, and details commendably satisfying the conflicting claims of narration and decoration. It has the pageantry of a fresco, and the liveliness of a tapestry, and is commendably free from the formality of European conventions. It is a brilliant modern piece without being *modernistic*.

Illustration IX: This claims to be an illustration of one of the love-situations depicting a damsel in love, talking to her *sakhi* described in the text of *Rasika-Priya*, drawn by Jeram Patel. It is an Indian theme rich in emotive contents put into the formula of modernistic technique. The symbolic use of buildings and structures is borrowed from the conventions of Pahari masterpieces. The decoration of



Peace  
By Santosh

age-old traditions of Indian Art, and trying in their works to use the borrowed language of European Esperanto, totally ignoring the rich language of Indian Art which has been a rich inheritance throughout the centuries. We shall now proceed to comment on the ten prize-winners at the Delhi Show.

Illustration I: In the oblong composition entitled *Life* by Shanti S. Davé, the artist has attempted to depict an wood-cutter chopping wood which are carried away by a group of ghost-like figures. It is a jig-saw puzzle in intersecting cubes and triangles borrowed from the hackneyed conventions of

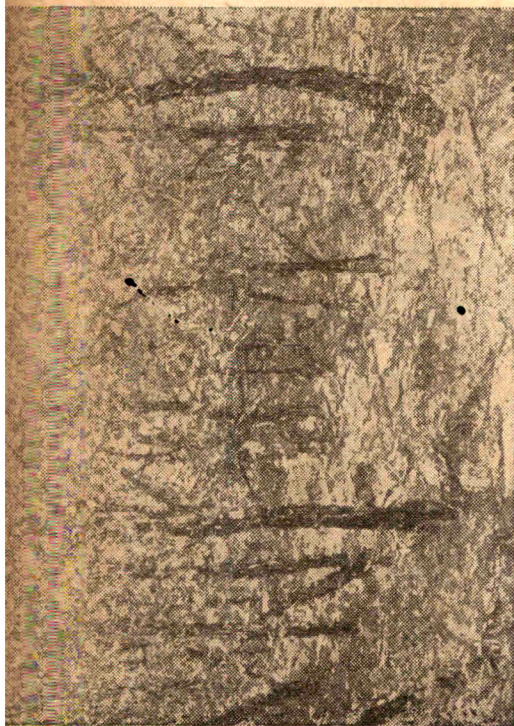




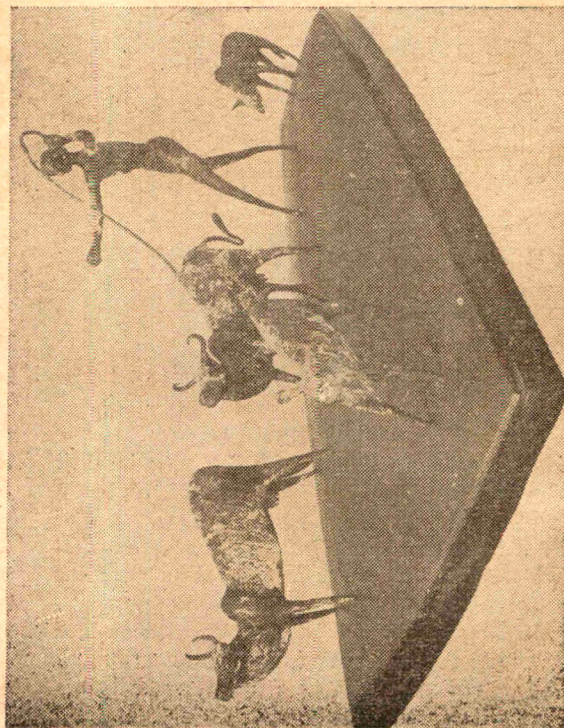
Song of the Field  
By K. K. Hebber



Rasika-Priya  
By Jeram Patel



Through the Forest  
By A. P. Santhana Raj



Onward March (sculpture)  
By Amar Nath Sehgal



the Sash, a formula of running water, is borrowed from the well-known conventions of Guzerati miniatures. In trying to be faithful to imported modernistic fashion the artist has been afraid of expressing his loyalty to his own national language of art. Is it a crime to bend one's knees to one's own national traditions in Art?

Illustration X: This is a piece of sculpture-group depicting an Indian peasant driving his cattle. It is a conscientious study with expressive and naive presentation of familiar animal forms rendered with considerable animation and narrative power. Curiously it reminds of similar treatment in old Dynastic Egyptian Art.

If we are to assess, without bias, this evidence of contemporary Indian Art we shall have to confess that we have *not* here, in the ten chosen examples, *any* masterpiece of enduring values which is likely to survive the ruthless judgment of time. In this string of works, predominantly imitative of imported technique, there is no significant sign of any progress or new development. We look for in vain, in these ten prize-winners (excepting No. VIII) any evidence of any sense of beauty. As Herbert Read has said, "A sense of Beauty is nothing but a sense of quality, and if, as a people we have lost this sense of quality *we are finished.*"

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## NEW JERSEY—THE GARDEN STATE OF THE USA

NEW JERSEY, one of the central states of the United States Atlantic Coast, is one of the smallest in the nation—forty-fifth in size of the 48 states. It has many centres of population and provides populous suburban areas for the nation's largest city, New York, and its fourth largest, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Its agricultural space is therefore limited, but nevertheless a broad diversification has earned for it the title of "The Garden State."

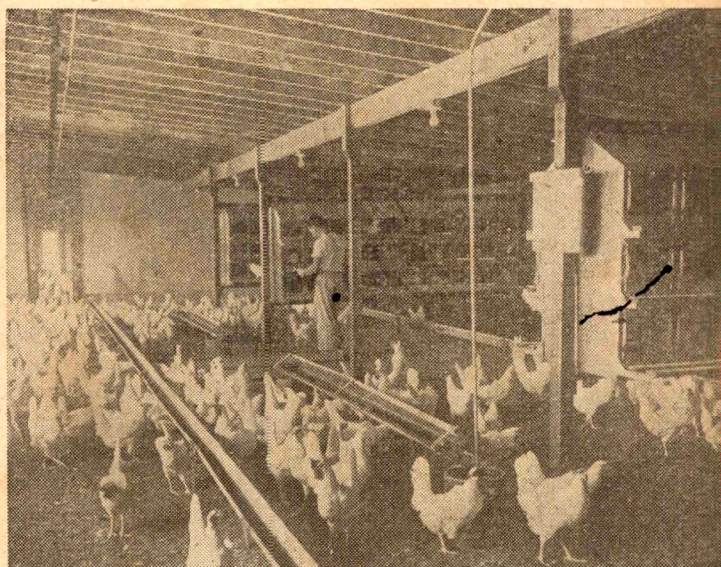
New Jersey is one of the nation's chief producers of quality fruits and vegetables. Its proximity to the large urban centers has led its farmers to this field of agriculture because of the great demand immediately at hand which results in profitable operation of their farm-lands. Of even greater importance in terms of gross revenue than fruits and vegetables is its output of poultry and eggs.

The agricultural picture in New Jersey is much broader than this, however. The second most important farm product is milk. Of growing importance, also are nursery and greenhouse products. Likewise ranking high in value are meat animals, and there are also, hay, grains, berries, white potatoes, seeds, honey and lumber—all combining to make the agriculture many-faceted in New Jersey.

The farm lands of New Jersey range from the rolling, hilly lands of the northern part of the state to the flat and rather sandy southern counties. This diversity of soil and its nature also accounts—along with its closeness to the great consuming cities,—for

the great variety found in its agriculture. There are about 23,000 farms in New Jersey, averaging slightly more than 70 acres (28 hectares) each. This average is smaller than the national average and individual farms are more intensively worked than the larger ones of the great Midwest farm belt.

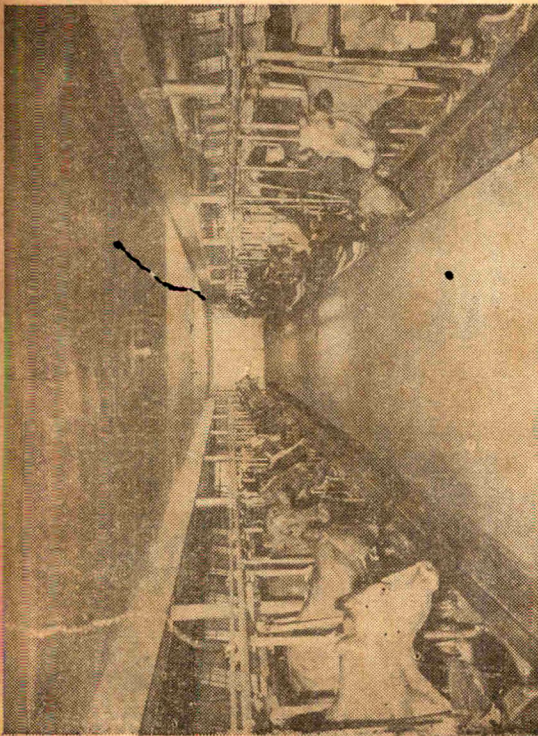
Farmers of New Jersey have learned to concentrate on perfecting their methods and equipment, rather than on enlarging their operations, since there



The production of eggs and poultry for meat constitutes the largest agricultural endeavour in New Jersey

is but little farmland to be purchased in the state. As a result of these intensive farm practices the state ranks first in U.S. agriculture in cash receipts per acre, averaging \$195 an acre (\$482 a hectare), about seven times the national average.





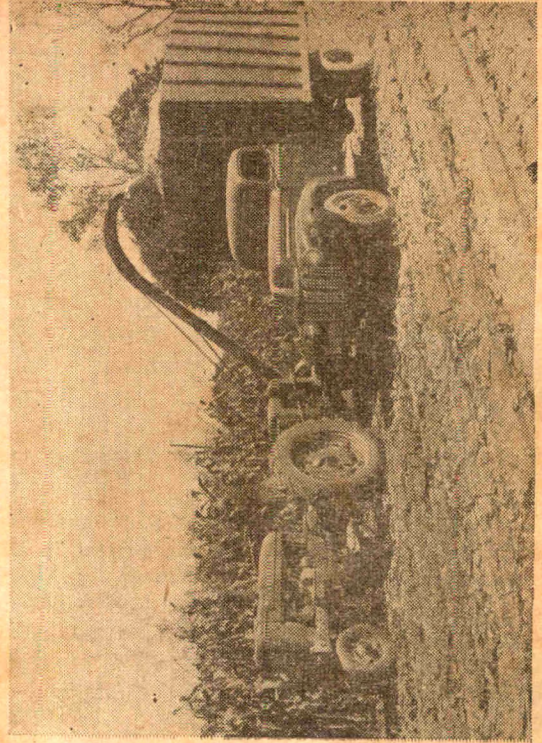
New Jersey's dairy cows rank only behind those of California in per cow production of milk



Nurseries and the growing of flowers account for \$28 million of New Jersey's agricultural income



The growing of vegetables ranks only behind poultry and egg production and the producing of milk in New Jersey's agricultural economy



The growing of maize and small grains is important to New Jersey



New Jersey agriculture is geared largely to the production of perishable foods for state industrial and commercial centers, as well as for the nearby metropolitan markets of two of the nation's largest cities. New Jersey farmers are, therefore, dependent to a large degree on rapid transportation and on quick processing with immediately available facilities. Farmers emphasize the quality of their products with the result that these products are rated highly.

The New Jersey farmer receives more than 40 cents of each \$1.00 of his income, on an average, from the combined sales of poultry and eggs. Within the past two to three decades scientific management methods have been developed—in New Jersey more than almost any other state—so that poultry raising has expanded into a highly specialized industry here. With the exception of a like community—Petaluma, California, on the U.S. Pacific Coast—no area in the United States has developed poultry farming to the degree that it exists in the vicinity of Lakewood, close to the central New Jersey seashore, and Vineland, in south central New Jersey. The temperature, climate and well-drained soils of the state are favorable for poultry-keeping. Most of the chickens raised in the state are White Leghorns, producers of white eggs that seem to be preferred in the nearby major markets.

About 500 of the leading New Jersey breeding flocks are enrolled in the New Jersey-United States Poultry Improvement Program organizations. Through this agency and the interest of farmers outside it, the state expects to qualify next year as a 100 percent pullorum-typhoid-free poultry area. This year all but five of the state's breeding flocks were free of these diseases which 30 years ago were the largest threats to the poultry industry. Flocks not classed as breeding flocks were also generally without infection and are expected to be completely free this year.

Dairying, the second ranking farm project, is centered primarily in the state's northern counties, where rolling and occasionally rugged terrain provides good pastures and many small streams. There are about 226,000 head of cattle on Garden State farms, about 156,000 of them milk cows of two years old or over. Holsteins and Guernseys are the most popular breeds, although some Jersey herds are among the world's leading producers of that breed. There is also considerable interest among the state's dairymen in Ayrshire and Brown Swiss. The state ranks second only to California, on the West Coast, in milk production per cow, but, despite its high rating, there is not enough milk produced in the state to supply the demands of its 5.3 million residents.

New Jersey is among the leading states in its control of such diseases as bovine tuberculosis and brucellosis. Since 1937 the state has been fully quali-

fied as an accredited tuberculosis-free area, with annual incidence of the disease falling under one-tenth of one per cent. Excellent progress has also been made in the eradication of brucellosis. Several counties have already been rated as brucellosis-free and all eight of New Jersey's 21 counties were expected to be so ranked by an April 1, 1958, deadline.

Many thousands of acres (hectares) in every county in the state, particularly in southern New Jersey, are devoted to commercial vegetable growing. Between 55 and 60 different vegetables are grown annually in the fertile soils of the state and find ready markets or are sold to nearby processing plants to be canned or frozen. Despite its small size, the state ranks high in the production of vegetables for both the fresh market and for processing. Among the largest of these crops are asparagus, tomatoes, onions and lima beans.

Demand for the state's tree, fruits and berries is also heavy, making it an important producer of these crops. The combined production of these fruits was valued in 1955 at more than \$19 million. All of the standard Temperate Zone fruits of importance, including apples, peaches, pears, cherries, grapes, strawberries and bush fruits, are grown successfully in most sections of the state on a large scale. New Jersey has long been one of the foremost peach-and-apple-producing states of the United States. Most of the varieties grown are improved types developed at the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, a division of the state's great public "land-grant" college, Rutgers University.

The nearly 2-million-bushel (705,000-hectoliter) peach crop produced each year is about the fifth largest in the nation, while the state also ranks in the top third of the 35 apple-producing states with nearly 3 million bushels (1,057,200 hectoliters) annually.

The growing of cultivated blueberries has become of extreme importance to New Jersey and "The Garden State" now leads in their production. Cranberries have also been important for many years and New Jersey has become a prime source for this small fruit which has become a national delicacy. Cultivated huckleberries, dewberries, raspberries and strawberries are also grown extensively and are a source of considerable farm income.

New Jersey's nursery and flower industry has assumed increasing importance through recent years and last year has assumed \$28 million proportion. The state was the site of the nation's earliest nurseries and since Colonial days, even before the birth of the nation, has been a leading source of fruit trees and orchards. Most of the state's nurseries are now producing large volumes of evergreens, shrubs, shade trees and plants primarily for landscaping. Millions of roses, carnations, orchids and numerous other species of cut flowers find a ready demand in nearby metropolitan

centres. New Jersey is the largest source of orchids in the country.

More than \$30 million worth of the state's fruits, vegetables, poultry, eggs and livestock are sold each year through co-operative auction markets located at key points in the state, making the farmer's disposal of his products convenient and comparatively simple. Wholesale and retail dealers purchase poultry and eggs at six markets near the major poultry centres, while fruits and vegetables move through nine markets to outlets within the state and to points from the New England states in the north-east, south to Virginia and as far west as Ohio. Three livestock auction markets, two in the northern part of the state and one in the south, are the sites for the sale of more than \$5 million worth of top quality animals. All these markets are supervised by the New Jersey Department of Agriculture, a state governmental agency.

The Department of Agriculture is assigned by law to administer regulatory and promotional functions in behalf of New Jersey agriculture. Plant and animal disease control, marketing supervision, administration of loan funds for farm boys and girls and young farmers and the publication of circulars and reports are among the Department's activities. It maintains its headquarters in New Jersey's capital. The Department also supervises an extensive seed certification program and today New Jersey is the principal source for tomato seeds in the nation, as well as for certain other seeds. The Department is also co-operating with the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) in the operation of the New Jersey Crop Reporting Service,

which has become an important factor in USDA's national system of crop estimates and its other authoritative data. The regular program of crop estimates—providing data of the past, present and future—gives an authentic and complete picture of farming in the state.

The New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station and New Jersey Agricultural Extension Service are based at New Brunswick, under the direction of Rutgers University. The Experiment Station has a notable staff of agricultural experts who have been constantly improving established varieties and developing new ones in all the phases of agriculture, from small fruits and vegetables to trees. The famous Rutgers tomato and improved Elberta peach are among the Station's products. The Extension Service serves to carry to New Jersey farmers and their families all the newest developments in crops, land and farm management, home improvement and management and other subjects related to agriculture. Many of its teachings are the results of experimentation, research and development at the Experiment Station.

New Jersey also has its share of statewide and local organizations formed for the benefit of agriculture and service to farmers. These include county boards of agriculture, the New Jersey Farm Bureau Federation, the New Jersey State Grange and many co-operatives and other groups. All these combine with the state and university agencies and federal agricultural agencies to make New Jersey's already highly developed farm economy better.—USIS.

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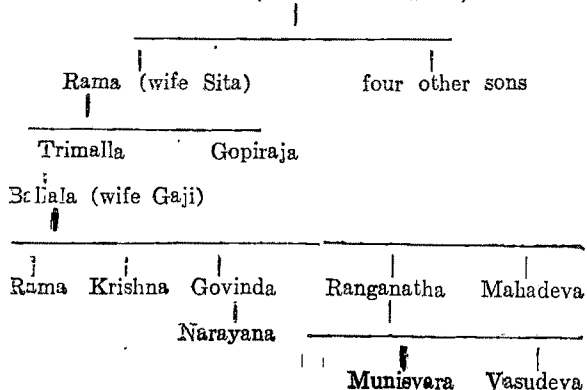
## SRIKRISHNA DAIVAJNA—COURT ASTROLOGER OF JEHANGIR

By Dr. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI

### HIS FAMILY

SRIKRISHNA was the scion of a great family of astrologers who flourished during Muslim rule in India. The genealogical tree of Srikrishna's family may be constructed on the basis of the works of the illustrious members of this family itself:

Chintamani (of Devarata Gotra)



In the concluding part of his *Marichi-tika*, Munisvara, nephew of Krishna Daivajna, says:

एलिचपुरसमदेशे तटे पयोण्या शुभदधिग्रामे ।

This shows that their native village was Dadhi on the banks of the river Payosni in Berar. From the commentary of Narayana, son of Govinda, on the *Jatakapaddhati* of Kesava it would appear that the latitude of Dadhi is 21.15 (its palabha being 4130) which is identical with that of Elichapur. So Dadhi and Elichapur must be adjacent.

As an astrologer of great repute, Chintamani's son Rama had great influence upon the then King of Berar. Rama flourished about 1440 Saka, i.e., 1518 A.D. The Bahamani (Brahmani) Kingdom got split into five States about 1500 A.D. One of these extended over Berar, with Elichapur as its capital.

Lord Siva was the family deity of Ballala. Ballala's eldest son Rama wrote an *Upapatti* to the *Sudharasa* of Ananta (vide the *Surya-Siddhanta-tika* of Ranganatha). From the *Marichi-tika*, it appears



that Rama was alive during the Saka year 1557, i.e., 1635 A.D.

SRIKRISHNA AS AUTHOR OF THE "JATAKA-PADDHATI-UDAHARANA"

Srikrishna was the second son of Vallala. His commentary on the *Vija* of Bhaskara Acharya is known as *Vijanavankura*, also *Vija-pallava* and *Kalpavata*. Krishna has introduced many novelties in this work. This commentary of Krishna is applauded by the connoisseurs of the subject as one of the best commentaries on the *Vija*.

Krishna designates himself in one place as a pupil of Vishnu, who in his turn, was a pupil of Nrisimha, nephew of Ganesha, author of the *Graha-laghava*.

In the present work Krishna has accepted Saka 1478, the year of Khankhanan's birth, as the illustration or *udaharana* of the work. Khankhanan did not become a minister before Saka 1500. Ranganatha was referred to before the commentaries of Srikrishna, viz., the *Vijanavankura* and the *Jataka-paddhati-udaharana*

in the commentary on the *Surya-siddhanta*. Ranganatha also mentions that Krishna was held in high esteem in the court of Jehangir (1527-1549 Saka year, i.e., 1605-1627 A.D.). It is only likely that Krishna composed both the abovementioned commentaries between 1578 and 1627 A.D. The *Chadaka-nirnaya* of Krishna Daivajna is also an important work. It would appear from the *Marichi Commentary* that Krishna was not alive during the Saka year 1557, i.e., 1635 A.D.

The *Jataka-paddhati* of Srikrishna is a standard work of Indian astrology which has been ably commented upon and illustrated by Srikrishna Daivajna under the name *Jatakodaharana-paddhati*. The importance of this work can hardly be overrated as this is a valuable addition to our Hindu astrological literature and also shows how Sanskrit Pandits were patronized by Muslim rulers and chiefs during Muslim rule in India. This work has now for the first time been edited from rare Sanskrit MSS. by the present author from the *Prachyavani* as Vol. XVII of *Prachyavani* Sanskrit text series.

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## (EISENHOWER DOCTRINE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST)

By PROF. JAGDISH CHANDRA JHA, M.A.

THE Ike-Doctrine for the Middle East has raised no less a controversy and storm than the Truman Doctrine of 1947, and Monroe Doctrine of 1823. Indeed, this new deal for Western Asia has intensified the cold war between the two big giants—U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. in an area which has been an arena of worldwide political fights between Great Powers since olden periods. This new doctrine is more baffling for us as it concerns a particular important area of Asia.

The advent of the new year saw the significant announcement of this new Middle East Plan of the American President. The first official substance of this plan was incorporated in the New Year Message of Mr. Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State. It was stated by him that in 1957, the U.S.A. would have "to accept an increasing responsibility to assist the free nations of the Middle East . . . to maintain their freedom and develop their welfare." On the 2nd January he submitted a draft to the Congress leaders and on the following day the American Congress was summoned to hear the President's message on the Middle East Crisis. The President proposed to the Congress the detailed action in support of his doctrine for security in the Middle East. President Eisenhower, who is 'a passionate believer in American leadership for troubled, puzzled, war-shattered world,'

sought a stand-by-authority to use American forces, if necessary, to stop Communist aggression or an 'overt armed aggression' by a nation 'controlled by international 'Communism' in the Middle East. Moreover, he wanted authority to assist any nation or group of nations in the development of economic strength to maintain national independence. The necessity for such military assistance in war and economic aid in peace was justified on the ground that a power vacuum had been created by the misadventure of Anglo-French attack and subsequent withdrawal and there was every likelihood of Communist aggression. As such 'the vigour and security of the independent nations of the area' must be increased. The imminent danger of the Middle East going red was reiterated by the U.S. Secretary of State while appearing before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. The purpose of the proposed legislation, according to him, was peace, not war; nay, 'to stop the World War III before it starts' due to aggressive Communists. The Communist domination in that area, as he pointed out, would mean political, economic as well as religious disaster for the nations of that part of the world. He further said on another occasion 'that the Middle East has always been coveted by the rulers of Russia' and that if international Com-

munism gets control of the area it can 'throttle' to cut off the life-blood of Europe.

This American Middle East programme called Eisenhower Doctrine is, according to the *Eastern Economist*, 'neither unexpected nor unnatural'; rather it has been a culmination of the efforts of the U.S.A. to replace Anglo-French influence in the Middle East by her own predominance. That the American President had told Pandit Nehru in course of his recent discussion that the U.S.A. would not allow any vacuum in the West Asian region to be filled by U.S.S.R. (as was revealed by our Prime Minister in course of his speech at Lakshmibai Nagar on January 3) leaves no doubt that this plan is the result of cool and calculated judgment. Indeed, it is one of the extraordinary diplomatic innovations of our time. From the very outset maximum interest has been concentrated on the concept of power-vacuum. According to a *Statesman* editorial, "Mr. Nehru was not alone in considering both outdated and immoral a twentieth century conception of part of the globe as either being, or not being, a potential tramplng-ground for dinosaurs. Yet . . . it is now arguable that the true scientific analogy is not with vacuum but with an irritant." As a matter of fact, long before this an author, Mr. Hoskins, while interpreting the cold war in that area, opined that the Middle East was a potential power vacuum which the Russians were waiting their chance to fill; and as such the Western powers must use their diplomacy and their money to prevent this happening, to preserve their strategic interests, as well as to secure their access to the oil resources of the region. Thus it is clear that Hoskins represented the Western view-point for an indirect imperialism. Hence, *Pravda*, the official Soviet News Agency, had some justification in denouncing the new Eisenhower Plan as designed to establish in the Middle East 'a Military protectorate regime.' It branded the plan as the U.S.A.'s doctrine of "imperialist interference in the Middle Eastern affairs." Later, on the 12th instant, Russia declared that the new American plan was a selfish move to seize the British and French positions in the Middle East, and that it contradicted the principles and aims of the United Nations. In the Arab World, the Jordan notified the U.S. Government as early as the 3rd of January through her ambassador that she had serious objections to the new plan because it would amount to an interference in the Arab World affairs. Subsequently, (on the 19th January) the four Arab powers together—Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Jordan at their top level conference at Cairo authorised King Saud of Saudi Arabia to tell President Eisenhower that they rejected the theory of power vacuum in the Middle East. The Arab nationalists, on the whole, are against this doctrine. It is on the issue of Israel that all Arabs may write and it is here that Great Britain and

U.S.A are equally detested by the Arabs as the villains of the dreadful drama of Palestine in which trickery and brutality were the order of the day. Among the Arab masses everyone is convinced that it was ultimately because of the U.S.A. that the thorn of a Jewish State was thrust in their flesh. Syria and Egypt are most sensitive and sore over this issue. Nasser's constant theme is that outsiders must not be allowed to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Middle Eastern nations. Similarly, President Kuwatly recently said at a reception (on the 26th January) at Bombay that Syria must refuse a policy of alignment and the status of a satellite or a camp-follower. So the ideal thing for solving the Middle Eastern problem would be the complete withdrawal of interference from outside and the mutual adjustment of all standing disputes between Arabs and Jews (including Palestinian boundaries, refugees, etc.) on the basis of fair play, charity, chivalry and the recognition of the principle of co-existence in that area. Moreover, the solution of the Suez problem has to be found out. Instead of doing that some outside powers are poking their noses in the problems of that area with selfish motive. Rightly did our Prime Minister say at a civic reception to the Syrian President Shukri al-Kuwatly at New Delhi (on the 18th January) that some big powers were trying to frighten smaller nations. Both these statesmen denounced the power vacuum theory as a 'fantastic proposition.' Thus in spite of two personal letters of the American President to Mr. Nehru, amplifying the details of the scheme, the latter sticks to his earlier stand of the 5th January when he is reported to have said at Lakshmibai Nagar that whatever vacuum existed in West Asia must be filled by the 'strength and progress' of the countries in that region. Any attempt by an outside power to fill the vacuum was fraught with the gravest danger to the peace of the world. On another occasion he said:

"A nation can safeguard its freedom and sovereignty only by its own inherent strength and not by coming under the shadow of any big power. This is the symbolic view of the resurgent Asia. Violent Arab nationalism, whether it is dubbed as of the left, the right, or both, will not tolerate the exploitation of the rich oil and other resources of the area by any outside power. They now realize that the main reason for the grim poverty of the masses is foreign exploitation."

It is noteworthy that this doctrine has obvious departures from the classical American thinking which expressed itself in NATO, SEATO, MEDO, etc., inasmuch as it is obligatory on the American President to act only when there is a specific request from a Middle East country threatened with Communist aggression. Moreover, the U.S. troops can be used "in accordance with the U.N. Charter" and "subject to the overriding authority of the Security Council."

Short of that U.S. Government would be as unpopular on the bar of world public opinion as England and France became recently. Therefore, the American President made it clear that the measures he proposed 'would have to be consonant with the treaty obligations of the U.S.A. including those under the Charter of the U.N., and with any action or recommendation of the U.N., not only that, she is also said to have informed Britain and France that the three-power declaration of 1950, under which U.S.A. has local commitments, remains as an instrument of Allied policy in the Middle East. We have it from the latest reports that there will be a summit tripartite conference at Bermuda between U.S.A., U.K. and France to clarify the latest independent move of U.S.A. in the Middle East. But U.S.A. should have proceeded with more caution and should have dispassionately sought to solve the basic problems of that area because in the past intrusions of Great Powers in that area had led to major conflict. Instead, as the Pakistan Times pointed out recently in its editorial columns, "America is moving forward to take over Britain's role of a self-appointed sentinel in the area and to 'regard the Middle East to be an American sphere of influence'." America's fairy tale of 'Soviet aggression and subversion' was severely assailed by the said paper which ascribed the new Middle East doctrine to accelerate America's strategic economic and political penetration of the Middle East because no specific or imminent danger seems to be lurking on the horizon. Yet some of the Western powers like Great Britain, Italy and the partner of Great Britain, Australia, have supported the plan and Ceylon recognised its importance. Mr. Casey of Australia went to the length of saying that this was "the next best thing" to joining the Baghdad Pact. (Thus the new doctrine has produced varied reactions outside the U.S.A. Even inside that country while the ex-President Truman has supported it, there are many democrats who do not view it with favour.) However, the new proposal has been approved by an overwhelming majority of the House of Representatives. In Britain, there are many who think that the U.S.A., if now proposing wider economic aid including the development of the Nile area, might have averted the original trouble by not abruptly withdrawing its offer to finance the Aswan Dam. Therefore, this plan, providing a so-called security shield, may be bold and imaginative; but it is not sound and fool-proof because a pact for defence of this area will remain incomplete without solving the Palestine and the Suez problems. Thus this plan is an opportunistic plan and it may lead to uneasy peace and sham stability in that area. Yet this plan is sure to be accepted by some of the Middle Eastern nations because of their mutual

jealousies and rivalries. The traditional rivalries between the Hashamy rulers of Iraq and Jordan on the one hand, and the Wahabi King of Saudi Arabia still persist. There are many chiefs of Arabia who want their royalty from the oil in the form of dollars to continue unhindered. The recent hatred and accusations between Syria and Iraq are too fresh in our memories. Iran is by no means ready to co-operate with Egypt and Syria, as was clear during the Suez crisis. Moreover, Turkey is considered as the old enemy of the Arabs because she dominated in the area for centuries and today she has recognised Israel which is regarded as the forty-ninth State of the American Federation. Moreover, MEDO and Baghdad Pact are already two strong organisations in favour of U.S.A. It is why Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Lebanon together with Pakistan have already welcomed the increased U.S. aid under this plan.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that this doctrine for the Middle East representing a significant phase of selfish American foreign policy, is not a good solution of the problems of that area. Traditionally, American foreign policy has been isolationist since Monroe Doctrine with its cry of hands off America. But on occasions U.S.A. has been guilty of 'deplorable shirking of responsibilities' as she did by withdrawing from the League of Nations after a brief idealistic sport of President Wilson who had aroused high hopes in the minds of the Arabs through his principle of self-determination. According to Schuman, the expansion of the American Leviathan in the 19th century resembled that of Russia in that it was an expansion of an agrarian population across the contiguous territory. But in recent times, the U.S.A. has been trying to extend her 'invisible empire' through her dollar diplomacy on the pretext of deterring Communist expansion. This Middle Eastern plan is just the newest phase of that. The only fault of the people of that area is that that region is strategically important and is very rich in oil resources. They have just emerged from the mandatory tutelage of England and France and now they are being subjected to this new type of economic control in a subtle way (as happened in Iran after the fall of Mossadique). Therefore, the exact implications of this new American doctrine must be understood by all. A great American writer, Walter Lippmann, once remarked about his country:

"In our time we shall witness the dawning realization that a new power exists which is destined to be a successor of Rome and of Britain as the giver of peace."

Now this 'giver of peace' has promulgated this new doctrine like Kipling's 'Whiteman's burden' and 'Pax Britannica' of yore.



# PLACE OF HINDI AND ENGLISH IN NATIONAL EDUCATION

By MAGANBHAI DESAI, M.L.C.,

*Ex-Editor, Harijan*

## I

REPLACEMENT of English from its unnatural and therefore wrong position of being the medium of administration and higher education in the country is the most outstanding national venture we are called upon to undertake under the Constitution of India. This venture, in its effect upon the entire life of the nation, is bound to be revolutionary. India had till now in her history Sanskrit, Persian and English as All-India common languages. They were languages known only to a microscopic number of the people. They were not the languages of the people; they were languages of small classes only. Therefore, such a thing did not tend to nor work for a democratic order, which we now aspire to establish. It is perhaps for the first time in our history that we are launching upon the democratic experiment of having the languages of the common man as the vehicle of his government and education.

Multilingual as we are, we need for such an experiment the unavoidable accompaniment of an *Antar Bhasha*—a lingua franca. Accordingly we have decided that it will be Hindi, the common language of the largest number amongst us; it will not be a small affair like Sanskrit or Persian or English, however rich and developed these may be. The decision is a tremendous responsibility. If we succeed in discharging it, the very effort itself will work for creating the New India of our dreams—a democratic and egalitarian society. The language pattern and policy envisaged by the Constitution of India is therefore the most epoch-making item in rebuilding New India—free and democratic, creative and egalitarian.

## II

As the said pattern abundantly shows, this great rebuilding is to be done by replacing English with the judicious use of our great national languages of India and of the *Antar Bhasha Hindi* which will be one additional language to the enormous linguistic wealth with which we are blessed in our country. For such an effort to be successful it is very essential that there should be a joint and concerted endeavour of all the language groups of the nation, without any spirit of unhealthy rivalry or sense of superiority, etc., amongst them. The *Antar Bhasha Hindi*, being also a regional language of one of the groups, shall feel or own no superiority over others and shall not

covet to steal a march over the fields of the primary or basic languages of the people. This requires to be said here because there is a school of thought among the ruling and vocal classes of the intelligentsia who, thinking in old grooves English has cut into the mental make-up of these classes, would like to create an order wherein not one's own but another language—the *Antar Bhasha Hindi* may rule. This, as is abundantly clear, is not what the Constitution wills or contemplates. Surely we cannot have a revised edition of the English order, though through Hindi.

Almost as an antithesis to this school is to be found a school of thought in the non-Hindi-speaking areas which clings to the *status quo* and pleads for retention of English, though it may not mind if Hindi is also placed along with it as another All-India common language, so long as it may be allowed English. This school, therefore, wishes to continue English teaching in schools in the same way as it obtains at present and would, as a concession to the constitutional clause regarding Hindi, teach it to those who wish to learn it,—not compulsorily. That means, it will avoid the change-over as long as it can. Their whole argument amounts to saying that English is a national prize we have inherited from our ex-rulers. It has been the “pipe-line” of modern knowledge, specially scientific. I may not analyse this proposition here, but only say that pipe-lines are many—as many as there are peoples of the world; but the life-line is only one and it is the indigenous tongue of the people. The best in us can develop and blossom forth only through being nourished by that line. Therefore we should retrieve that life-line and it will retrieve us from the groove in which we have struck and cost our true way.

The retention school also is constitutionally as wrong as the former. Retention is out of court, unless we are prepared to continue with English and thus wreck the language chapter of the Constitution and the nation's effort of more than half a century to give to ourselves one common national language, which may provide us with a medium complementary to our own languages. This medium will thus be an instrument with which to feel and live our basic unity. But this unity is not to be a monolithic uniformity, but should be a creative and lifeful diversity on the canvas of a fundamental unity which India possesses as her great cultural and democratic prize achievement.

## III

The above ideal under the Constitution requires how to be worked out in its practical details as a constructive programme for our whole people. The first thing that is obvious is the permanent need of instituting compulsory study of the *Antar Bhasha* in the national system of education which will be free and compulsory up to the age of 14 of a pupil, under the Constitution of India, Art. 45. Such a step will be a long-range measure for the replacement of English and for the progressive use of Hindi. The short-range measure would be to coach up the administrative personnel of all Governments in India for the immediate needs of the linguistic change-over. This also must be on a compulsory basis. While the former measure covers the non-official or the people's sector, the latter is the official sector, and will therefore be mainly a Government controlled and directed movement.

The directive to the Union in Art. 351 says that it will be its duty "to promote the spread of the Hindi language" as defined in it. In the context of the above position, this becomes the Union's imperative duty. Obviously, the Union can efficiently discharge this its constitutional duty by seeing that Hindi becomes a compulsory study in the schools of the whole country. This will be the first step in the direction of the change-over, stipulated by the Constitution. If necessary, the Constitution should be amended so as to provide for this logical first step to attain the universal spread of the new official language in all the areas of India.

## IV

Naturally some will argue against this compulsion and quote in support the Madras anti-Hindi agitation. The point must be unequivocally met. There are two sorts of compulsion—1. Prescribing compulsory courses of study and devising a system of national education for the people such as may reasonably be held to fulfil the ideas and ideals laid down by the democratic Constitution of the land. In a democratic order, such a thing is considered to be the legitimate duty of a State. It may be said that all school education has to be based on a certain amount of compulsion. But this is not really the sort of compulsion which is objected to. The objectionable sort is the second one, *viz.*, to ask for or impose the medium of Hindi in the affairs of a non-Hindi-speaking State in places where its regional language should legitimately and rightfully function; as for instance, the medium of instruction and administration in a non-Hindi State. This is obviously undemocratic and will be felt coercive. And if imposed in any way, overt or covert, it will be educa-

tionally and culturally bad and calamitous and politically disruptive and practically suicidal to the interests of the spread of Hindi.

## V

I said above that the Union should have power and influence to cast a positive duty on the States to institute compulsory teaching of Hindi in their schools. An amendment like the one suggested by the States Reorganisation Commission for safeguarding the right of instruction through the mother-tongue, saying that it shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for compulsory instruction in the official language of the Union to all children, at least for the last 3 years of the period of free and compulsory education as directed by the Constitution would serve the purpose.

At present English is generally studied during these years of schooling in India. This must be displaced giving place to Hindi as the second language in the order of language studies in our system of national education. The teaching of English, except for those who own it as their mother-tongue, must be restricted to begin after the age of compulsory studies when further education may begin in higher secondary schools. It is agreed by all that in the scheme of things educational envisaged by the Constitution, only the regional language followed by Hindi at the 5th year or so of the schooling—only these two languages can have place in it.

It is suggested in some quarters that English might begin earlier than the 14 year-age of compulsion. This is entirely unnecessary and unwarranted by the needs of the language policy under the Constitution. Such gratuitous consideration shown to English will only help continue the *status quo* and not allow Hindi to make any headway. Displacement of English language study and instituting Hindi study, in the present climate of our country, will be indicative of the earnest of our desire to usher in the process of the linguistic revolution we have decided to have. Unless this is accepted as the general principle of reconstructing national education, the process of linguistic transition will hardly have congenial climate to start and can have any chance of a fair trial or a happy beginning. The above principle is in entire consonance with the ideas of Basic Education—the type of education we have decided to introduce in the country. Rather, it may be noted that unless the above national policy regarding the place of Hindi and English in our compulsory educational scheme is accepted, Basic Education even cannot come to stay and prosper.

# ALUMINIUM INDUSTRY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

By ARUN KUMAR ROY

THE "Fairy Metal" to all its fairness needs our attention to a great extent now-a-days. The industry in India has achieved its youth, being born in about 1938, and is dear to all for its lightness, silvery appearance and comparative cheapness. It has already made a mark upon popular imagination and "its uses in the more fully developed countries have increased so greatly that it now ranks immediately after iron and steel." It has started on a long and fruitful career because of the "inevitable end of copper's long reign and equally certain eclipse of steel's economic superiority by virtue of an insuperable burden of solid fuel costs." It is the age of aluminium, the world runs on aluminium now. Everybody must have it and everybody uses it. We intend to see the development of this useful industry in our country.

Let us see how aluminium is obtained. There are three steps before we finally get aluminium. The first step is the mining of bauxite which is the main mineral for aluminium. We say "main mineral" because it is the ore which contains a very high quality of aluminium oxide. Nearly all common rocks and clays contain aluminium but unless a large proportion of aluminium oxide is present it is not practical to extract aluminium. The experts estimate that this ore is available almost twice as much as iron in the world. About 4 to 4½ tons of bauxite are required for one ton of aluminium.

The second step is the conversion of bauxite to "alumina." It is a "pure white powdery material resembling coarse granulated sugar." It is produced by a process known as "Bayer's Process." Leaving aside all technicalities it may be summed up as a process involving crushing of ore, immersing in a solution, filtering and lastly heating in huge rotary kilns at 1900 deg. F. The four tons of bauxite will yield 50 per cent, that is, about 2 tons of alumina.

In the last step we get aluminium in metallic form. This step means breaking down of aluminium and oxygen in alumina and the process is known as Hall or Heroult process or "Electrolytic Reduction" process. In this stage a tremendous amount of electricity is required—20,000 to 24,000 k.w.h. for a ton of metal. Because of this huge power demand most aluminium reduction plants are located near the hydro-electric stations which can offer cheapest form of power. The discovery of Hall/Heroult process was a case of strange coincidence. In 1886, Charles Martin Hall working in Ohio and Paul T. Heroult working in France, hit upon the same process in the same year. "The coincidence did not end there. They were both born in 1863, were both 23 years old when they made their discoveries, and both died in the same year, i.e., 1914." The process in brief is production of metallic

aluminium "by dissolving alumina in molten cryolite and then passing an electric current through the solution." From this we get aluminium pigs which are also called 'primary' or 'virgin' pigs.

These pigs are remelted for refining and to "permit alloying by adding other elements, such as, copper, silicon, magnesium, manganese, etc." Pure aluminium itself is a soft and weak metal and the "alloying" is done to increase its strength. "Some of these alloys can be further strengthened by heat treatment." This big family of metals is called 'aluminium.'

The production of any country is measured in terms of the 'primary'. The final shape of things for our use is made from "semis" which is an intermediate stage of fabrication. The sheets, plates, coils, discs or or circles which are manufactured in Rolling Mills, billets and blooms come under this term. The existence of such units manufacturing 'semis' also foster growth of various industries fabricating aluminium to the final shape including anodising. Aluminium powder and paste are also offspring.

Why aluminium would be preferred? "The most valuable property of aluminium is its lightness combined with corrosion resistance and good conductivity." The economic factors are (1) "an expanded and assured supply, (2) cost going down while cost of other materials has gone up," (3) comparative stability of light metals' price and (4) good salvage value. Other advantages are: being easy to fabricate, taking many finishes, high reflectivity, long life, low surface, friction, etc. It can be shaped to a desired form by any of the commercial working methods and so is known as a "general purpose" metal. Let us see some of the advantages in detail.

**Lightness:** In this age of speed weight is a problem and weight saved means greater all-round efficiency and economy. This is particularly true in transport and that is why we see that aluminium is the metal most suitable in the field of transportation—air, road, rail and water. "Copper, steel or brass are about 300 per cent as heavy as aluminium." The specific gravity of aluminium is 2.7. The reduced weight of aluminium does not mean loss of strength. This lightness means "great savings that do not show up on metal cost comparison"—savings in handling, shipping, installation and maintenance expenses. These help in lessening cost of products made from aluminium.

There is a growing menace of competition from plastics, magnesium and stainless steel but because of other advantages aluminium will advance.

**Corrosion Resistance:** There will be no red rust on aluminium. There is always a layer of aluminium oxide which protects the underlying aluminium from



deterioration. It requires no protective paint. It is also immune from attack by many acids and chemicals. Because of this quality and also resistance to marine growth thereby "needing no help for chipping hammers and road lead," it is now being introduced in shipbuilding. The corrosion resistance quality can bring reductions in paint cost and in the idle time while undergoing painting or maintenance.

It is also non-toxic and "will not change the flavour, purity or colour of food" and hence largely used in food and chemical industries. There is, therefore, no wonder that it is employed as utensils, as collapsible and rigid containers, as foils for packing. "As a matter of fact, traces of aluminium are found in many foods including beets, lettuce, carrots, onions, milk, etc."

This corrosion resistance capacity yields a good salvage value because there is no reduction in weight due to "eating by rust."

**Good Conductivity:** Because of this quality aluminium has become a close rival of copper in electrical industry. Its electrical conductivity is 61 per cent of that of copper. It also permits of longer spans and fewer poles in transmission lines for its lightness. In America, rich domestic copper ore sources have been depleted and significant new discoveries are questionable and there has been a diversion to aluminium. A.C.S.R. or aluminium cable steel reinforced has already made its position in the market. It is also a good heat conductor and has high reflectivity.

"It has been estimated authoritatively that there are today at least 4000 end uses of this metal." A few examples are cited below:

**Aircraft:** Engine components, wings and fuselage, panelling, structural forgings, etc. "Many unhappy disasters have demonstrated that in spite of intense heat evolved when such structures catch alight, the rigid aluminium alloy frame work has nearly always been recovered as sole salvage from the wreck."

**Railways:** Structural members, roofing, panelling, windows, coaches, wagons, water storage tanks, various fittings, etc.

**Road Transport:** Structural members, floor planks, panelling, windows, mechanical parts, chassis, gears, cylinder block, truck trailers, etc.

**Ship-building:** Bridges, wheelhouses, outer funnels, life-boats, skylights, stanchions, handling equipments (gangways, winches, ladders), tanks, etc.

**Building:** Roof-coverings, side-claddings, ventilators, windows, panelling, interior fittings, corrugated sheets, heavy structurals, kingstrand houses or pre-fabricated houses made of aluminium.

**Expanded Aluminium:** Airfilters, exhibition displays, storage bins, meatsafes, shelving, machinery guards, grilles, radiator screens, furniture and fittings, partitions and panels, industrial trays and baskets, litter baskets.

**Electrical Industry:** A.C.S.R. cables, busbars, conductors, overhead distribution and transmission lines, telephone cables, radio and radar equipments, electrical equipments with the help of sheet, sections and castings.

Foils, tubings, bridges, grain silos, portable irrigation pipes, parts in textile industry, paints, containers—rigid and collapsible by impact extrusion methods; household refrigeration parts, such as outer shell, inner line, doors, evaporators, shelves, trays and pans, appliances for agriculture, dairying, etc.

The most common sight is aluminium utensils.

Born in 1825 it has now occupied a unique place and the foremost place amongst the light metals. "In 1853, the price was \$545 a pound and was more precious than gold and silver." In 1942, it reached as low as \$0.14 and still is equally precious like gold and silver in the sense that it has become a "must" in everybody's house like the silver coins or golden ornaments.

Let us now look to the position of the industry in India and its chances of development. In the words of the Planning Commission:

"Aluminium is almost the only non-ferrous metal which India can produce in large quantities." "The large investment envisaged in the Second Plan in the public sector and its emphasis on heavy industry, power and transport is calculated to raise substantially the demand for aluminium, particularly, if the Government actively foster its use for certain purposes in place of other metals, like copper, of which supplies within the country are not plentiful."

We have not only limited sources in copper but also in lead, tin or zinc. With the development of steel, India has to develop aluminium also because in the modern age these are the two basic metals on which depends the industrialisation of a country.

From the report of the Tariff Commission of 1955 an idea about the annual demand for aluminium can be formed.

In 1952-54, the average consumption was 14,500 tons, and in 1955 current annual demand was expected to be about 20,000 tons and by 1958 to be 35,000 tons expecting the demand to increase at the rate of about 5,000 tons each year. We learn from Planning Commission's report that in 1955 about 23,500 tons of aluminium were consumed and if the estimated increase stated by Tariff Commission is accepted, the demand may come up to 40,000 tons by 1958. The panel for the aluminium industry (1947) fixed the long-term target as 50,000 tons to be secured at the end of 15 years from 1947. India's production is, however, far short of the demand. In 1955, the country's production was about 7,300 tons

Whereas imports amounted to 16,200 tons approximately.

If we compare the number of industrial uses mentioned earlier with the number we are using in India, there is no doubt that the consumption target will be reached.

Besides, "the State has an interest in this industry both as the supplier of the power required for it and also as the customer for some of its products like A.C.S.R. conductors for power transmission and sheets and extrusions of the metal and alloys for aircraft and nationalised road transport."

The foodgrains production which will also be increased would require proper storage facilities to reduce the losses from the ravages of insects, fungus, rats, etc., and aluminium grainbins have been found very suitable and economic in this respect. Another way in which this metal can help to increase the country's food production is by means of a new system known as sprinkler irrigation. It is a portable pipe with sprinkler heads or holes drilled in it to form a spray and furnishes a controlled water-supply just like natural rainfall. The corrugated sheets made of aluminium, available in plenty without permit or quota, would help the rapid expansion of rural housing schemes when the galvanised corrugated sheets are not plentiful and require heavy structures.

There will be a limitation to unrestricted expansion because India possess materials for self-sufficiency in iron and steel and greatest stress has been laid by the Government for expansion of iron and steel industry. The target in the Second Five Year Plan has also been kept in view as a minimum of 30,000 tons by 1960-61.

A question was raised that whether the capacity of the industry would be increased without creating the demand beforehand. The biggest producer of aluminium in this country was of the opinion that

"It is the responsibility of the aluminium industry to develop its own markets. When a sufficient quantity of high quality metal in suitable form is readily available locally, other Indian industries will soon appreciate the importance."

One of the reasons for this controversy, probably, is that "the industry is highly capital intensive and involves complex technical know-how which is the monopoly of a few companies," and new producers who are not attracted because of absence of attractive profits in the initial stages would get more set-back if there is absence of demand too. In India, the biggest company was financed by a foreign firm which is one of these few companies (i.e., having monopoly of technical know-how) producing in 1955 about 609,600 metric tons of aluminium ingots and hence the Indian company obtained perhaps the best technical advice from the very inception. This company now produces

high strength aluminium alloy sheets, extrusions, paste, corrugated sheets, etc., in India in addition to ingots and other types of "semis."

Let us turn to the other aspects of the industry. In India, there are two companies which produce primary aluminium. One company owned and operated by an Indian firm is located at Jaykaynagar near Asansol and "is an integrated plant which takes in bauxite and ends up with rolled metal and other finished products." The other company works in collaboration with a Canadian Company and has plants at different places, Alumina Works at Muri in Bihar, Reduction and Extrusion Works at Alwaye in Travancore-Cochin, the Rolling Mills at Belur in West Bengal and Powder and Paste Plant at Kalwa near Thana in Bombay.

The progress of production is scheduled as follows:-

	Actuals in 1951	Actuals in 1955	Anticipated in 1960-1
Number of reduction plants	2	2	4
Installed capacity	4000 tons	7500 tons	30,000 tons
Production	3849 "	7225 "	25,000 "

To achieve the above production the existing two companies have been allowed expansion of their capacities and the Canadian-Indian enterprise allowed to erect a new plant of 10,000-ton capacity at Hirakud in Orissa. The total capacity in this way will come to 20,000 tons. The balance 10,000 tons would be met by erection of a plant under State management at a location to be decided by an experts' committee. This committee would decide (1) about the minimum capacity of the plant, (2) location and (3) whether the plant will be an integrated one or on a decentralised pattern.

Probably the importance of aluminium as a strategic material and also the help from governments this industry received or is receiving in other countries have prompted our Government too to take action on the same line and the Government in their Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 have put aluminium industry in the second category or Schedule "B" which means this will be progressively State-owned and "the State will take initiative in establishing new undertakings but in which private enterprise will also be expected to supplement the effort of the State."

From newspaper reports we come to know that the Government have decided to set up two more reduction plants—one in Madras and the other in U.P. Though full particulars are not yet available, we hope that the Government have given consideration to the limitation which, the Planning Commission states, is the minimum capacity of a plant. In other countries plants are normally of sizes of 20,000 tons per annum and above so as to achieve low cost of production and if this be accepted by the Experts

Committee as minimum in our country too, then erection of two plants, definitely of lower capacity, at two places would entail double expenditure.

Let us see the position of the raw materials. The important raw materials required to make a ton of aluminium are approximately as follows:

Bauxite	4.5 tons
Petroleum coke	.75 "
Pitch	0.2 "
Coal	4.0 "
Furnace oil	0.5 "
Caustic soda	0.16 to 0.2 "
Cryolite	0.07 to 0.10 "
Aluminium fluoride	0.035 to 0.04 "
Fluorspar	0.007 to 0.008 "
Electric energy	20,000 to 24,000 k.w.h.

"Bauxite, the chief ore, is widely distributed in India." Though no reliable estimates are available we have about 250 million tons of all grades. Of this high grade reserves would amount to 35 million tons distributed as follows:

Madhya Pradesh	15.10 million tons
Eastern States	8.58 " "
Bihar	5.23 " "
Bombay	3.23 " "
Madras	2.00 " "
Kashmir	1.00 " "
Bhopal	.25 " "

Besides aluminium industry bauxite is also used in the manufacture of alum, high alumina cement, refractories and in the refining of petroleum. Even at this estimate, aluminium industry with a capacity of 50,000 tons per annum can be assured of a supply for at least 150 years. In the meantime there will be new discoveries and we need not be afraid of shortage of this raw material.

Regarding coal and electric power we know where we stand. The producers, however, complain about the price of power which is very high and not economic. The cheapness of power is one of the factors which has enabled Canada to become the largest exporter of ingots. The Tariff Commission also found that the landed cost of ingots excluding duty was cheaper than fair ex-works price. The Government or the Power supplying authorities should, therefore, consider this aspect and change the policy accordingly.

"Other raw materials are available only partly or not at all from indigenous sources. Caustic soda and soda ash, for instance, although produced in the country, are not produced in sufficient quantities to meet the total industrial demand. Fluorspar occurs to some extent in Madhya Pradesh but more information about its quality and quantity is necessary in order to assess its usefulness for aluminium industry. Cryolite, aluminium fluoride, carbon blocks, etc., are imported. Greenland is the main source of natural cryolite but artificial cryolite is produced in other countries and with the development of aluminium industry the possibilities of producing it in the country will have to be investigated." Regarding calcined petroleum coke it

was planned that the new petroleum refineries should include it in their manufacturing programme, but the two new refineries at Trombay are using a different process and hence it was not possible to include it in their manufacturing programme. "The Assam Oil Co. produced about 50 tons per month of wax coke but it does not completely meet the specifications of the materials required by the producers of aluminium."

The producers also experienced transport bottlenecks which hampered quick and timely movement of raw materials. The reasons for bottlenecks are (1) insufficient capacity of our railroads and (2) decentralised pattern of industry causing more movement. Consideration is being given to the possibility of upgrading the movement of aluminium.

The importance of aluminium is already being felt as will be evident from the change which has happened in the nature of consumption. In the first plan the end use estimates were as 10,000 tons for utensils, 2,500 tons for A.C.S.R. cables, 2,000 tons for industrial sheets and balance 1,500 tons for miscellaneous purposes. At the end of the plan period it was found that the consumption in A.C.S.R. cable has risen to 7,000 tons. One of the producers sold in 1955, 2,315 tons of sheets mainly for transportation purposes. The end use estimates by 1960-61 would be:

A.C.S.R. cables and A.A.C.	13,000 tons
Utensils and hollow wares	8,000 "
Foil stock	2,500 "
Industrial sheets	3,500 "
Powder and paste	500 "
Extrusions	500 "
Castings	500 "
Buildings and construction	1,000 "
Collapsible tubes and containers	500 "
	30,000 "

Lastly, let us see the quality we produce. The consensus of opinion expressed by the consuming interests before the Tariff Commission of 1955, is that the quality of ingots and flat rolled products like plates, sheets, strips and circles is reported to compare favourably with the imported counterparts and conforming to the specifications laid down by the Indian Standards Institution. "But the increasing use of scrap of doubtful quality by certain rollers to produce circles of cheap quality had brought not only discredit to the utensil fabricating industry but also created certain health problems affecting the large mass of population using cheap utensils." "There were no complaints about the quality of foils, castings and extrusions and reported to be satisfactory."

"Since aluminium is a metal of basic importance to the economy and the country possesses ample supplies of bauxite," the industry is to be developed so that we can be absolutely independent of external sources of supply.



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## BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

### ENGLISH

**BUDDHA:** By R. Dhiman. *Dhiman Press of India, Luckhiana*, 1956. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 2.

Compiled in commemoration of the 2500th anniversary of The Buddha, this is a miscellaneous collection of papers dealing with the various aspects of the life and teachings of the Master, the spread of his gospel in distant lands in the past centuries, the sacred sites of Buddhism in and outside India, and the worldwide influence of Buddhism in modern times. It contains selections from such a classic as the *Dhammapadam*, and from the writings of such eminent thinkers of our times as Rabindranath Tagore and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. It consists, besides, of a number of thoughtful papers on topical subjects like *Buddhism Today* from the pen of the President of the Buddhist Society, London. Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, contributes a Foreword. A list of Buddhist organisations in Europe and Asia at the present time is given at the end.

The fundamental defect of this work is that the papers are jumbled together without any plan or arrangement whatever. To this we have to add that Buddhism is identified practically throughout the work with its *Hinayana* variety as represented by the Pali canon, to the nearly complete exclusion of such later developments as Mahayanism and more particularly of Tantric Buddhism. It is again regrettable that there should be no paper on Buddhism in Tibet, while there is a similar silence about the former extent and influence of Buddhism in Indonesia and Central Asia. The reference to "Dhanya Kota, the capital of the Saravahanas who ruled the Andhra Desa about 700 B.C." (p. 78), is a deplorable blunder. The paper and printing leave much to be desired.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**SISTER NIVEDITA:** By Moni Bagchee. Published by the Presidency Library, 15, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 316. Price Rs. 5.

Margaret Elizabeth Noble, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Richmond Noble, was born at Dungannon,

Co. Tyrone (Ireland), on 28th October, 1867. She was the eldest of the three children left by her father who died while he was only 34. Margaret was trained as a teacher and at the beginning of nineties she opened at Wimbledon a school of her own in which she strove to give expression to her broad and vivid conceptions of education for girls.

On October 22, 1895, Swami Vivekananda delivered his public speech in London at the Princes' Hall, Piccadilly, at which Miss Noble was present. She was struck with the novelty and breadth of Swamiji's religious culture and the intellectual freshness of his philosophical outlook based on Vedanta. Vivekananda visited London for the second time in May, 1896. Miss Noble was now Sister Nivedita—life dedicated to Mother India—spiritual daughter of Swami Vivekananda. Her duty was now to serve India, particularly her womanhood. On the memorable November 12, 1898—Kalipuja day—a girls' school (Nivedita Girls' School) was started by her at Baghbazar in Calcutta. It was a tremendous uphill work for Sister Nivedita in a conservative Hindu society but her great devotion to the cause attracted women of all ages to the school. There was no money for the expansion of the school, so, Nivedita, in June, 1899, left for England. She also visited America. Help came from benevolent Americans and Nivedita returned to India in the early part of 1902 to reopen the school. The great Swami Vivekananda passed away in July, 1902.

After the demise of Swami Vivekananda, Sister Nivedita had to cut off her connection with the Ramakrishna Mission of Belur due to fundamental differences with the authorities and devoted herself thoroughly to the work of the uplift of her adopted country India. To her, India's freedom was essential for her economic and spiritual regeneration. A good speaker, a powerful writer, a widely travelled and devoted daughter of Mother India, her services to our country should be written in letters of gold. No Indian was more devoted to the mother country than this adopted daughter of India. In the words of Rabindranath Tagore, "She liked our life and came to know us by becoming one of ourselves." Her services to the Swadeshi Movement, to women's education, to plague-stricken

people of Calcutta, to sufferers from famine in Barisal, to political sufferers, are matters of history. Her contemporaries—Rabindranath, Abala Bose, I. F. Alexander, A. J. F. Blair, S. K. Ratcliffe, Ramananda Chatterjee, Bepin Chandra Pal, Jadunath Sarkar, Mati Lal Ghose and Rash Behari Ghosh have recorded their great appreciation of Sister Nivedita's noble life and work.

She has left for us several works of outstanding merit of which mention may be made of *The Master as I Saw Him*, *On Hinduism*, *The Web of Indian Life*, *The Eastern Method*, *Of the Hindu Woman as Wife*, *Footfalls of Indian History*, *Cradle Tales of Hinduism*, *The Lament of Gandhari*, *The Ordeal of Sita*, etc.

This daughter of India passed away at Darjeeling on the 13th October, 1911, while she was only 45 years of age. Thus a great dedicated life was cut off very early like that of her Master, Swami Vivekananda, who died prematurely at his thirty-ninth year.

The author of this book has done a service by bringing out this handy volume at a time when the history of India's fight for freedom is being rewritten. India cannot forget Sister Nivedita, and her contribution towards the revival of our religion, education, art, culture and in short, her love for our country in the context of India's glorious hoary past. Her contribution to our freedom movement is considerable although she lived among us only for a decade and a half. An index added to this volume would have increased the usefulness of the book. We wish this book a wide circulation which it fully deserves.

A. B. DUTTA

**SILENCE SPEAKS:** *By a doubter converted. Published by the Society of Servants of God, 34 Little Gibbs Road, Bombay-6. Pp. 60. Price Re. 1.*

The author of this brochure, who likes to remain incognito, was an agnostic twenty years ago. Even then he heard the voice of silence spontaneously but at the same time was assailed by doubts. It took him full seventeen years of inner fight to overcome the same and become converted. For nearly three years it has been his practice to write down the messages received in the profound silence of meditation. Fifty-one of such messages are published in the booklet under review. These inner voices are instructive and universal. The doubter that is hidden in every heart may be converted by a careful perusal of these messages.

In the introduction the author remarks that when the thinking mind is silenced and the working of the five senses is stopped one begins to get in tune with the soul and the oversoul and to receive experiences in the form of audition, vision and awareness. Not all experiences can be so recorded, for there are some that are so deep that they defy expression in words, nay even in thought. These experiences can check the outward tendency of our mind and turn it inward. This inwardness is quite essential for a peaceful living on this earth. This is the desideratum in the present chaos of our life and society.

The author inspires hope in us when he says that it is possible for most people, if not all, to hear the voice of silence, provided they remove the hindrances that are inherent and those that have been created in their minds.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

#### SANSKRIT

**LOKAMANYA TILAKACHARITAM:** *By Pandharinathacharya Galagali. Editor, "Madhuravani",*

*Gadag. Madhuravani Karyalaya, Gadag (Karnatak). Price Rs. 3.*

This is a short biographical sketch of the great political leader Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak and first published in Sanskrit written in the Sanskrit magazine *Madhuravani* on the occasion of his birth centenary when similar sketches in the various provincial languages were produced. This is considered to be the proper homage which a Sanskritist could pay to the hallowed memory of the great man who besides being a staunch patriot was a reputed scholar, a combination which is rare. This has been ably introduced to the readers by another well-known political worker and lover of Sanskrit, Shri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar. The book is written in lucid prose with occasional and interesting instances of modernisation. The author has taken the liberty of introducing phonetic equivalents of modern terms like guillotine and literal translation of English expressions like Tempest in a tea-pot, Law is an ass, etc. The book which is one of many specimens of modern Sanskrit writing on a modern topic may be commended to the notice of inquisitive students of Sanskrit.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

#### BENGALI

**BIPLABI JIBANER SMRITI:** *By Jadugopal Mukherjee. Indian Associated Publishing Co., Private Ltd., 93 Harrison Road, Calcutta-7. Pp. 667. Price Rs. 12.*

The author of the book is a well-known revolutionary in Bengal. He has narrated his life and experiences in this volume in a very lucid and attractive style. We come across the mystic and the visionary in the author often in the course of the narrative. In spite of its bulkiness, the volume has sustained its freshness, and carries the reader to the end of its story without the least effort on his part. From this point of view the book is a successful production. And the biographical literature, no less than the revolutionary, has been enriched by it.

Our struggle for independence is a long story. The author has tried to take us back to its earlier stages in the first chapter of the book. He sets this story as its background and indicates the mission of his life at once. He has seen the world for three-score years and ten. His childhood, student-days and youth had been a preparation for his self-imposed mission of service and sacrifice. He has stuck steadfast to his ideal till the achievement of our independence in August 1947. His idealism, strength of will, vigour in action, sound judgment and sincerity of purpose have extorted admiration from friends and foes alike. The revolutionary Bengal worked for the establishment of Indian independence from its very start. No sacrifice was too much for them for the attainment of this objective. After the martyrdom of the revolutionary leader, Jatindra Nath Mukherjee, popularly known as "Bagha Jatin," the author held tight the reins of the party. When the Government rounded up the revolutionaries as German allies, the author went underground, and from there he conducted the movement. They declared twenty thousand rupees as a reward for his arrest. But the author was shrewd enough to throw dust into their eyes. During the later political movements he sided with Mahatma Gandhi. He strove hard to make up differences between the rival revolutionary, and for the matter of that, political parties, sometimes with success and sometimes with failure. He was extorted

from Bengal to Ranchi by the powers that be in 1928, which place he has made his permanent residence since. Here he began practising medicine. He has made his mark also in this profession. The August Revolution of 1942 did not spare him, and he was sent to jail like his other political colleagues. He is today a mentor and guide to the political in Free India.

While depicting these varied incidents—and thrilling too,—of the author's life, the book gives us a resume of our freedom struggle during the last half a century. The constitutional and extra-constitutional or revolutionary aspects of the struggle have received fair treatment at the hands of the author. He has narrated the revolutionary activities in different provinces of India, along with those of Bengal. Many knotty and controversial aspects of the movement have been cleared by the author. The book will supply fresh material for those intending to write an authentic history of the Revolutionary Bengal since the Swadeshi days. The author has given his memoirs in detail in different chapters, and there are, therefore, some repetitions. If these repetitions could be avoided the bulk of the book would have been shortened, and the price a little reduced. The author, we hope, will remember this in its future edition. The story-element of the book is sometimes heightened by the import of rumour from his fund of experience. The author used to purchase *swadeshi* goods on commission from a Mahomedan shopkeeper during the Swadeshi movement. This man heard that the Mikado of Japan had embraced Islam! The author was asked to verify the truth of his information. While he confessed his

inability, the Mahomedan shop-keeper refused to sell him goods and asked his brother shop-keepers to do likewise! The book is a mine of information, and will be read with profit by our countrymen.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

### HINDI

CHIN-KI-LOK-KATHAEN: *Translated by Mahadev Saha. Vidyodaya Library Private Ltd., 72, Harrison Road, Calcutta-8. Price Re. 1-15.*

Sixteen Chinese folk-tales, rendered into simple Hindi, appear here in the form of a very attractive illustrated book. It is ideally suited for prize, presentation and inclusion in children's libraries.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

### GUJARATI

JIVAN ZARMAR: *By Shastri S. P. Padhye, and Jagadishchandra P. Shah, Advocate, High Court, Bombay. Printed at the Kishore Printing Press, Bombay. 1951. Paper cover. Illustrated. Pp. 153.*

The Madhav Bag Gita Pathashala of Bombay celebrated its Silver Jubilee in 1951. On that occasion, a life of its scholarly preacher, Shastri Vajinath Athavali, giving full details thereof was presented to his hearers. It sets out how he developed into a full-fledged Shastri under the guidance of his maternal uncle, the late Narhari Shastri Godse. Plain living and high thinking: this he illustrated in his useful life.

K. M. J.

*Third Impression*

**JUST OUT**

# THE LAST MESSAGE OF SHRI KRISHNA

*(Text With English Translation And Notes)*

BY

SWAMI MADHAVANANDA

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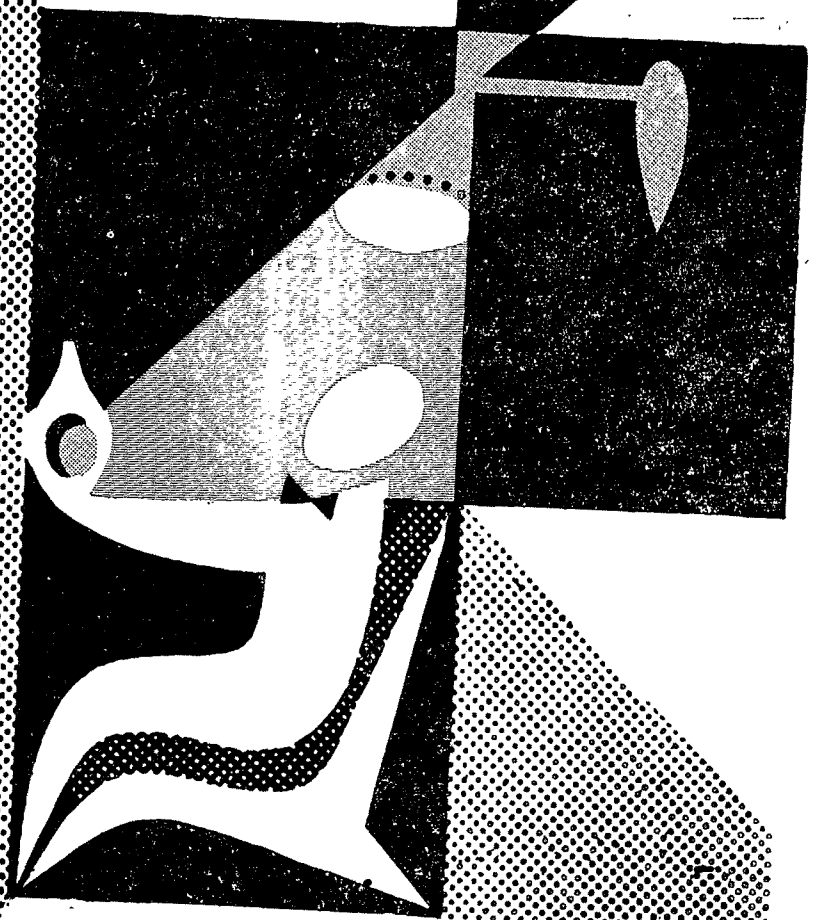
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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Tragedy and Comedy—A Western View

Peter Malekin writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Tragedy has the lure of the unknown. It explores human nature and the mysteries fundamental to our experience. It touches the heart of life in a way possible to few other art forms. It shows man triumphant in defeat, great in degradation, "spendid in ashes," as Sir Thomas Browne put it. The grandeur of man's ruin makes tragedy one of the sublimest of the arts. That inestimable jewel, the human soul, shining the brighter in the fire of disaster, dazzles the imagination, and gives to tragedy its share in the majesty of the great destructive forces of nature.

The essence of tragedy is the paradox between the gigantic potentiality of man and its limited expression.

That paradox all have felt as they journey through a life, struggling for a coherent expression of their thoughts and feelings, struggling to bring the life of the heart into external actions, struggling and dreaming of what they could have done if only . . . In our lives this experience can embitter and frustrate; in tragedy it uplifts with an infinite pathos, "but yet the pity of it, Iago! O Iago, the pity of it, Iago!" Three important factors help to transmute bitterness to joy and pity to understanding; they are a sense of human responsibility, a sense of moral law and the aesthetic logic of an art form.

Aristotle in his somewhat dry fashion skirts the moral implications of tragedy. In his *Poetics*, he makes the tragic hero a man like ourselves; otherwise he would not arouse our sympathy. The hero must be a man of moderate virtue undone by some frailty; if he were a saint, his downfall would outrage our moral sense; if he were too great a sinner, his fall would arouse no pity. Aristotle's cut-and-dried conceptions are over-simplified, but they point to a truth.

Tragedy of a kind can be written simply around a conflict of interests, the kind of thing which Corneille did with such brilliance in his conflicts between love and honour, the kind of thing which Racine did with greater subtlety when he depicted conflicts between love and duty; but the greatest tragedy, towards which Racine was feeling his way, shows a duality in the human soul, an infinite reach of good and evil in the same man. The fundamental unity of the tragic theme can be seen in plays as far apart as Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* and *Oedipus at Colonus*.

Of all Shakespeare's tragedies *Macbeth* is possibly the most terrifying. Macbeth himself is almost angel and devil in one.

As the tragedy proceeds, the angel, like the chorus in a Greek play, whispers into Macbeth's ear a fearful commentary on the activities

of his diabolical self. Macbeth is a great man and a kind man, a man full of imagination and capable of loyalty and love. His character is a series of paradoxes: he is a brave coward, a loving murderer and a loyal regicide. Ambition is usually thought of as the cause of his downfall, but below that is his inability to act in accord with what he knows to be the highest in him; for Macbeth is not deceived by his ambition, he knows it to be evil. Each evil action he takes is recognized as evil; Macbeth's mind is remarkably clear on the point. His only deception is to persuade himself that what is gained by evil can be kept by good, and even here he has to work very hard to make himself believe that what is false is true. Macbeth's moral sense, however, works in a vacuum; it tortures the mind and imagination, but on the physical plane it is dumb, it never compels to action.

The miracle that Shakespeare has achieved is to show the good and evil in Macbeth together. We see and feel his greatness even in his degradation; we understand and can sympathize with him, even when we realize the evil he is doing, even when we willingly accept the justice of his downfall. It is only towards the very end, when the catastrophe within Macbeth's nature is already complete, that the soul seems to depart from him, leaving a frantic and trapped beast of prey. To see how wonderful Shakespeare's achievement is, we have only to think of Macbeth as he would appear without the insight given by the tragedian—a regicide, a murderer of women and children, an ally of the powers of darkness, a bloody and ambitious tyrant, almost a Hitler of his day. Yet Shakespeare shows us instead the bough which might have grown full straight.

*Macbeth* makes us feel the priceless value of a human being. We see the good self stifled and hidden in an evil personality; we also realize that the tyrant has caused his own downfall. That downfall, by its very inevitability, forces us to recognize a moral law. The morality, as Bradley long ago pointed out, avoids the over-simplification of poetic

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justice in that the innocent suffer with the guilty; but the evil unerringly comes home to roost. Evil is shown like a potent acid which eats into and finally destroys those who use it; this degradation the good, even in their sufferings, escape.

*Oedipus the King* and *Oedipus at Colonus* are tragedies very different from *Macbeth*.

*Oedipus* is not evil as *Macbeth* becomes evil; his main fault is ignorance; even so a similar moral framework applies.

*Oedipus* commits the crimes of parricide and incest, but he does so quite unwittingly. He kills a stranger in a brawl when travelling and he marries the Queen of Thebes; the stranger he later learns was his father and his wife is his mother. In an agony of grief and remorse he blinds himself and leaves his kingdom as an eyeless wanderer. He is not a criminal, yet the horror of his circumstances makes him a man from whom all shrink in terror. In poverty and suffering he expiates his crimes of ignorance, ceaselessly moving in a lifelong journey about Greece. Since he had committed wrong against us will the gods are forced to repay the sufferings brought upon him by fate. He becomes a man under divine protection, a figure of awe and wonder whose curse and blessing are not uttered unheeded. Gradually he achieves a reconciliation with his sufferings and with men until his loss of sight is compensated by an opening of divine understanding. He becomes a holy man at peace with the world, the gods and himself, and his final assumption from this world is divinely ordained. This whole development is shown by Sophocles in the most marvellous manner.

*Oedipus at Colonus* is not like other tragedies; whereas *Oedipus the King* deals with the downfall of *Oedipus*, *Oedipus at Colonus* deals with his triumphant end; it is a play ending with victory and happiness, not with disaster. Shakespeare also seems to have felt that the aftermath of tragedy should be happiness.

A famous passage in Bede's history likens man's life to a swallow which flies from the night into a nobleman's hall, then returns from the world of men to its original darkness; the life and death of *Macbeth* we see in the tragedy, but does the sword of *Macduff* snuff out *Macbeth* as an entity and end the intricate web of his good and evil thoughts?

In his late romances Shakespeare once again takes up tragic material, but the tragedy has either happened years before the play opens, or the time-scheme is so extended that the tragedy happens many years before the play ends. Some are irritated by the ramshackle construction of many of the romances, others by the way they seem to beg the questions faced in the tragedies. The dominant themes of these late plays are magic, regeneration, resurrection and reconciliation. It is possible that they represent a state of consciousness higher than that of tragedy, a state only to be reached by passing through and beyond the tragic conflicts, a state moreover that can only be expressed by the symbols of romance and fairy tale or, come to that, of the great religions of the world. However this may be, the mood of *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* is strikingly similar to that of *Oedipus at Colonus*.

Tragedy shows the greatness and littleness of man.

It sets all human experience in perspective against the infinite value of the human soul and the stupendous grandeur of the moral law. It demands of the writer great insight and powers of expression; above all it demands compassion, that capacity which Shakespeare possessed in such abundance, for he alone seems to have had the power to understand and love kings, beggars, prostitutes, warriors, rich and poor, alike. If tragedy demands all this, together with the sensing of an ordered and moral universe, the sensing of the nobility of man and of the greatness of human responsibility, then it is no wonder that only at certain periods of human history have the greatest tragedies been written.

Comedy is a more frequent phenomenon than tragedy, but its nature is equally difficult to define. Comedy in its broadest sense is anything which makes men laugh. In its literary use it is an inclusive term. Dramatically it is perhaps divided from farce in that farce relies almost entirely on plot for its humour; nevertheless, comedy still covers many kinds of writing from the burlesque buffoonery of low comedy to the high comedy of elegant and sophisticated wit. Perhaps the norm of dramatic comedy is the comedy of social satire. The greatest European writer in this kind is Moliere, and the Englishman who comes nearest to him is Ben Jonson; but, whereas Moliere is a good-humoured satirist, Ben Jonson is somewhat savage.

The comedy of social satire depends for its success on a general lack of sympathy between audience and characters.

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The obvious illustration of the point is Moliere's *Le Misanthrope*. Moliere makes the Misanthropist an austere but sincere individual who moves in the artificial noble society of the time. He loves an accomplished coquette called Celimene, and asks her to marry him even though he knows she has been unfaithful to him. He is refused, for Celimene will promise faithfulness, but marriage is another thing. If *Le Misanthrope* is acted in such a way that the Misanthropist wins the sympathy of the audience, the play ceases to be a comedy and becomes a tragedy.

Shakespeare, with the possible exception of *Love's Labour's Lost*, did not write satirical comedy in the Moliere vein. His portrayal of character is too sympathetic for it to be his natural manner; one has only to think of the books written against the casting off of Falstaff by Henry V to see this. No such books have been written in defence of Tartuffe or Volpone! Some of Shakespeare's comedy is of the boisterous Saturnalian kind, but his higher comedy is of a different type.

Comedy, like tragedy, can approach the heart of life by a combination of sympathy and dispassion. Like tragedy its effect is achieved by a juxtaposition of man's nobility and insignificance, but the juxtaposition is made with a laugh, not a tear. Shakespeare can write in this way, but the obvious European example of the kind is a non-dramatic work, *Don Qui-*

*xote*. How absurd the knight is, charging his wind-mills! Yet how noble that he should dare to harbour his quaint ideals! Like Macbeth he strikes something universal. Just as we are all partly Macbeths, so we are all partly Don Quisotes. As we struggle with our intransigent personalities in an attempt to express the deepest in us, we are like unskilled pipers who produce a scream or a squeak, not a song.

Comedy and tragedy are not contradictory in their aims.

This again is illustrated by Shakespeare. One of his most daring combinations of the two modes is in *Antony and Cleopatra*. Immediately before the pomp and magnificence of Cleopatra's death scene, the country peasant arrives with the basket of asps. When that most royal of queens meets the earthy and asinine peasant, a scene of the lowest comedy ensues; the whole situation is geyed unmercifully. Either that scene is a most dreadful mistake, or it is a supreme stroke of genius which shows in the round of its full implications the final tragic moment.

Great comedy and great tragedy are valuable, not because they are entertainment, but because they reorientate our attitudes to life and to ourselves. In doing so they give a joy which few things can give. Is it an accident that in this and in their favourite dramatic form they resemble that *lila* and *ananda* ascribed by the East to Deity?

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## Some Trends in our Parliamentary Democracy

Prof. K. V. Rao writes in *Triveni Quarterly*:

Parliamentary democracy may be broadly described as a system of Government where a nation governs itself through its representatives assembled in a Parliament, as opposed to direct democracy where the nation's laws are made in popular assemblies as in ancient Greek City-states. In this sense, all modern states might be said to be parliamentary democracies. But, in a narrow sense, it may be described as a system where the nation delegates its sovereign power to an elected Parliament for the governance of the country, out of which the executive is born and to which the latter is responsible. True it is that there is an executive Head independent of the Parliament, but he is only nominal or 'constitutional' and does not enjoy any real power. English Government is a typical example of this system, as opposed to the American system, where the nation elects both the legislature and the executive, separately, and entrusts them with separate powers, no one being 'responsible' to the other.

One of the hottest controversies raised in India, when our Constitution was on the anvil, and even later, was whether our system belongs to the American or to the British type. The Fathers of the Constitution, without exception, had no doubt at all on this point that what they had adopted was, in the words of Patel, 'the parliamentary system of constitution, the British type of Constitution with which we are familiar.' But most of the professors of political science (whose voice does not as yet count for much in India), with only a few exceptions, were equally emphatic, in the words of a worthy among them, that 'the Constitution that was inaugurated on the 26th January 1950 was not of the British type, whatever might be the intentions of the Fathers.' The bone of contention was the power which the Constitution confers on the President. A point of great significance, often missed by many pandits, is that, while the Constitution undoubtedly 'vests' the executive power in the President [Art. 53 (1)] and confers other extraordinary powers like ordinance-making and emergency powers, not even the legislative power is 'vested' in the Parliament—nowhere is it said that Parliament makes the law in India. On the other hand, usage, customs and ordinance have been included in 'law' by our Constitution. The President is the fulcrum around whom the other organs revolve, but not the Parliament as it ought to be in a parliamentary system; that has been the line of argument of what we may call the 'critics' of the Constitution, who expected that the actual working of the Constitution would bear them out.

But the actual working of the Constitution during the first five years (1951-52—1956-57) seems to belie their expectations. On the contrary, it may be claimed that the foundations for the tradition of parliamentary democracy have been firmly laid in this period; and it may be noted that tradition or convention is a great factor in politics, and especially in the parliamentary type. The President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, behaved in an exemplary manner. With an undisputed popularity which he gained as a disciple of Gandhiji, Dr. Prasad has truly personified the will of the Indian nation, and became its real head; and he only reigned, but not governed.

That he commanded considerable influence in the counsels of the Government of India and that no important decision was taken without consulting him, is probably true, but that also is an attribute of parliamentary government—the King possessing, in Bagehot's immortal words, 'a right to be consulted, the right to encourage, and the right to warn.' But outwardly, the decisions are the decisions of the Council of Ministers, and there has not been a single instance where he tried to exercise his power. The President has remained 'nominal,' and there is no doubt about it.

But does it mean that the foundations of parliamentary democracy have been firmly laid? Critics could as well point out that certain exceptionally favourable circumstances have brought about the happy consummation, of which the personal factor has played the most important part, and these might not repeat themselves again. In the first place, Dr. Prasad was also the President of the Constituent Assembly, and so, like General Washington in the U.S., could appreciate the role of a 'Constitutional President.' In the second place, he and the majority party in the Parliament have the same political complexion believing in the same principles and social values. And, above all, he and Prime Minister Nehru have been comrades in arms for over a quarter of a century, and have learnt the value of 'give and take.' Nehru and Prasad long ago learnt under Gandhiji the art of playing the two blades of a scissors, Nehru playing the active role.

Another favourable feature that prevented the active intervention of the President was that the Congress Party had an unassailable majority in both Houses of Parliament, and this party had an undisputed leader in Pandit Nehru. The result was that the President had neither the headaches of the French President in finding out stable ministries, nor the opportunities of the English Kings in the 18th century to fish in troubled political waters. In other words, the Parliament had been strong enough to resist any possible inroads into its stronghold of sovereign powers.

Does it mean, however, that if the President has not exercised the power, the Parliament did? Here again we have to understand the correct role of Parliament in a Government of this sort. Contrary to the popular view, Parliament in Britain does not govern, nor is it intended to govern. As Jennings reminds us, its function is to criticise, to supervise and to act as a liaison between the Government and the people; that is, as Ilbert concludes, the objective of this type of Government is 'a strong executive Government, tempered and controlled by constant, vigilant, and representative criticism.' In other words, it is ministers that exercise power, but they, though not elected by Parliament, are still responsible to it—collectively, says Art. 75 (3) of our Constitution, it may be noted.

To this extent, our Constitution has worked as a parliamentary system, because it is an undoubted fact that in India so far it is ministers that exercised the real power. What we have to examine here is to what extent their action has been (i) collective, and (ii) responsible.

Collective responsibility, as understood in England, has many implications. One is that all decisions of the executive are binding on all ministers, whether they individually subscribe to that view or not, which further implies that all such decisions are

placed before the full Cabinet and discussed fully, and that where a particular minister finds it difficult to own it, he would resign before he openly opposes it.

It may well be noted that collective responsibility is not merely based on the dictum that two heads are better than one, but has evolved in England as an organic part of that Constitution, as a necessary result of a need felt to stand united against both King and Parliament. This need, again in England, has been greatly reduced by the disappearance of the King as a potent claimant to power on the one hand, and by the emergence of party discipline on the other, which ensures easy victory in the Commons to the party, however great might be the internal differences of opinion (as seen in the recent case of 'police action'

in Egypt). Collective responsibility stands, in England, both as a matter of convention and because of a need for collective wisdom.

Introduced as a mechanical part of an artificially made Constitution, collective responsibility seems to work in India as all mechanical aids do, more to order than due to an impulse felt for its need. We do not know the internal working of the Cabinets in India, but to the extent to which we are enabled to know, there seem to be a few cracks already formed in collective thinking and Cabinet solidarity. The statements made by the late Dr. Ambedkar, and C. D. Deshmukh on their resignations, both point to this particular aspect of the working of Cabinets, that important decisions are taken elsewhere than at the Cabinet meet-

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ing, and that ministers come to know about them, as the members of the public, only from the newspapers. Even Pandit Nehru confessed once or twice that he did not know the decisions taken by a particular ministry on a particular point. There is enough evidence to discern the evolution of two broad tendencies: that individual ministers enjoy a great latitude to take decisions over a large field without consulting the full Cabinet, or even the Prime Minister; and that some important decisions are taken by sub-committees

of the Cabinet, or groups of ministers, and these decisions may not be brought before the full Cabinet depending upon the wish of the Prime Minister. But such tendencies are neither peculiar to India alone, nor are they undesirable by themselves. Governmental activity has increased manifold, and has become technical and complicated since the days when the principles of collective responsibility were first discerned and put down in written formulae.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## History Without Bias

"I's a funny thing," reported Maurice Chevalier, the well-known comedian, in a broadcast one day, "the way we French always name our squares and open places after victories, and the English always name theirs after defeats. I mean, we call our big squares Alma and Wagram and Austerlitz, and the English call theirs Trafalgar and Waterloo."

With this little pleasantry, Chevalier put his finger on the tendency of each nation to see history through its own national spectacles. It is a tendency which can be found in most of us, instilled or reinforced by the emphasis on national achievements and national points of view in many of our text-books, and particularly our history books.

That the world today needs closer comprehension and co-operation among the various nations is everywhere recognised; that a more balanced teaching of history, an elimination of bias and distortion, would help in that direction, is the firm belief of historians and history teachers who have been coming together in informal and official meetings of one sort or another since 1920, and again after the last war, in attempts to deal with this problem.

That Unesco shares this belief is not only implicit in its very existence, but it was explicitly laid down at its very first general conference in 1946 that Unesco should undertake a long-term programme for the improvement of text-books and teaching materials as an aid to international understanding.

Since that time Unesco has been actively engaged in this task. It has kept firmly in mind that its role is to aid frank discussion in no way to impose conclusions. In 1950, it organised in Brussels a seminar for teachers from 24 countries, the first broadly international study-meeting convened to discuss the improvement of school text-books, with particular reference to history books.

A year later, it called another gathering at Sevres of representatives from 32 countries on the teaching of history with a view to mutual comprehension. At different times, Unesco has also given assistance to many bilateral meetings between teachers of different pairs of countries, either directly, or through the offices of the National Commission for Unesco in each country.

Where, perhaps, Unesco is uniquely qualified to give assistance is in the documentation it provides on the activities of various countries in such fields as this, as part of its general "clearing house" service. The monumental *Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind*, now in production by Unesco, is a contribution likewise to the same cause.

The tendency to consider our own country the hub of creation reaches far back into history, and stretches far afield in geography. In former times, indeed, to judge by the earliest maps that have come down to us, countries literally believed it. The Italian missionary of the sixteenth century, Ricci, split the world map he drew for the Chinese down the Pacific, so that China appeared on the right hand edge; but he had to re-draw it for them, split down the Atlantic, so that China could reappear in its rightful place as the centre of the world.

And the more remote other countries are, the greater the tendency to disregard them save where they impinge on the history and interests of the country in those text books they figure—if at all.

On Unesco's initiative, studies were made in seventeen Western countries to see what information school children were getting about Asian history. They revealed that practically all text-books presented Asia solely in terms of western history and heroes.

Following these investigations, Unesco organised a Conference this year on the treatment of Asia in occidental text-books; and part of the task proposed for Unesco in the next two years is the organisation of a similar meeting in Asia in 1958 to consider the treatment of the West in Asian text-books.

This is one of many projects in Unesco's Draft Programme for 1957-58 which will be finalized at the organisation's General Conference in New Delhi this year (1956). It is also proposed that work that has been done to stimulate discussion and improvement of history teaching, as an aid to international understanding, be extended to other fields, especially languages and geography.—Unesco.

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### Buddhism and Pakistan

Extracts from the speech of Mr. Zafrul Islam of the Pakistan High Commission, delivered at a public meeting under the auspices of the Bodhi Society of India and Indian Buddhist Association, are reproduced below from *Pakistan Today*:

Buddhism is essentially a system of self-culture and self-restraint. The story of Buddhism is the story of a great revolution that has had far-reaching consequences in human history.

The advent of Buddhism marked a new stage in human evolution and represented a break from the obscurantist traditions that had held sway earlier. It was really the Buddha who told the world for the first time that it was possible for a human being to free himself by his own exertions from the clutches of circumstances, from the so-called inexorable law of cause and effect and from his ordained destiny. This was a dynamic concept the like of which the world had not witnessed before and it is not surprising therefore that, in spite of the persecutions to which it was subjected, Buddhism spread far and wide in a comparatively short time.

*For Pakistan, Buddhism has particular importance, because it was in the areas that now constitute West Pakistan that the more dynamic concept of Buddhism represented by the "Mahayana" doctrine took root and it was from here that it spread northward into Nepal, Tibet and China and then onwards to Mongolia and Japan.*

I do not think it is necessary for me in this gathering to dilate upon the difference between the "Mahayana" doctrine and the older and perhaps more conventional "Hinayana" doctrine of Buddhism. The former has for its goal not the selfish concept of "Nirvana" or salvation, for the individual devotee, but aims at leading the whole of humanity towards salvation. I hope I am not exaggerating when I say that it was the universal and dynamic content of this doctrine that enabled Buddhism to achieve such astounding success over such a wide area. For Pakistanis, it is certainly gratifying that it was from the city of "Purushapura", now-a-days known as Peshawar, which was the capital of the kingdom, extending from modern Chinese Turkestan in the north to Sind in the South, and ruled over by one of the most enlightened of all monarchs, Kanishka, that Buddhism started to spread across the frontiers of India in the first century of the Christian era.

The region comprising West Pakistan also gave birth to the unique Gandhara School of sculpture, exquisite specimens of which still find pride of place in Pakistani museums. The "Gandhara School" was born of a synthesis between the Hellenistic forms of art, with their emphasis on physical attractiveness, which had found their way into the Indus Valley and its surrounding regions after Alexander's invasion of this area, and the Buddhist traditions of reflective spiritualism which came to this area with the preachings of Madhyantika, one of the most illustrious missionaries sent out by the great Asoka as a part of his all-embracing proselytising crusade. Perhaps, this School of Art was the only one in the entire Indo-Pakistan sub-continent in which the accuracy of

anatomical details was the main criterion of perfection. The beautiful statues of Buddha which we see all over the world today perhaps all belong to this tradition and I think it is a proud privilege, indeed, for Pakistan to have been the birthplace of this art-form.

Buddhism, in fact, has left a very deep imprint on Pakistan—only because it held sway in these parts much longer than in the region where it was born, not only because it found refuge there at a time when it was being persecuted by bigoted and fanatical rulers elsewhere, not only because the Buddhist period constitutes one of the three distinct periods of West Pakistan's history—the other two being: (i) the period represented by the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa civilisations and (ii) the Muslim period—not only because of the visible and glorious monuments to the religion that still stand in Pakistan at Taxila, Takhtebahi and Peshawar in West Pakistan and at Mainamati and other places in East Pakistan, but because the teachings of Buddha find a ready response among the simple and straight-forward people of Pakistan.

To them the message of Buddha that "he who possesses nothing and seizes upon nothing, he who is free from anger, endowed with holy works, virtuous and subdued, he who like water on a lotus leaf or a mustard seed on the point of a needle does not cling to sensual pleasure, he in whom there is truth and righteousness is the most blessed of men"—this message is easily comprehensible. So is the Buddha's elucidation to his disciples of the brotherhood of man. "As the great stream, however many they may be, when they reach the great ocean, lose their old name and their old descent and bear only one name, the great ocean, so also do all men lose their distinctions when they join the Order."

To this message, the people of Pakistan are today naturally attuned, because it is the same message which the Prophet of Islam gave to his disciples more than eleven hundred years after the Buddha. I think there can be no nobler message for mankind and the ills that afflict the human race today can be eradicated only if we sincerely believe in this message and try our utmost to translate it into practice.

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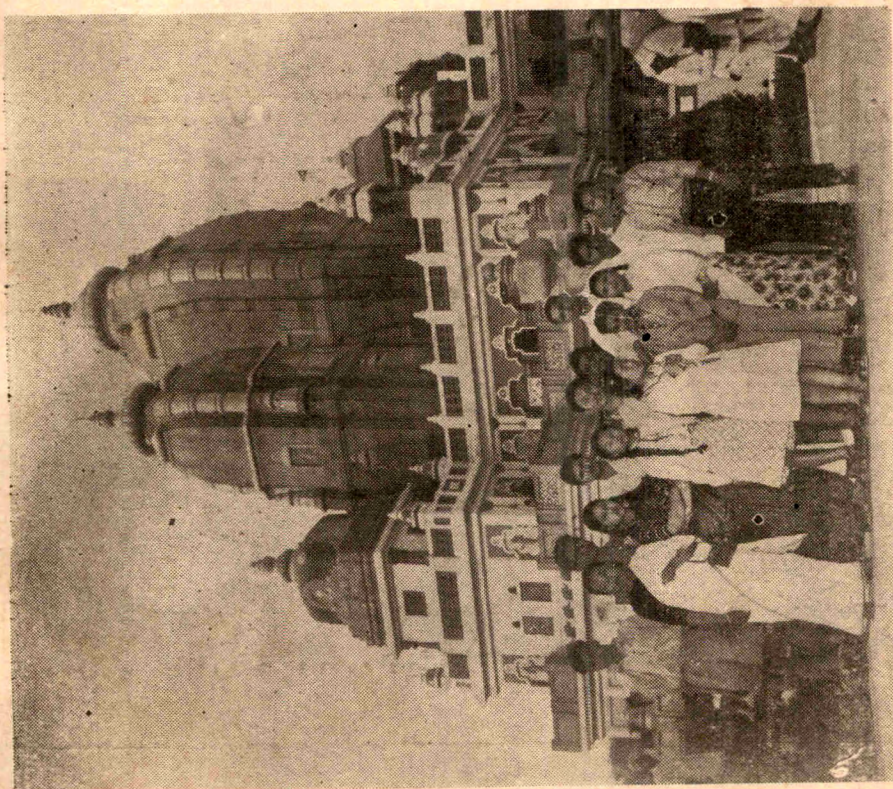
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Members of a Student-Teacher Delegation from Sikkim visit the  
Lakshminarayan Temple in New Delhi



On their way to work





AGE-WORN

By Pankajkumar Banerji

Prabasi Press, Calcutta



# THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY



1957



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## NOTES

### *The People and the Congress*

It has been apparent for some time now that a few of the topmen in the Congress, including Pandit Nehru, have become uneasy at the waning of Congress popularity amongst the nationals of the Union of India. Of course, the great majority of those who have scrambled to the top, have done so for ulterior motives and to them the reason why does not matter a jot. All that is of any consequence to them consist of the shekels that might be garnered and the flesh-pots that might be shared within the next five years. When the time comes for fooling the masses again for another five years, the question of choosing band-wagons—or of turning coats if the situation be desperate—would be duly considered, so that this farce of "Democracy" might be carried on!

But even amongst the few at the top who might be regarded as being free of gross motives, not one seems to be either capable or willing to make a factual analysis of the reasons why the Congress is losing contact with the masses. Pandit Nehru has spoken on the matter several times and his latest statement, which will be found elsewhere in these editorials, is in a line with his previous utterances on this subject. We are no longer surprised at the lack of understanding and the incapacity for logical deduction from glaring facts displayed by our topmost ivory-tower dwellers, but is there no one amongst those who profess to tread the path chosen by Gandhiji who can hold up the Truth before the eyes of our gods—that-be?

Inexperience and over-confidence—to the point of arrogance—on the part of the men at the top, has led to the degeneration and de-

gradation of the present-day Congress. Today the Congress Government is controlled by a body of intriguers who have filled its ranks with intrusive elements of inefficient and corrupt self-seekers.

Where intrigue, inefficiency and corruption are rife, what question can there be of public confidence or mass-contact? We all still dream of Gandhiji's Ram Rajya and live in hope, hope for a change of heart amongst the ivory-tower dwellers. And, so long that hope lasts, there will be a majority vote for the Congress. There is no other reason for the Congress victory, let not Pandit Nehru delude himself.

Pandit Nehru has tried to analyse the causes for the decline in popularity of his beloved Congress. Regarding his conclusions, we can only say that had it been anyone else we would have called them childish, so superficial and outrageously beside the point they are.

"The Congress is unable to deliver the goods it promised," is the complaint all-round. Prices are soaring, incomes are going down, in terms of purchasing power, particularly amongst the middle class. And it should be remembered that it is that strata of the nation that made all the sacrifices.

The Ministries at the Centre and in the States are infested by mediocrities and non-entities, who cringe and fawn on their chosen all-highest and in their turn behave with arrogance and gross irresponsibility where the public is concerned. Election promises are broken by all, without exception, in the Congress.

The wonder, therefore, is not as to why the Congress popularity is on the wane, it is, on the contrary, that the Congress still retains its hold at all.

### *Ordinance Galore*

Since a business concern has, under the Constitution, the right to close, the law hitherto, as enunciated by the High Courts of India, has been that claims for compensation to the workmen, unless there is victimisation or unfair labour-practice, are not admissible. That Law of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, has recently been reaffirmed by the Supreme Court with a painstaking thoroughness. It lays down that no retrenchment compensation is payable to the workmen, whose services are terminated on real or *bonafide* closure or when termination occurs as a result of transfer of ownership. The President of the Indian Union has passed an Ordinance, which travesties the considered judgment of the High Courts and Supreme Court combined. It provides that compensation is due to the workmen even where the closure is for unavoidable circumstances beyond the control of an employer. In other words, before a business is launched, the promoters have to lay by a good sum to recoup workmen in case it topples down, no matter what befalls the others concerned. This is discrimination, frowned at by our Constitution.

We regret the light-heartedness, almost the levity, with which Ordinances are being promulgated in disturbing succession. Only the other day, also in April 1957, the President passed an Ordinance setting at naught a decision of the Bombay High Court against the Life Assurance Corporation of India. To invoke at random what is only justifiable in extreme circumstances and this too in order to circumvent the highest judiciary of the land is to lead people lose faith in the inalienable integrity of Law. It makes for anarchy. It puts premium on the haphazardness of those responsible for preparing laws. Besides, the ruling oligarchy should have the fairness to concede that the judges are much better equipped by training and the tradition to hold the scales even between contending forces to determine the maximum good to the maximum number of people in society.

The Ordinance under review is open to criticism from another standpoint. Since we hold that it is not enough for the rulers to be above corrupt influences but what is as vitally important, the people must be imbued with a faith in their incorruptibility, we would not mince matters. The Press Note refers to the Supreme

Court judgment and says that 'since then a number of undertakings particularly in Ahmedabad, Kanpur and West Bengal have closed down or put up notices of closure for one reason or another rendering unemployed large numbers of workmen without any compensation.' Evidently, the Government makes no secret of its conviction that these undertakings have acted *malafide*. Why is it that so many organisations should have simultaneously taken into their head to close down business they have nursed for so many years and thus throw overboard their workmen? It is a question that needs being probed deep. The one factor suggestive of some reflections between 27th November, 1956, i.e., the day when the Supreme Court judgment was delivered, and presumably the time chosen for closure is the General Election, which has returned the Congress to power. A proceeding of the Calcutta High Court reveals that the Congress was being handsomely financed to fight the election by a number of business organisations. Who is to decipher that none of the offenders, the Government had in view in the Ordinance, comes under the category? Nobody can be blamed if he were to say that one or other of those organisations was inspired to count upon Government protection for which it considers an anti-social decision. Are they being given a short shrift now that the fair is over and attempts made to cultivate the leftists of the Labour movement? The Ordinance is obviously a surrender to these. They have, in fact, being pitchforked to a position, from which they will dictate terms to the employer. This is bound to tell heavily upon the relation between labour and capital, particularly where the unions are controlled by leaders, not the very scrupulous type.

The labour in our country, generally speaking, is not intelligent and courageous enough to fix up what is good for him in the long run and to thrash out the ignoble motives of those who guide them. Even in countries, where the average workman has much greater awareness of his rights in terms of his obligations, it is amazing to what extent he is exploited by his leaders. The *Time* of America in its issue of 8th April (Pacific Edition) unfolds a picture of long-continued corruption and abuse.

Dave Beck, president of the 1,400,000-man Teamsters Union, refused point blank, as he

was within his rights, to answer a Senate committee's question about 'misconduct and misuse of Union funds.' But other leaders of organized labour, even if knowing that a good many people would avail themselves of the exposure of Teamsters' corruption to 'restrict the entire labour movement,' took courage in both hands to 'denounce and renounce' such a character, because, they would otherwise have to pay for associating with such 'phonics and criminals.' In America, they are contemplating to set up a machinery to check and balance the power of big labour. What, however, we need in our country is a machinery to control to rationalize the relation between labour and capital not by yielding to one or the other but by steady, unflinching efforts to keep either in its respective position suggesting legislation for the purpose. None more suitable than a Bench of the High Court can be imagined to discharge this solemn responsibility. In view of the Labour Appellate Tribunal having been abolished, it can as well be entrusted with the appeals against the awards of Industrial Tribunals.

#### *Trends in Industrial Development*

Under the new Industrial Policy of the Government of India, the industrial enterprises of the country have been divided into sectors of private and State responsibility. Although some of the industries have been included ordinarily in the private sector, the State has the ultimate responsibility for the development of these industries in case of inability of the private sector to develop these industries. The State can step into the field of industries normally allotted to the private sector if the private capital or initiative is found to be inadequate for the proper development of the industries in the private sector. But mere legislation is not enough in securing the desired result. The private sector in India has been admitted as an adjunct to the overall industrial policy of the Government and the private sector is to function under the supervision and authority of the State. There is no unchartered freedom of the private sector under the planned economy of India. But there has been some recent developments in the private sector in respect of industrial enterprises that call for serious consideration by the Government as to whether the purpose of the Industries Development and

Regulation Act of 1951 is not being frustrated by the private sector.

An industry may belong to private ownership, but ultimately it is a national concern and the national interests call for State control in the last resort of the affairs of that industry. Some persons in recent years, or rather recent months, have been acquiring interests in some of the well-known industrial enterprises of foreigners. The Indian owners are not industrialists in the true sense of the term nor have they any industrial training or experience. They are just ordinary persons who by some or other means have been able to amass huge wealth and are now stepping into the industrial field of the country. The notable instance being the change of ownership in the Jessop Iron and Steel Industry and some of the industrial concerns of the British India Corporation. These newcomers lack the imaginative initiative which is essential for developing industries. Mere purchase or ownership of an industrial concern does not make an industry. An industrialist should have an industrial background, training and outlook in order to be an industrial magnate. These newcomers in the field of industrial enterprises are reported to be averse to any modernisation or rationalisation of their newly-acquired industries whose machineries are much too old and call for replacement with modern machinery. But the new owners think that because they have spent a large sum in acquiring the existing industrial concern, they must reap good profits from these industries at least for several years to come. So just at the moment they cannot think in terms of rationalization. But this attitude is harmful to the country's industrial development as this conservative outlook will in the near future retard the growth of industries because old machinery means higher costs and that would result in falling profits and employment. The Government of India should look into the process of transitions that are going on in the country in respect of changing ownership in foreign-owned industries. These industries mainly belong to the iron and steel group and as such they are vital to the interest of the country and the country cannot afford to indulge in costly experiments in the matter. What we suggest is that in case of a foreign-owned industry, the Government itself should acquire



the enterprise if it is found vital to the interest of the country and if the owner is willing to dispose it of. The Industries Development and Regulation Act should be suitably amended so that industrial enterprises cannot be run and acquired by persons unless they satisfy certain qualifications. The new Indian owners of foreign-owned industrial enterprises are more interested in earning profit than developing the industry for the interest of the country. The result in such cases is that certain sectors of the industrial concern receives attention and certain sections are totally ignored simply because the new owner thinks that only the productive part of the machinery should be modernised or replaced with new machinery and the non-productive part need not therefore be replaced or modernised. But a factory should be viewed as a whole and the productive capacity of the factory cannot increase unless all the parts are modernised simultaneously.

Another point that has been brought to our notice in the field of industrial development is the so-called industrial co-operatives. In most cases the setting up of an industry on a co-operative basis is nothing but the creation of patronage conferred on some former political agitator who is a supporter of the Congress Party. The person in question has no industrial training or background nor does he possess any qualification for running an industrial concern. But in order to keep him engaged in some way or other the newly-designed industrial co-operatives have been started. In this way large sums are being wasted because the persons in questions have not the qualifications to run the industry. In consequence mounting deficits are the outcome of such industrial co-operatives. Still, however, the Government continue to render financial aid to such co-operatives which are a great hoax and in reality an economic patronage to political supporters. The money is, of course, raised by taxing the millions in the country and that is lost sight of when the Government extend such patronage in the name of economic rehabilitation or development. This is a pitfall of planned economy in a democratic set up. These planned expenditures on unplanned productive ventures end in fiasco and they increase the cost of planning.

The very system of extending state financial aid to private industrial co-operatives is

questionable. This practice should forthwith be stopped. The industrial co-operatives should be helped financially only by the State Finance Corporations after going through the requisite qualifications and resources of the borrowing concern. State patronage with the help of public money is an undesirable practice. There are various agencies for the purpose of giving financial aid to small industrial concerns and they should be properly utilised instead of direct State help.

It is often reported in the Press that there is dearth of technicians, engineers and such other persons for industries. But contradictions to such reports are also published by individuals pointing out that although they possess the requisite qualifications and applied to the appropriate authorities, they were not appointed. The truth seems to lie on both sides. There is no doubt dearth of highly trained or specialized technicians or engineers; but it is also true that there is a large number of engineers and technicians who remain unemployed because the authorities have not tapped all the sources for securing the services of such personnel. In a country where unemployment is mounting and where there are many engineering colleges and schools, it is quite inconceivable that there can be dearth of suitable personnel in engineering qualifications. What is the source of the Government in arriving at such a conclusion?

Just to give a simple example. Many students pass every year from Bengal Sibpore Engineering College and also the Jadavpur Engineering College. Can the authorities vouchsafe that all these qualified persons are employed every year? That is impossible by fact and by logic. The Press announcement to the effect that India has a want of trained personnel calls for strict scrutiny. There are even hundreds of such persons who remain unemployed and the Government publish such reports in the Press only to represent that there is no unemployment among the trained persons in this country. But that is not the true picture of the employment position. Such report is nothing but a political stunt. /

#### *Finance for the Tea Industry*

In recent weeks much is being heard about the financial needs of the tea industry. The tea

industry is said to be facing a financial crisis both in view of block capital as well as working capital. Most of the bushes were planted before 1900 and their normal life being 60 years, these bushes call for replantation with immediate effect. But the tea gardens concerned have no block capital to finance such replantation and without replantation there will be falling tea acreage. The Plantation Enquiry Commission has estimated that replantation in an acre of land will cost about Rs. 3,000 and it has suggested for the establishment of a replantation fund with an annual contribution of Rs. 50 per acre for 60 years by each tea garden. But that is a matter for the distant future. The question is how to raise finance for replanting just at the moment for replantation?

There is no land mortgage bank or agricultural bank to finance such long-term block capital. The commercial banks in India supply only working capital to the tea industry. The commercial banks cannot be expected to supply the long-term capital needs of the tea industry. Other industries allow depreciation charges before declaring dividends; but the defect of the tea industry has been that it has not created any such replantation fund. During the Second World War, the tea industry enjoyed an unprecedented boom so much so that dividends were declared to the extent of 50 to 60 per cent of the capital invested. This high rate of dividend was not enjoyed by any other industry. Even in 1954, the tea industry's declared dividend was the highest in India and it was as high as 30 per cent. The average rate of dividend enjoyed by the tea industry is about 16 per cent as against the average rate of 7 to 8 per cent dividends in other industries of India.

This high rate of dividend payment in the tea industry has resulted in the depletion of capital stock. The Government should have been aware of this fact much earlier. Now they should take measures so as to restrict the dividend up to 10 per cent of the capital invested and not more than that. Had this measure been adopted earlier, the tea industry today would not have faced the crisis of financial drawback. The tea industry earns enough profits even during the time of so-called depression and if this excess profit is ploughed back into long-term block capital, then the industry would not

require any external assistance for the purpose of replantation.

### *Jute Industry in Difficulty*

For some time past the Indian jute industry has not been doing well for various reasons. Although the production of jute manufactures went up considerably in 1956 and the offtake was also satisfactory, yet from the financial point of view the industry rather faced a crisis. The main cause of this difficulty is the decline in exports. The year 1956 opened with good prospects when the stocks of manufactured jute goods stood at less than 64,000 tons and this was said to be the lowest stock held since the end of the war. That means in 1955 there were higher exports. Encouraged by this trend in export, particularly to countries belonging to the Soviet group, the Indian Jute Mills' Association unsealed 2½ per cent of the looms sealed in 1949. But this experiment proved to be costly and the prospects of export faded away early with mounting stocks in the early part of 1956. The stocks steadily rose to 138,000 tons and in consequence the mills had to reseat the additional looms unsealed earlier. In the latter half of the year, the Suez crisis, however, came to the rescue of the jute industry and as a result there was increased offtake. The domestic consumption also increased considerably and at the end of the year 1956, stocks were higher by only 32,000 tons as against an increase of output of 65,000 tons.

In 1956, the export of hessian exceeded 4 lakh tons and this was a notable gain for the first time in many years. The drop in exports to Argentina was more than compensated by higher exports to the USA. But although the export of hessian showed a marked increase, the export of sacking declined alarmingly by 36,000 tons. The result was that the overall exports of jute goods declined by 25,000 tons. The only redeeming feature of this otherwise falling export trade is that of the total exports, the USA's offtake was nearly 50 per cent and the burlap consumption in that country rose by 6 per cent in 1956. The export of jute manufactures is vital to India as it is the largest earner of dollar. The decline in export of the jute goods, therefore, is a matter of concern not only for the industry but also for the country as a whole, in so far as the question of earning

foreign exchange is concerned. The rise in domestic consumption offers no solution for the decline in exports.

There are several factors which are responsible for the decline in the export of jute goods. The foremost cause is the development of jute manufacturing industry in many countries of the Far East, namely, Burma, Thailand; Indochina, China and Japan. These countries once were the biggest market for India's jute goods. The growth of jute manufacturing industries in these countries means the virtual loss of Indian jute goods market in these countries. The market in the USA is also not safe for India as Japan has become a formidable rival to India in respect of exports in jute goods to that country. Formerly India exported jute goods to the extent of about 70,000 tons to Pakistan. But with the development of manufacturing units in that country, the export of jute goods to that country has come to an end. Not only that, Pakistan today is exporting jute goods to the extent of more than 50,000 tons to markets in Europe and North America. The increased manufacture and use of paper bags are also ousting goods from industrial use.

Pakistan is now enjoying a boom in her jute trade. She is now making a concerted effort to expand the jute acreage as well as to improve the quality of jute by supplying new and improved varieties of seeds to the cultivators. She has withdrawn the restriction on jute cultivation and has also abolished the licence fee of Rs. 1 per acre. In India, there is no fear of any carry over of raw jute stock. On the contrary, India is deficient in the production of her raw jute. In 1956, the production of raw jute stood at 42 lakh bales as against the total requirements of our jute mills to the extent of more than 60 lakh bales. This gap has to be filled by import from Pakistan which charges a higher price for export of raw jute to India and in consequence the cost of production of jute goods is considerably higher in this country. The shortage of raw jute supply from indigenous sources is a great handicap to India in the field of world competition.

India should strive to be self-supporting in the supply and production of raw jute, otherwise the manufacturing industry will not be free from the present difficulty. Under the Second Five-Year Plan, the target of raw jute

production has been fixed at 55 lakh bales. But the target should be revised upwards to not less than 66 lakh bales. It should be remembered that all the raw jute produced in India is not fit for consumption by mills. The quality of Indian jute should be improved. During the last 12 years, the jute acreage in India has increased by about 200 per cent, yet this has not brought self-sufficiency to India. Both extensive and intensive cultivation of jute is required. India has limited cultivable land area and that is to be equitably distributed between the cultivation of jute and paddy. The increase in jute acreage should not curtail the paddy acreage. Intensive cultivation is, therefore, imperative as that would raise the productivity per acre. The improved cultivation is possible by the use of improved seed, mechanical sowing by seed drills, a reduction of weed-growth by inter-row boring and the application of chemical fertilisers. If these methods are adopted, it is estimated that the output of raw jute would go up by about 20 per cent.

#### *Makarios and Cyprus*

The British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, announced in the British House of Commons on March 28 that Archbishop Makarios, leader of the Cypriot independence movement, would be released along with his close comrades. The Archbishop would, however, not be permitted to return to Cyprus. The Government also announced its readiness to offer immediately safe conduct out of Cyprus to Colonel Grivas, leader of the EOKA, the Cyprus nationalist organization, in order to promote a rapid return to peaceful conditions in Cyprus. The Colonial Secretary added that the safe-conduct out of Cyprus would be extended to any British subjects who were members of the organization and still at large, provided they gave an undertaking not to enter any British territory so long as the legal state of emergency continued in Cyprus.

While the news was widely hailed by all Cypriots it led to the resignation of an important member of the Macmillan Cabinet in the United Kingdom. The Marquess of Salisbury, regarded as one of the most influential men in the British Cabinet, resigned his position of the leader of the House of Lords and Lord President of the Council as a result of his



opposition to the release of Makarios. The Earl of Home has succeeded Lord Salisbury.

Makarios was released from his year-long detention in the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean after he had made conditional appeal to the Cypriots to stop violent movement against the British. He stated that the EOKA would stop its activities only if the British "show . . . understanding by abolishing simultaneously the present state of emergency," however, he made it quite clear at the same time that he would not enter into any discussions with the British over the settlement of the Cyprus question until he was allowed to return to Cyprus.

Cyprus is another danger spot in the explosive situation in the Middle East. For nearly two years the Cypriote nationalists were waging a bloody war against British colonial domination and for union with Greece ('Enosis'). The unchallenged leader of the movement has been Makarios III—tall, black-bearded patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church. The British Government has consistently been dodging the main demand of the Cypriotes for independence and union with Greece. However, the British efforts to subdue the Cypriotes by show of arms have completely failed so that they have now reopened the scope for a negotiated settlement by releasing Makarios from his enforced exile. Yet Makarios would not be able to return to Cyprus. Neither has the British Government agreed to lift the state of emergency in Cyprus. These can hardly appear reasonable. From its failure to crush the Cypriot independence by force the British Government should have learnt the lesson why such half-hearted measures are hardly successful, if ever.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Makarios arrived in Athens on April 17. Describing the scenes of popular enthusiasm on the Archbishop's arrival, A. C. Sedgwick, Athens correspondent of the *New York Times*, writes: "It was a demonstration of their passionate adherence to the cause of which he is a living symbol: the right of Cypriotes to choose their political destiny."

"Declarations on placards and slogans shouted and screamed by throngs lining the route from the airfield," he adds, "made the popular sentiment evident. They made it appear that the EOKA, the organization of armed partisans for Cyprus' liberation, held

such popular favour that no leader in the Hellenic world could afford to denounce it."

Speaking to the crowd assembled to greet him Makarios asserted that the people of Cyprus had demonstrated their fidelity to the cause of self-determination by their "steadfast refusal to accept makeshift solutions." He approvingly referred to the recent resolution of the United Nations General Assembly calling upon the British Government and the people of Cyprus for an agreement on a peaceful, just and democratic solution. Referring to the Turkish opposition to the independence of Cyprus Makarios said that it was "British instigated."

### *The Gulf of Aqaba*

A major danger-spot in the Middle East is the Gulf of Aqaba bordering the four States of Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. From 1950 until November, 1956, Egypt barred the passage of any Israeli ship through the Gulf. One of the major objectives of Israeli attack on Egypt in last October was the opening of the Canal to Israeli shipping. In the ensuing hostilities Israel drove out all Egyptian forces from Sharma el Sheikh which commanded the entry into the Straits of Tiran leading to the Gulf of Aqaba. Israel agreed to evacuate Sharma el Sheikh in March only upon the U.S. understanding that the Gulf would be open to Israel. In a policy declaration on February 11 this year the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles, with President Eisenhower's support declared that the Gulf of Aqaba was an international waterway and Egypt had no right to bar any State the right of "innocent passage" (unless a ship is on a mission prejudicial to the State through whose territorial waters she sails the ship is considered in international law to be an innocent passage) to the ships of any country. Mr. Dulles further declared that he would establish the right of passage through the gulf by sending an U.S. ship through it to the Israeli port of Elath.

Following this declaration a United States tanker, *Kern Hills* (16,500 tons), passed through the Gulf of Aqaba on April 6 carrying oil from Iran to the port of Elath in Israel. The ship was chartered to an Israeli company. Thus technically the U.S. had not sent her to Elath, but everybody recognised the decisive role of the U.S.A. in the passage of the tanker. This

move was designed to establish U.S. right of free passage through the gulf.

"There was added significance to the arrival as a symbol that an alternate oil route to the Suez Canal is now possible from Elath to the Mediterranean Sea. An eight-inch pipeline from Elath to Beersheba is almost ready for operation and plans are on the drawing board for a larger line. In either event the oil-flow would be relatively slight compared to what moves through the Suez when it is operating fully, but the alternative is considered useful, and, for the supply of Israel's own needs, of great importance," writes Russel Baker, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*.

The Arab countries—particularly Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon—were greatly perturbed over this renewed U.S. interference in the area in the interest of Israel. On April 11 Saudi Arabia announced that she would not let any Israeli vessel pass through the Gulf of Aqaba.

Earlier in a note delivered to the envoys of foreign powers on March 31, Saudi Arabia pointed out that the islands of Tiran and Sanafir at the mouth of the gulf were parts of her territory and the gulf's entrance was only nine miles wide, "about twelve miles less than those waterways considered to have universal character under international law."

"The Gulf of Aqaba cannot," it was added, "therefore, be considered an open waterway and any attempt at giving it international character will constitute encroachment on the sovereignty of Saudi Arabia and a threat to its territorial security."

On April 16, the Lebanese Ambassador to the United States delivered a verbal protest to the State Department against the passage of the U.S. tanker *Kern Hills* through "Arab territorial waters" to the Israeli port of Elath.

### *Jordan Developments*

The developments in Jordan have a striking resemblance to those in Iran under Premier Mossadeq. In both the cases a pro-Western king acted to stage a coup against the popular forces.

The twenty-one-year-old King Hussein of Jordan staged a coup on April 14 to oust pro-

Egyptian elements in his army and government. At the King's instance a new government was formed by Dr. Hussein Fakhri El-Khalidi in which, however, the ousted Premier Nabulsi was retained as Foreign Minister at first. But within a few days Nabulsi had to resign and he was put under arrest. The new government enforced a martial law on April 25 and brought into action an old anti-Communist law. The King also refused to accord royal assent to the decision of the former Nabulsi Cabinet to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

The background to the recent developments in Jordan is provided in the following report in the *New York Times*:

"When Hussein became King of Jordan in 1953, he was a boy of 18 with an English education (Harrow and Sandhurst), expensive hobbies (racing cars and airplanes), and flamboyant tastes (at Sandhurst his uniform decked with medals earned him the nickname 'brazen Hussy').

"At first Hussein paid little attention to affairs of state. Within a year and a half, however, the boy King became the target of a bitter tug of war between Britain and Egypt for control of his country. The British, who had created Jordan and provided it with an army and an annual subsidy, wanted King Hussein to line up with the pro-Western bloc of Moslem states that included Iraq. Nasser of Egypt wanted Hussein to join Jordan to the anti-Western Arab bloc comprising Egypt, and Saudi Arabia.

"Within Jordan there was sharp division. The Bedouins of the desert, who had formed the majority of the population before 1949, were apparently loyal to the British. But during the 1948-49 Palestine war, Hussein's grandfather, King Abdullah, had annexed part of Palestine, and Jordan's Bedouins were now outnumbered by Palestinian Arabs, many of them refugees from Israeli territory. The Palestinians had one goal: vengeance on Israel and on the Western powers they considered responsible for Israel's existence. More sophisticated and more powerful than the Bedouins, the Palestinians soon dominated Jordan's politics. Their hero was Nasser, and they demanded that Hussein sever Jordan's ties to Britain and join the Nasser bloc.

"King Hussein, impelled partly by Arab

nationalism, partly by desire to keep his throne, yielded to the Palestinians for a long time. British officers in Jordan were ousted. Pro-Nasser men received top positions in the armed forces including Jordan's famed Arab Legion. Syrian and Saudi Arabian troops were allowed to enter Jordan last fall to 'protect' it in the event of 'Israeli aggression.'

"Last October, Jordan held parliamentary elections; the Palestinian-supported parties won a majority, and King Hussein appointed as Premier an anti-Western extremist of Palestinian descent, Suleiman Nabulsi. Under Nabulsi both Nasserism and Communist influences flourished and the last ties with Britain were cut. But without the annual British subsidy, the Jordanian economy began to founder. And King Hussein evidently began to fear that the monarchy might soon founder, too.

"In February the King ordered his Premier to clamp down on Communist activity. Nabulsi refused. Hussein's anger was heightened by warnings from a man supposed to be Nasser's close ally: King Saud of Saudi Arabia. Saud urged Egypt, Jordan and Syria to resist Communism and to show some sympathy for the American Eisenhower Doctrine with its offer of economic and military aid to anti-Communist Arab nations. To Hussein and his supporters in the Government, the Eisenhower Doctrine sounded as though it might be a remedy for Jordan's troubles. And if King Saud could accept American military and economic aid, why couldn't Jordan?

"Premier Nabulsi gave the answer in a fiery, anti-Western, pro-Soviet speech two weeks ago. 'If the United States handed me 100 million dollars and said, 'It is yours, if you fight communism,' I would reject it,' he said. He also indicated that he was (1) preparing to establish closer relations with Russia, and (2) planning a purge of Jordanian civil servants considered too loyal to King Hussein. Ten days ago Hussein fired Nabulsi.

"The anti-Western Palestinians moved quickly. Led by the Army Chief of Staff, Maj. Gen. Ali Abu Nuwar, a nationalist firebrand, they began secretly organizing an anti-Hussein rebellion in the Arab Legion. Eight days ago the Bedouin Legionnaires sent word of the conspiracy to the King. Hussein drove out to the Arab Legion camp and made a dramatic appeal for the

army's allegiance. The Bedouins, traditionally loyal to the Hashemite dynasty to which Hussein belongs and bitterly resentful of General Nuwar who had discriminated against Bedouin officers, rallied to the King. The rebellion was crushed and Nuwar escaped to Syria.

"Last week Hussein and his supporters embarked on a tightrope policy of purging Jordan of the extreme pro-Nasser and pro-Communist forces while at the same time seeking to placate the powerful Palestinian rank-and-file. Hussein appointed a compromise Cabinet headed by a relatively moderate Palestinian, Hussein Fakri Khalidi, and including Nabulsi in the post of Foreign Minister. In the army, the King replaced Chief of Staff Nuwar, with one of Nuwar's former school-mates, Maj. Gen. Ali Hayari. Bedouins received important promotions, however, and it was plain that the King was seeking to 'Bedouinize' his officer corps.

"To the country as a whole, Hussein pledged that the changes and purges in the government and the army did not presage any change in Jordan's basic policy of 'Arab unity,' 'positive neutrality,' 'anti-imperialism,' and opposition to Israel.

"But the Palestinians were evidently not placated and the political tension continued. Yesterday the new Chief of Staff, General Hayari, went to Syria on a pretext. Once on Syrian soil, he announced his resignation and claimed political asylum. General Hayari charged that King Hussein's palace was 'preparing a plot in co-operation with foreign non-Arab military attaches in Amman against Jordan's independence.' Hussein promptly appointed a tough Bedouin general to replace him. Nonetheless the resignation was a sign of mounting dissension in Jordan.

"Where do last week's developments leave the Middle Eastern situation? Obviously the course Jordan follows will have important effects upon relations among the Arab nations, upon Israel and upon the East-West struggle for the Middle East's allegiance.

"If Hussein makes good his attempt to halt the spread of Nasserism in Jordan, and if he succeeds in halting Jordan's drift toward the Egyptian-Syrian-Communist orbit, it will be a real blow both at Nasser's prestige and at Russia's efforts to penetrate the Arab world. Both Cairo and Moscow are well aware of the



danger. Last week in Cairo, hundreds of Egyptians demonstrated against Hussein and denounced him as 'a traitor to the Arab cause.' In Moscow, *Pravda* charged that Jordan's 'royal court supported by reactionary military circles and other anti-popular forces' was planning to hand Jordan 'to the imperialist camp.'

"Actually, however, there is little chance that Hussein will join up with the West. Even if he wanted to go that far—and there is no certainty that he does—he would risk a popular uprising of the Palestinian faction in Jordan. About the best that Washington can hope for at the present is that Jordan might join with Saudi Arabia's King Saud in an anti-Communist—although not pro-Western—course. In that event, Nasser would find himself with only one close Arab ally: Syria. To avoid such isolation Nasser might even decide to take an anti-Communist line himself.

"At the present time, however, there is no guarantee that Hussein will remain in power long enough to lead Jordan away from communism. Despite the allegiance of the Bedouins, his position at home is far from secure. If the pro-Nasser forces in Jordan could oust him, it would be regarded as an important victory for Nasser and, possibly, for Russia as well. If there were any large-scale fighting in Jordan, the Saudi Arabian and Syrian troops which are still stationed there would probably become involved. In that case, Jordan's two remaining neighbours—Iraq in the north and Israel on the west—would also be expected to intervene, Jordan might find itself partitioned, and the whole balance of power in the Mideast might shift abruptly."

### *Civil Liberties in the USA*

The American Socialist leader, Mr. Norman Thomas, in an open letter published in the New York weekly *New Leader* took issue with Bertrand Russel for the latter having written an introduction to the British edition of the book *Freedom is As Freedom Does*, written by Corliss Lamont. In his introduction Earl Russel made a sombre appraisal of the state of civil liberties in the USA. In his reply to the criticism levelled by Norman Thomas, Earl Russel re-iterated his position with equal emphasis and the picture he drew of American civil liberties was equally horrifying.

Russel said: "You will doubtless agree that fellow-travellers share the guilt of communist crimes by refusing to admit them; but presumably you will not agree that anti-Communists equally share the guilt of admittedly lesser crimes committed by the police and the law courts in the United States."

Referring to the nefarious role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in crushing civil liberties of citizens in the USA, Earl Russel said that the organisation had behaved for the past forty years "with a disregard for truth and common humanity which should have aroused overwhelming public protest."

He added: "I say this deliberately and with a full sense of responsibility."

Referring to air of fear and suspicion in the academic institutions in the USA, Earl Russel said: "I do not think that you and those who think as you do have the vaguest idea of the general state of fear which exists in American universities among young professors and instructors and among intelligent students. I have frequent and numerous contacts with men of this kind, and it is pathetic to see their joy in breathing the air of free discussion without the dread that an unguarded remark will be reported by supposed friends to some authority with power to inflict ruin."

### *Civil Liberties Under Communism*

The great British philosopher has drawn an appalling picture of the state of civil liberties in the USA. Despite the objections of the American socialist leader, Mr. Norman Thomas, the picture presented by Earl Russel must be accepted as a very close approximation of the realities. The recent suicide of Herbert Norman, Canadian Ambassador to Egypt on April 4 as a result of the charges of Communist association levelled against him by a committee of the US Congress further highlights the degree of the anti-Communist hysteria in the USA which did not spare even a top-ranking diplomat of a friendly power from the smearing campaign. The Canadian Government and people have almost in one single voice decried Mr. Norman's death under such tragic circumstances. A Labour Member of Parliament has described Mr. Norman's suicide as "murder by slander."

Yet in all fairness it must be agreed that,

as Earl Russel has also stated, infringements of liberty in the USA have not yet reached the proportions seen in the USSR and some of the satellite Communist States. The crimes of the Stalin era are now almost universally recognised and denounced. But the Communists in their typical manner, while criticising past crimes, continued to extol current Soviet crimes with the fullest equanimity. The crushing of the Hungarian revolution by the Soviet army has not been openly denounced by any major Communist Party, though the greatest uneasiness among party ranks in more than one party is clearly visible. Thus the British Communist Party rejected Peter Fryer's appeal for re-admission though the Party could not produce even the most slender proof that Peter Fryer had said anything but hard truth about the massacre by the Soviet tanks in Hungary. But as the disillusioned Professor Levy remarked, you could not expect truth from the Communists. Professor Levy, a noted British scientist and one of the foremost Communist intellectuals in Western Europe, openly indicated the British Communist leadership headed by Harry Pollitt for deliberate suppression of truth about the terror in the USSR.

Referring to his visit to the USSR Professor Levy said: "What I saw and heard shook me to my foundations within the fortnight I was there. I got a bellyfull to last me the rest of my life."

There had been "great positive achievements, of course, coupled with a cast-iron bureaucracy—a form of gangsterism that battered on an unassailable socialist economic basis. All this did not spring out of Stalin's character or some cult of the individual. It was growing for years, it was part of the history of socialism, one we Marxists ought to know about it and understand it," he said.

By denouncing the current Communist theory that the crimes of the Stalin era were the result of the cult of Stalin and had nothing to do with "socialism" as such Professor Levy, following Togliatti, has hit right on the point.

It is a familiar technique with the Communists to divert attention on a false target with a view to covering their misdeeds. When Communists got a kick in Hungary it was the US imperialists who were to blame. When intellectuals of the stature of Levy, Currie and Picasso ques-

tioned Soviet methods they were certainly bourgeois ideologists. But it is untarnished truth when Bulganin calls Imre Nagy names and describes him as a persistent anti-Communist, completely overlooking the fact that in the first days of Hungarian uprising when Gero and his bands completely lost control the Soviet bosses found none of the Communists better able to handle the situation than Imre Nagy, who was then named Prime Minister on the personal direction of the Soviet Communist leader Suslov. Contrary to Soviet estimation, however, Nagy was a real patriot and a strong man so that he refused to toe the line set by the Kremlin schemers. Therefore, he is now a "traitor" in Communist vocabulary.

Another frequent charge against the Soviet Union was that it had kept under detention many foreign nationals. While the detention of a few Chinese in the USA or a few Americans in China was greatly publicised, the Indian press, by and large, was silent on the millions of foreigners under enforced detention in the USSR. While the detention of Germans and Japanese might be sought to be justified though unconvincingly by the argument that they could not be released until a peace treaty was signed, the detainees were by no means restricted to the nationals of these two States. Twelve years after the end of war there were still more than 500,000 Polish citizens under enforced detention in the USSR. The Polish Government has recently secured an agreement that the number would be repatriated by 1958. The enormity of the Soviet measures is fully realized as one recalls that during all these twelve years Poland, as one of Europe's "People's Democracies," has always been faithful to Russia—both under Stalinism and de-Stalinisation. Of course, this is hardly to be unexpected from a country which in the name of friendship sends its tanks to suppress an internal uprising of a friendly people or murders the leaders of friendly Communist parties.

#### *The Atomic Threat*

The world is weary clamouring for an end to nuclear explosions. The Big Powers, however, are quite apathetic to the people's voice and are going on with their tests in the blind quest to develop newer and more devastating weapons with which they can maintain their

world supremacy. The nuclear explosions in the Pacific is particularly dangerous to Asian lives. The Government of Japan has already launched official protests with the USSR and the United Kingdom.

While the Big Powers are as far away as ever in reaching agreement on the banning of atomic weapons and nuclear explosions a move is afoot in the West, particularly in the United States and Great Britain, to blunt the edge of the world movement for banning the atomic weapons by a cleverly designed propaganda differentiating between "tactical" and "strategic" atomic weapons. "Tactical" atomic weapons, they say, are less powerful and less harmful than "strategic" atomic weapons and by securing an agreement among the atomic powers that they would use only "tactical" atomic weapons in a future combat the major disasters resulting from the use of bigger "strategic" weapons may be avoided.

The utter hollowness of this proposition from the political as well as a military point of view, has been ably demonstrated by Professor Sailendranath Dhar in an article in the *Vigil*, April 20. Shri Dhar strikes the point right on the head as he writes: "The distinction which is sought to be drawn between two classes of atomic weapons rests as a matter of fact on a number of assumptions, which . . . cannot fail to evoke distrust in the lay mind . . . The idea that 'tactical' atomic weapons possess a smaller range of destructiveness provides no comfort to the mind of the ordinary citizen, unable to enthuse over civilian casualties being counted in millions instead of in billions."

It would, however, appear that behind this innocuous classification of atomic weapons there is hidden a definite plan to make Asia the testing ground. Some time back the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, held a symposium on the military strategy in a nuclear age. The participants included Rear-Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard, Prof. P. M. S. Blackett and Mr. Dennis Healy, M.P. The discussions have been published in a book entitled *On Limiting Atomic War*.

From the book it appeared that experts regarded weapons with a range of 500 to 1,000 miles as "tactical." "How nice!" as one commentator points out. "No need to drop a 10-megaton bomb. Ten 1-megaton bombs, or a

hundred bombs a tenth of a megaton each, would do just as well with the same objective; or even a shower of 'tactical' guided missiles." The result—large-scale destruction and fire, nuclear radiation and residual radio-activity and mass extermination of the population—would be the same.

Now where are the weapons going to be used? The British strategists specifically exclude Europe—Western Europe with its "dense population in such small and crowded territories"—from the use of atomic weapons. The USA is similarly excluded by the 1000-mile range limit inasmuch as no point in the USA is within 1,000 miles from any point of the Soviet Union which alone is likely to use atomic weapons against that country. There would, however, be little difficulty in bombing the USSR with atomic weapons from any of the numerous Western military bases girdling the country. But the USSR possesses the power of equivalent retaliation. So that the only region offering ideal ground for using atomic weapons is Asia. And the strategists do not seek to hide this fact.

"If our forces," they say, "are being equipped with tactical atomic weapons—as they seem to be—the most likely place in which these weapons would, in fact, be used if the Communists attack are Asia and the Middle East."

#### *Joint Electorate in Pakistan*

The Pakistan National Assembly by a voice vote on April 24 passed an official resolution providing for a common electorate for all religious groups in Pakistan. About six months ago the Assembly in its Dacca session had approved the measure for Eastern Pakistan; the present decision extends the measure to the whole of Pakistan.

An opposition amendment moved by the Christian minority member Mr. C. E. Gibbon was earlier lost, 14 for the amendment and 36 against it. A Hindu member Shri S. Kripaldas abstained.

Replying to the debate the Finance Minister, Amjad Ali, appealed to the members not to rouse religious passions on the electorate issue. Mian Iftikaruddin (Independent) asked Muslim Leaguers (who were the champions of separate electorate both in undivided India and in Pakistan as well) not for the creation of 'Hindustan' in Pakistan, having succeeded in attaining



Pakistan out of Hindustan by insisting on separate electorate.

When the first electorate bill was passed in Dacca in 1956 both the Muslim League and the Republican Party of West Pakistan were opposed to joint electorate. Whatever the reasons, a section of the Republican Party has now thought it fit not to oppose the extension of joint electorate to West Pakistan. The Act signifies a victory for the progressive forces for Pakistan though Suhrawardy's intentions for bringing up this measure seem partly to distract attention from East Pakistan's demand for autonomy. However, the passing of the electoral Act is another blow at the nefarious two-nation theory of Muslim League and would be welcomed by all well-wishers of Pakistan on this side of the border.

### *Colour Bar in Britain*

The existence of colour bar in Britain and the British dominions was the subject of a book by Anthony H. Richmond of the University of Edinburgh. This admirably balanced and thoroughly documented book was published in 1955 in the Penguin series. One should have hoped that after such a scientific presentation of the "colour problem" in Britain would lead the authorities to take some steps in the direction of improving relations with the "coloured" people. Nothing significant seems, however, to have been done.

The continuation of colour bar even in high institutions in London was highlighted by the recent resignation of Lord Altrincham from the Victoria League—an institution founded to foster friendship between the peoples of the Commonwealth and the Empire and enjoying royal patronage . . .

Lord Altrincham succeeded to his father's title in 1955 but refused to take his seat in the House of Lords on the ground that it was wrong to do so merely by inheriting a title. Editor of the Tory magazine, *National and English Review*, he also opposed the Suez war.

In his letter of resignation addressed to Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, Chairman of the Victoria League, Lord Altrincham complained of colour bar in the students' hostel run by the League. "I have been clinging to the hope," he wrote, "that you would turn the existing establishment into a proper hostel for students from

every part of the Commonwealth without distinction of colour; or that you would raise money for establishing such a hostel, and that meantime you would withdraw your name and support from what is an insult for all that the League stands for. Nothing, however, has been done.

"India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Ghana are full members of the Commonwealth, yet coloured students are not admitted to a hostel run by a League whose purpose is to promote friendship and Commonwealth unity. And one of the reasons you have given me for maintaining this iniquitous state of affairs is that you do not wish to alienate the South Africans. Instead of being true to our principles and setting an example to our compatriots (whose attitude towards coloured people in this country is not still all that it should be) we are allowing ourselves to be influenced by a nation whose theory and practice of race relations is condemned by liberal opinion throughout the world and by nearly every Christian community."

Lord Altrincham added that the state of affairs was all the more regrettable as the Queen and the mother Queen were patrons of the League. "It is unfair and inappropriate," remarked Lord Altrincham, "that the Royal family who sympathises the Commonwealth ideal of human brotherhood and equal partnership should be associated—even nominally and unintentionally—with a hostel based on the principle of apartheid."

How did the Chairman of the League react to this damaging indictment by one of the leading Conservatives? The Chairman, Sir Cecil Harcourt, justified the existing practice of excluding coloured students from the hostel by referring to lack of accommodation. He explained further that no "coloured Commonwealth country" donated to the League, so they had to give preference to students from "white dominions."

Lord Altrincham's public denunciation has served to focus public attention on the problem of colour and though the authorities of the hostel refused to budge an inch from their obstinate position, even people from unexpected quarters came forward to denounce the practice in the hostel.

A group of students from South Africa and Rhodesia who were occupying the hostel, in a

letter to the *Times*, London, expressed their disagreement with the stand taken by the hostel authorities with regard to the coloured students.

"No special difficulties," they say, "are involved. These premises are, indeed, generally fully occupied, but the signatories believe that coloured people from the Commonwealth should be allowed to take their place in the queue along with the rest of us."

Reporting this episode, *Bombay Chronicle's* London correspondent, Shri P. T. Chandra, adds that Lord Altrincham was determined to carry on his campaign till the League stopped its colour bar.

### *The New Cabinet*

With the publication of the names of the new members of the Lok Sabha in the *Gazette of India Extraordinary* on April 5, the 2nd Lok Sabha came into being. The final party position (six seats are yet to be filled) is: Congress 36, Communist 27, Praja-Socialist 19, Jan Sangh 4, People's Democratic Front (Andhra) 2, Scheduled Caste Federation (Bombay and Mysore) 6, Independents 42, other parties 23; nominated 3. Total 491.

On April 17 the new Central Cabinet was announced. There was no surprise in the third Cabinet headed by Pandit Nehru. Except Shri A. C. Guha almost all the members of the last ministry who were re-elected were included in the new ministry also. Two ministers—Shri Ashoke Sen and Prof. Humayun Kabir—have been taken from West Bengal but there is no one in the Cabinet from West Bengal. Shri Krishna Menon has been allotted the Defence portfolio. Shri S. K. Patil is the only addition to the Cabinet.

The *Economic Weekly* refers to the absence of any significant addition in the new Ministry and remarks, "It is in the rank of the Deputy Ministers, however, that one has to seek the clue, if any, to Pandit Nehru's principle of selection, the result of his search for new talent and his success in infusing fresh blood. On all three counts, progress has been dead slow. The otherwise dynamic Prime Minister seems to believe in maturing slowly and leaving the deputies to stew, preferring the electorate to do the pruning. Promotions from the ranks of the deputies have been so few that one cannot help questioning the wisdom of the initial choice."

Commenting upon the latest ministerial reorganisation at the Centre, the *Economic Weekly* writes: "Ministers may not change, even the changes of portfolios may be few, but ministries change with bewildering rapidity and along with the list of the new Ministers has been issued a press communique announcing reorganisation of ministries and fresh allocation of the business of the ministries in striking contrast to the 'No Change' Cabinet. Many of these changes were necessary and necessary because the earlier changes, not so long ago, were uncalled for and entirely irrational. In this respect, the metaphor of musical chairs has to be modified. The Ministerial changes give the impression of an unstable equilibrium. Equilibrium is maintained all right, but it calls for constant readjustments whenever important. Ministers change or are forced to change their portfolios. The departure of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari from the Commerce Ministry a little while ago, for example, led to a wholesale change in this important ministry, and the dislocation then caused has only now been repaired. Again, to put the Finance Minister in charge of a spending Ministry like that of Iron and Steel, even as a stop-gap arrangement was so absurd that it had to be ended some day, and this has now been done. In the process the Production Ministry has vanished altogether, though not the Minister-in-charge who has now been given a different portfolio."

### *India and the West*

It is slowly dawning on the trained observers of the U.S. press that there is some danger in the continuous harrying of India by the war-mongers and bloc protagonists in U.S.A. The following extract from C. L. Sulzberger's report to the *New York Times* of April 3 is an indication:

Even those in Washington most angered by Nehru's tendency to lecture us while excusing Communist transgressions and his own violation of principles he preaches admit that the West has an immense stake in Indian democracy's success. For India is the only massive Asian nation that remains non-Communist.

A curious competitive coexistence exists between New Delhi and Peiping. The Russians, recognizing the importance of this con-

test, are pouring vast material, technical and financial aid into China. We, likewise, are investing a considerable amount in efforts to help Nehru's democratic revolution—much as we tend to dislike his personality.

If, during the coming generation, India can succeed in modernizing its antiquated plant, educating its illiterate masses and becoming self-sufficient, the cause of freedom will have achieved a triumph. Ultimate repercussions in other Asian nations, even iron-bound China, might be boundless.

However, the chances of Indian success in this competition with China are being hampered by an arms race with Pakistan. Part of India's budget is supported by our economic generosity. But another part is drained off by New Delhi's determination not to lag behind Karachi military. Pakistan's material comes from us.

American policy of arming Pakistan tends indirectly to weaken disastrously the Indian economy. It has also provoked another neighboring land, Afghanistan, to make an unhealthy weapon deal with the U.S.S.R. on the assumption such equipment is required because of a frontier argument with the Pakistanis.

Therefore, by our policy, we encourage indirectly a sterile military spending race. None of the South Asian countries can afford this. And India's new Five-Year Plan—upon which we ultimately base such hopes—is going down the drain.

This situation allows Moscow two political choices. The Russians have already offered India a \$125,000,000 credit. They may suggest still larger amounts in an effort to gain controlling leverage on India's economy. Or they may withdraw proposed help in the hope of stimulating collapse and possible disintegration of Asia's largest democratic nation.

By our well-intended policy of arming Pakistan we are unwittingly helping to sabotage India's social revolution—upon which we bet so heavily. Clearly the time has come to think this through more carefully.

It would be short-sighted folly if, for the sake of strengthening one ally's limited fighting potential, we helped destroy Asia's most important non-Communist revolution—and, by so doing, lost Asia itself.

### *A Victim of Calumny*

"Cairo, April 4.—Mr. Herbert Norman, the Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, plunged to his death from a seventh floor window of the Swedish Embassy.

"A Canadian Embassy statement said he 'apparently took his own life' in a state of depression over American allegations last month that he was a Communist.

"Mr. Norman's body struck a Swedish Embassy car parked outside the building from which he fell.

"An Egyptian police officer said Mr. Norman committed suicide by jumping from the attic of the home of the Swedish Minister, Mr. Carl Eng.

"Mr. Norman entered the apartment of the Minister, who was away at the time, and wrote two letters—one to his wife and the other to Mr. Eng.

"The letter to his wife said: 'I have no hope for life.'

"In the letter to the Minister, he apologized to Mr. Eng for using his building to take his life.

"Police guarding the body said Mr. Norman had told his driver to park his car outside the Embassy while he took a walk. He then entered the Swedish building, took the lift from the seventh floor and jumped from a window.

"The Canadian Embassy communique said: 'The Canadian Ambassador had always been an extremely conscientious public servant and recent unpleasant publicity and accusations had greatly distressed him.'

"Mr. Norman was 48 years old and was appointed to Egypt in August, 1956. He is survived by Mrs. Norman.

"The Canadian External Affairs Minister, Mr. Pearson, said in Ottawa, on March 15, that Canada would make a 'strong protest' to the U.S.A. over a report released by a U.S. Senate committee which contained 'slanders and unsupported insinuations' against Mr. Norman.

"Mr. Pearson told the House of Commons that a 1951 Canadian security check of Mr. Norman gave him a clean bill on accusations that he was a Communist.

"The following day the U.S. State Department in Washington repudiated the Senate subcommittee allegations against Mr. Norman.

"Mr. Pearson said in Ottawa today that Mr.



Norman died as a result of nervous collapse brought on by overwork, overstrain, and 'a feeling of renewed persecution.'

"Mr. Pearson said, Mr. Norman was deeply and understandably depressed by 'the resurrection, by one or two persons in Washington of certain old charges affecting his loyalty and which were disposed of years ago.

"The reason for these renewed attacks may be obscure but the tactics used degrade only those who adopted them'."

### *Public Relations*

Of late Pandit Nehru appears to be much concerned with the Congress reverses in the last general election. His diagnosis is that the main cause of such reverses is the progressive deterioration in the relationship between the Congress and the public. He naturally stresses the importance of reviving the public relations by all means. He rightly realises that in a democracy it is the concern of the people that counts ultimately in the administrative machinery of the country. But the trends in the last general election have deeper causes which are rooted among the Congressmen as well as in the general administrative set up of the country. The administrative machinery is not up to the mark and it is much too obvious. Corruption and dishonesty rule the administration that today rules the country. The Party in power has failed to root out the corruption and dishonesty among the Government departments and naturally the Congress party stands to blame. Mere pious wish is not enough unless it is backed by a strong determination and ruthless action.

The Ministers are supposed to be the mentors of public opinion and on them devolves the duty and responsibility of carrying the public and their opinion with them. But barring a few, most of the Ministers today are averse to face the public because they themselves directly or indirectly encourage dishonesty and nepotism. This inferiority complex is pushing the Congress farther and farther away from the people and the country. They are viewed more as alien to the sentiments and interests of the country. The Congress Party today requires a thorough overhaul and the old guards who were once leaders in the struggle for independence of the country could not maintain the same degree

of integrity of character. The fight for independence is quite different from the administration which is replete with many pitfalls of allurements in every stage of administrative machinery. The result is that the body politic today is rotten. Of course, the opposition parties are no better and the people today stand between Scylla and Charybdis and they have chosen the lesser evil not because of the fondness for the party but because of the fondness for a stable administration in the country, which the Congress can offer.

Another cause is that most of the erstwhile leaders of the Congress Party are now engaged in the shameful struggle for official loaves and fishes. The ideal that once kindled in them a sense of sacrifice and service is today lost in the lucrative sinecures of positions in the Government. They have turned their faces from real service to the country to securing positions in the Government. The result is that there is none today in the ruling Party, excepting Pandit Nehru and a few others, who would feel the urge to maintain any public relations. They are so much concerned with official sinecures that they find neither time nor interest in pursuing the task of maintaining public relations. Most of them today are bereft of the sense of courtesy which costs little but gains much. Being puffed up with their official positions they have come to forget that they are ultimately the servants of the people and it is the goodwill of the people that will return them to power in the next general election. The general grievance of the people is that once the election is over, the Congress seems to forget the people and they never come to the people nor maintain any contact within the course of the five years unless and until the next general election arrives again. Pandit Nehru advises the Congressmen to regard themselves as the servants of the people; but they just think the opposite and they regard themselves as the lords of the people and the country. It is the common weakness of democracy that it tends towards bureaucracy and officialdom. Notwithstanding all its merits, democracy, particularly in a country like India, has come to mean a government by the mediocre people who have failed to rise up to the occasion in rebuilding the country and the nation. When agitators become administrators, bureaucracy rules the

nation and permanent services stand for representative government.

The most glaring cause of this degeneration of the Party that once stood for what was India is the bad selection of personnel in Government positions in the post-independent era. Many of those who were opportunists in the British regime came to prominence overnight in independent India and today they control some of the key positions in the administrative set-up of the country. The result is that such people have not the courage to face the people and so public relation for them is a dead thing. In West Bengal, there are some in the Ministry today who have not the guts to face the public at all because of their misdeeds in the past. The Congress is slowly, though perceptibly, dying in West Bengal and for that the leaders of the Party are responsible for their narrow and reactionary outlook in elevating such persons to the ministerial *gaddi*. Such artificially propped-up persons are more a liability than an asset to the ruling Party. But strange it is that the leaders either cannot sense the public opinion or deliberately ignore it. The West Bengal Ministry today consists of some members who not only took no part in the country's struggle for independence, but, on the contrary, their leanings were definitely against such struggle. But now they occupy important positions in the Government. How can these people be expected to maintain public relations when they are compelled to abhor the people who all along resent their inclusion in the Ministry.

Another thing that should not be lost sight of in this connection is that the Congress Government behaved itself in certain petty matters in such a way that they alienated themselves from the goodwill of the people and indirectly strengthened the opposition parties. As for example, the folly of the Congress Government in the all-India bank dispute in refusing to accept the verdict of the Tribunal cost itself the Nadia seat to Parliament. In other words, in some cases the Government were so very unimaginative that by their blunders they made a gift of seats to the opposition parties. Intransigence on the part of the party in power in a democracy makes it unpopular. So mere preaching will not cure the Congress of its present malady. The Prime Minister instead of thinking so much over the fate of foreign

affairs and making himself progressively unpopular among the foreign Powers, should devote a little more of his time towards Indian problems and that is the surest way to revitalize the Congress Party and the Government as well.

Hereunder we attach the recent statements made by Pandit Nehru and Dr. B. C. Roy on the question of "public contact":

"April 28.—The great importance of 'public contact and public approach' in a Democratic Government has been stressed by Prime Minister Sri Nehru in a recent letter to all his colleagues in the Government.

"The letter, which is believed to be the Prime Minister's first communication to his colleagues after assumption of office by the new Cabinet gives an idea of his grave concern at the decline in the popularity of the Congress.

"In the letter which is a critique on the public behaviour of persons holding high offices, like Governors and Ministers, the Prime Minister has warned against pomp and show and the tendency to continue certain practices which might have been suitable to British time but are not appropriate now.

"Expressing concern at some developments that have taken place in the course of the last few years the Prime Minister has pointed out in the letter that Ministers, both at the Centre and in the States, have gradually drifted in a certain direction which takes them away from the public, both practically and psychologically. In a democratic Government the factor of public contact and public approach is of great importance and any barrier that comes in the way is very harmful.

"To some extent, it is inevitable that Ministers who are heavily occupied with their work, have necessarily not much time or opportunity for public contacts. Yet some measure of contact should be maintained so as to prevent a feeling of isolation and separateness which tends to grow up among people who function exclusively in offices. 'I do not mean to imply that our Ministers have isolated themselves but there is such a tendency and I would like this to be realised and checked,' the Prime Minister adds.

"Security arrangement, flying of flags on cars, travelling in saloons and appointment of 'red-coated' *chaprasis* are some of the practices

which have been severely criticised by the Prime Minister in the letter. There are trivial instances, but often it is the trivial instance, he says, that leaves an abiding impression on the mind of the public and gradually creates a wrong psychology. 'The main thing is that we should, while naturally preserving a certain dignity and decorum, avoid any show that attracts attention.'

"I would suggest that even Governors should consider this matter and reduce some of the pomps and ceremonies that is a part of their high office. I realise that there must be dignity and ceremonial about the Head of the State."

"Darjeeling, April 28.—Addressing the first meeting of the West Bengal Council of Ministers held at Raj Bhavan here today the Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy is understood to have emphasised the need for the Ministers maintaining a close contact with the people personally.

"Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister, who presided over the meeting, drew their attention to the difficult task before them. He, it is learnt, urged the Ministers to personally go into every bit of details concerning any particular problem irrespective of what might have been the views of officials.

"The meeting was held after Sri Siddhartha Sankar Roy, Judicial Minister-designate, had taken the oath of office and of secrecy at a simple function held at Raj Bhavan. Dr. Roy, it is understood, expressed his keen desire to bring about a change in the relationship between employers and employees which at the moment appeared to be somewhat disturbed. According to talks in political circle Dr. Roy seemed to be very keen in reorientating the present labour policy of the Government in the State if that was necessary in the interest of labour-management relationship. After the meeting Dr. B. C. Roy met some of the Ministers under the shade of a big tree just outside Raj Bhavan and discussed with them some specific questions. During this discussion too he is reported to have emphasised on the Ministers maintaining a personal contact with the people for ascertaining their needs and grievances."

### *Investigation Scandal*

A number of Calcutta Corporation officials and several councillors were recently arrested by the

police over what has become infamous as "Tubewell Scandal." Sometime ago it had been reported, with subsequent confirmation, that one or two contractors in league with a group of Corporation officials and councillors had used old tubewell pipes recovered from derelict tubewells in the installation of new tubewells and had fraudulently charged the Corporation for new pipes. The arrested councillors included one from the Communist Party and another from the Praja Socialist Party.

Referring to an aspect of the investigation work in connection with this case, a correspondent writes in the Calcutta weekly *Vigil*, April 27:

"Investigation Scandal" appears to be more appropriate a name than what is known as the Calcutta Corporation "Tubewell Scandal." The Chief Secretary of the Government of West Bengal received the complaint in July, 1956, last and the police investigation was taken up in August, 1956, under the authority of a high ranking police officer. What happened in course of these last eight months nobody could know and the matter appeared to be dropped or hushed up. The value of time in a criminal procedure was also strongly ignored in this present case. Rewarding undeserving officials at the cost of promising men of character undermines the morale of the Administration and public cause suffers. In spite of some good work to the credit of our police administration scandals are not scarce in their own house. For example, about a year back it was learnt that by systematic submission of false pay bills in the name of persons who did not exist, more than a sum of Rs. 50,000 was drawn by Lalbazar Police Headquarters from the Government Treasury. As usual, investigation was taken up and what has happened up till now nobody knows. Were these false pay rolls signed by an Assistant Commissioner? Is the Deputy Commissioner of Lalbazar Headquarters, the appropriate officer to pass pay bills? These are very simple questions which automatically come to the mind. But, above all, what has become the fate of the investigation? To return to the story of the tubewell scandal. However, efficiently the latest phase of the enquiry has been carried out, presumably by a new set up, people suspect that the investigation work has long been hamstrung by political wire-pulling. Is it true?



*Doctors' Strike in Calcutta Medical College*

The members of the medical staff at the Calcutta Medical College and Hospitals went on a two-day strike as a protest against the alleged misconduct of the Secretary of the College. The gist of the matter as far as it could be ascertained from the reports appearing in the press, the doctors had a long-time grievance against the Secretary who was a non-medical retired army man but with pre-eminent integrity of character. For some reason or other the members of the medical staff fell foul with him from the outset. The doctors particularly resented the Secretary's calling in the police to investigate charges of corruption among the staff in the hospital. The immediate reason for the drastic action taken by the doctors was the alleged rude behaviour of the Secretary to one of the doctors. A preliminary enquiry by the Superintendent (who is also Principal of the College) found the Secretary guilty on that count and the Secretary was asked to apologise which the latter refused to comply with. Then followed the strike by the doctors.

After two days—during which the patients in their critical conditions were left to the mercy of fate—the strike was called off on the personal intervention of the Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy and the Secretary, who still refused to budge, was removed. A few days later on a three-man enquiry committee was announced to investigate into the affairs of the Medical College. The members are Dr. Sarkar, Principal and Superintendent of the Medical College and Hospitals, Chairman, Dr. R. N. Chaudhuri, Director, School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, and an Assistant Secretary of the State Ministry of Health, members.

This episode touches off a number of points which require to be cleared in public interest. First, the grave charges made in the press that the police were not allowed to investigate fully the charges against top-ranking doctors of the college must be answered fully. Is it again a fact that even on preliminary investigation gross irregularities were disclosed in the administration of the hospital? If so why no action had so far been taken? Is it also a fact that a number of doctors in the hospital had formed a ring against the Secretary, now deposed, because of his stern handling of corruption? Why again

could the Government not intervene before the strike?

The doctors of the Medical College by resorting to an all-out strike to remedy an individual grievance took an unprecedented step out of all proportion to the evil designed to be removed. A hospital is not a workshop. Even in a workshop workers do not resort to strike for such flimsy reasons. If the doctors were genuinely dissatisfied with the Secretary's conduct they had many other means of registering their protest. They did nothing of the sort but resorted to the drastic step of an all-out strike callously disregarding the interest of the patients and the public in whose interest they supposedly work. Degeneration of trade unionism can hardly go any further. Of course, as in many other cases, in this case also the doctors are not solely to blame. When an enquiry was made about the Secretary's rudeness in all fairness the recommendations of the enquiry should have been implemented without delay. After all no man has any right to be rude to another. Characteristically enough, the Government moved in, but only after the situation had degenerated beyond control.

*Kerala*

The way the Communist Government of Kerala celebrated their victory, is typical. We subjoin below commentary and answer by Congress and Communist:

"Ernakulam, April 7.—The Congress General Secretary, Mr. Shriman Narayan, said here to-day: 'It is astounding that one of the very first acts of the new Government in Kerala is to commute the death sentences of confirmed murderers and the release of so-called political prisoners who were not under detention but were prosecuted and punished for serious acts of arson, violence and murder.'

"'This,' he said, 'is not the way in which the Communists should begin to function under a constitutional democracy. I do hope the new Government will not go on repeating such performances day after day,' he added.

"Mr. Narayan was surprised that although the Communist Ministers intended to take a lesser salary, they had announced an 11-member Cabinet and had taken out two out of the five Independents who had joined their party.

"Mr. Narayan said: 'If they (Communists)

utilize the Government machinery and power for bringing about totalitarian conditions in Kerala, the people of the State as well as the Union Government will have to take serious notice of the whole situation.'

"The Congress General Secretary said, the functioning of the Communist Government in Kerala would be watched with interest because it was the first experiment of working out the Communist policy and programme under a democratic set-up. Since they (Communists) had already declared they would function under the existing constitutional framework, they would be judged not merely by their professions but by their practice.

"Mr. Narayan expressed his regret at the policy statement of the new Communist Government in Kerala last Friday, which had stated that the present policy, of the Union Government would have to be modified to enable the State to augment its revenue from taxation.

"Mr. Narayan said they were fully aware of the 'tactical' line of the Communists. 'Merely trying to sponsor dramatic and theatrical measures and then blaming the Constitution or the Union Government will not be helpful,' he declared.

"Mr. Narayan who was addressing the members of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee said that while the Congress did not desire to hinder, in any way the enactment of progressive measures including land reforms by the new Government, he was confident that the people would not be led away by mere political propaganda of the Communist Government in Kerala.

"Mr. Shriman Narayan said in Calicut yesterday that it was no use trying to find fault with the electorate of Kerala for the Congress reverses in the State. 'We have deep faith in their robust commonsense and patriotism. We have to remove our own shortcomings and serve the people with great devotion'."

"Bombay, April 8.—Mr. A. K. Gopalan, the Communist leader, in a speech at a meeting here today referred in detail to the Congress General Secretary, Mr. Shriman Narayan's charges against the Kerala Government.

"Mr. Gopalan said that the Congress General Secretary had criticized in strong terms the commuting of death sentences on people, who had been, according to him (Mr. Narayan),

prosecuted and sentenced for serious acts of arson and violence and murder.

"Mr. Gopalan said that the Communists would not condone any killings. These people, he continued had been spared the gallows but not other punishment.

"Let us have change of heart and try to reform those who might be accused of violence and other things.' Besides, he said, had not similar 'political offences' been committed by men like Bhagat Singh? Were they murderers? he asked.

"Mr. Gopalan said that the speech of Mr. Narayan displayed 'hatred, envy and jealousy' of the Communist Party. In spite of this, he added, the Communist Party sought the help, guidance and 'friendly criticism' in its efforts for the betterment of the people of Kerala and rest of India.

"Mr. Gopalan said that the Communist Party would seek to amend the Constitution if, thereby, the progress and development of Kerala, or any other part of the country, would be facilitated.

"Mr. Gopalan asked if the progress of the people of Kerala or of other parts of the country was desired, and if anything impeded the progress ought not such obstacles be removed in the interests of the people and their progress.

"The Congress, Mr. Gopalan said, itself amended the Constitution many times on the plea to facilitate progress.

"The Communist Government, he said, would endeavour to put into execution policies which had the backing of the people and if attempts were made to scuttle them, then the 'people themselves will demand change of attitude and policy on the part of those who sought to hinder their implementation.'

"Mr. Gopalan said that there was scope for change in taxation policy in Kerala. The taxation policy could be adjusted to suit the poorer classes more than it did now. The party's representatives on many local bodies in the State had 'successfully' worked out plans to make the burden of local taxation bearable to the poorer classes and at the same time secure greater monetary resources for development work. Similar measures, he said, could be devised to ensure industrialization and proper tapping of natural resources of the State."

# THE ECOLOGY OF BANGALORE, INDIA

## An East-West Comparison

By NOEL P. GIST,  
*University of Missouri, U.S.A.*

[The following paper was read at the first session of the Fifth Annual Conference on Asian Affairs held at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, on October 12-13, 1956, under the chairmanship of the present writer. Professor Gist's description of the ecology of Bangalore is interesting in that Bangalore's ecological pattern differs markedly from that of the cities in the Western world, especially in America. Here in the USA, the central zone is the business zone, surrounded by the area of transition including slums and sub-standard houses. The zone farthest away from the center in American cities is the residential section for well-to-do people. Indeed, the farther away he is from the center of the city, the higher is the status of the suburbanite on the socio-economic scale. In Bangalore, we do not find such a pattern. This may or may not mean anything significant, but it is an interesting contrast.]

Next, Professor Gist's conclusions regarding Bangalore, I suspect, would not be applicable to cities such as Bombay and Calcutta, where suburbanites do correspond in status to the suburbanites of America. —Dr. Haridas T. Mazumdar, Professor of Sociology, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa]

ECOLOGICAL research in American cities has revealed rather striking uniformities of ecological patterning, sufficient at least for certain tentative theories concerning urban ecology. It would be a fallacy, however, to assume that these theories are necessarily applicable to societies that differ strikingly from the United States in history, stage of technological development, socio-economic organization, and cultural interests.

Observations made in a few Latin American cities, for example, reveal ecological patterns quite different from those characteristics of many American cities.<sup>1</sup> The classical urban pattern in these cities may be summarized as follows: high-status and high-income residents live near a central plaza, which is the social and institutional heart of the community; low-status and low-income residents locate near the periphery; economic establishments tend to be dispersed throughout the city, rather than highly centralized; and suburban growth from residential decentralization is limited.

Ecological segregation in one form or another appears to be almost universal, but the particular form in which such segregation occurs is highly variable, and changes in segregative patterns are affected by broad ideological, political, economic and technological changes. Probably all communities approaching urban status also manifest some form of centralization of institutional functions. Such centralization usually reflects developments in communication, transportation, and economic organization, especially the growth of large bureaucratic structure. But it should not be assumed that Western forms of centralization have necessarily occurred in technologically and economic underdeveloped countries.

### BANGALORE, ITS HISTORY AND GROWTH

With these observations in mind we shall examine the ecological structure of Bangalore, the capital city of Mysore State, South India. As the largest metropolis in Mysore State and the seventh largest city in India, Bangalore has well over three-fourths of a million inhabitants. In recent years its growth has been rapid; during the 1941-51 decade the population almost doubled. Industrialization is proceeding at a rapid pace, and mechanized mass transportation is replacing some of the older forms.

From 1809 to the late 1940's the city was divided into two separate administrative units: Bangalore City on the west side, which was independently administered, and the Civil and Military Station (Cantonment), under British jurisdiction. With the merger of the two divisions after India's independence, the larger municipality assumed integrated administrative functions as the Bangalore Municipal Corporation.

Until the second decade of the present century the growth of Bangalore municipality was comparatively slow, and the number of inhabitants was less than the number in the Cantonment. By 1921, however, the two administrative divisions were about equal in size (118,000 each). Thereafter the Municipality outdistanced the Cantonment in population

1. See Theodore Caplow, "The Social Ecology of Guatemala City," *Social Forces*, 28 (December, 1919), pp. 113-33.



growth. In the 1941 census the Municipality had a population of a quarter of a million compared with about 160,000 for the Cantonment. There is no doubt that the spatial arrangement of institutions and people were greatly influenced by this dual administrative organization and the presence of British military and civil personnel.

Since the terrain upon which Bangalore is located is comparatively level, without any sharp topographic contrasts to seriously limit or restrict the character of land usage, the ecological structure must, therefore, be interpreted mainly in terms of social factors that have operated to give the city its distinctive patterning. These factors have never functioned in a competitively *laissez faire* environment; in recent times, at least, planning procedures have been systematically applied with the result that the city's ecology has been considerably affected. Large parks in the central part of the city, mainly in the Cantonment, are patently products of municipal planning.

But the scope and degree of planning have, nevertheless, been limited. Certainly there is no rigidly planned economy, nor have tight restrictions been imposed specifying the location of economic establishments. Presumably most establishments related directly to the economy have been relatively free to compete for favorable sites and to locate without much interference from the government.

The rapid growth of Bangalore in recent decades has had the effect of increasing the overall density of population, especially in the old Municipality. In 1941, before the merger, the Municipality had nearly 19,000 persons per square mile as compared with a density of about 12,000 persons in the Cantonment. Between 1901 and 1941, the metropolitan area increased by 35 per cent (from 9.8 to 13.2 square miles), but the population increased by 258 per cent and the density by 164 per cent. This rapid growth of population without a corresponding increase in occupied area has greatly accentuated the piling up of people in the metropolis. Actual increase in density has been considerable for all sections, but the range in density for different areas has been even more impressive. In 1941, the most sparsely settled section (which included a fashionable residential center and the palace grounds) was 6,485 persons per square mile, but in the most densely

settled area the corresponding density figure was 135,311, or twenty times as great.

#### THE ECOLOGY OF BUSINESS

Bangalore has a major retail and wholesale district, near the largest municipal market (Central Market), in the old Municipality, but the area has limited resemblance to the central business district of an American city. Central Market itself is a commercial nucleus, a center of buying and selling, mainly of articles for household or personal consumption. Within the vicinity of the Market are streets lined with shops specializing in such merchandise as silk, cotton, and leather goods; silverware, hardware, and musical instruments; drugs, jewelry, and household furnishings; supplies, books, and hemp products. In the district are also numerous small boarding and lodging hotels, pawnbrokers' establishments, lawyers' offices, and offices of various merchants' associations. Shops carrying the same type of merchandise tend to cluster together, creating small districts or sectors more or less specialized in character. One may find, for example, clusters of shops dealing with silverware or brassware, or other clusters of shops selling bicycles or drugs.

This district is by no means limited exclusively to retail merchandising. As in American cities, wholesale establishments are located conveniently near the retailers. Some of the retail and wholesale merchants receive certain kinds of merchandise directly from small-scale manufacturing enterprises located in the same area. On side streets, for instance, are weavers and ribbon manufacturers who supply nearby retail shops with finished articles. Certain merchants, notably dealers in indigenous drugs and silverware, perform dual functions of manufacturer and distributor, fabricating and selling commodities in the same building.

A wholesale district is located about one-fourth mile to the west of Central Market, on a major arterial thoroughfare and not far from the south-western boundary of the city. Wholesale activity here is confined mainly to agricultural products such as grain, vegetables, ginger, garlic, and fruits, which are piled on the sides of streets or under shelters, to be disposed of to retailers. Even in this area open-air retail vendors operate sidewalk businesses alongside the wholesalers. Hence, there is no clear-cut

areal differentiation based on the nature of economic functions.

Nearly a mile north of Central Market, beyond the perimeter of the shopping district, is a "big business" street (Kempe Gowda Road) on which are concentrated banking and insurance firms, films, film distributing companies, offices of out-of-town newspaper correspondents, a large transportation firm, and the Bangalore Chamber of Commerce. Within a distance of about two or three blocks on this street are seven large motion picture houses, the largest concentration of theaters in the city.

About a half mile south of Central Market, and likewise beyond the major shopping district, is another area devoted mainly to banking and the financing and management of co-operatives. In this district there is a variety of co-operative institutions, including several co-operative banks, a land mortgage bank, a grain merchant's co-operative society, a house-building society, and government departments dealing with various co-operative enterprises.

Some two miles north-east of Central Market, in the Cantonment, are two important business areas. One of these, strung along the south side of Mahatma Gandhi Road for a distance of three or four blocks, and including portions of two intersecting streets, specializes mainly in luxury goods and services. Here are offices of airlines, movie theaters, photographers' establishments, expensive jewelry stores, a department store, a large aircraft shop, book stores, radio and automobile sales houses, apparel shops, and pharmacies.

The other area, a few blocks north of Gandhi Road, is adjacent to Russell Market, which is similar to, but smaller than, Central Market. The main shopping avenue in this area is Commercial Street, three blocks long, where almost everything, ranging from luxury items to household necessities, may be purchased. Many of the shops in this district are operated by Muslims, for the district itself is next to the principal Muslim residential section.

Ecological theory based on American studies has emphasized the importance of large-scale organizations, particularly business and industrial chains, in the centralization of functions in the central business district. Large corporate enterprises are commonly "headquartered" in the American central business

zone, although operations may be widely scattered. Furthermore, the department store has been an important feature of the central business district of the large or medium-sized city in the United States.

Most business in Bangalore is conducted in small shops. The chain-store type of merchandising organization has never developed to any extent, although a few enterprises, such as, a small department store, a book store, and several banks, are links in regional chains of fairly small dimensions. Perhaps, the nearest approach to the department store carrying products for mass consumption is the municipal market, dealing mainly in fruits, vegetables, flowers, hardware, inexpensive clothing, baskets, and the like. But in the market place the stalls are privately managed. The nature of business is, therefore, not such as to foster the growth of complex bureaucracies so characteristic of the American metropolis. Hence, the centralized office building housing an army of bureaucratic functionaries, including clerical staffs to do paper work, is almost non-existent.

The distribution of banking and insurance in Bangalore differs considerably from the prevailing patterns in large American cities. In this country banking and insurance tend to be rather highly centralized. There is decentralization, to be sure, but outlying banking institutions are commonly branch banks whose parent establishments are in the central business area. This also is the prevailing pattern for insurance, although there seems to be a trend toward decentralization.

In Bangalore, there are four principal clusters of large banks, with a few banking houses located somewhat apart from these clusters. None of these major banks is in the heart of the major business district, although there are numerous small-scale money-lending establishments in the area. One cluster of major banks is about a half mile north of Central Market; another about a mile south of the Market; a third in the Gandhi Road shopping area; and a fourth in the retail district near Russell Market. The Imperial Bank of India, for example, is located two or three blocks south of Gandhi Road, in a spacious setting on the edge of an attractive residential district. Another, a comparatively small bank, British-owned, is located on the second floor of a building opposite the

municipal offices, about a mile east of Central Market.

The distribution of hotels likewise represents a departure from the highly centralized pattern characteristic of American cities. There are numerous small hotels in the major business district and near the central railroad station, but the luxury hotels are some distance from concentrations of business or transportation facilities. For these hotels spacious and attractive surroundings appear to be more important considerations than proximity to business activities. No doubt attractiveness of location is important because many hotel residents are permanent or semi-permanent guests rather than transients. The West End Hotel, Bangalore's well-known hostelry, is located at least a mile and a half from Central Market, and almost as far from the railway station, in a spacious semi-rural setting. The British apparently liked it this way.

The foregoing observations concerning the ecological patterning of business enterprises point up two facts relating to inter-cultural comparisons: First, ecological centralization of business is much more marked in the average American city than in Bangalore. Second, commercial areas of comparable size in an American city tend to be strikingly similar in their institutional characteristics, whereas each of the areas in Bangalore, described here briefly, is more or less specialized and therefore somewhat distinctive. This distinctiveness, born of specialization, is in part the result of Bangalore's political and military history. But the distinctiveness of business areas also reflects the differential buying power and cultural interests of the population. For example, British personnel resided mainly in the Cantonment, and the luxury goods enterprises in this area, especially those on Gandhi Road, were largely maintained by them.

#### THE ECOLOGY OF INDUSTRY

Although Bangalore is in the emergent stage of large-scale industrialization, much of the industrial output is still from small, independent industries, many of the cottage type. The smaller industries are widely scattered, mainly over the western part of the city, some of them near the railroad yards. As noted earlier, within the major business district, or in its vicinity, considerable manufacturing is

carried on as an adjunct to the wholesale and retail establishments in the area. Indeed, manufacturing and selling is sometimes combined under one roof. A number of machine shops, including those with lathes and grinding equipment, have sprung up in the vicinity of Binney Mills, a large British-owned textile factory employing some seven thousand workers and located a short distance west of the principal business district. In this area also are builders and repairers of bullock-carts and wheels, transportation vehicles used by wholesale dealers who are located close by. About a mile south-east of Central Market is the bamboo bazaar, and near it a slaughter house and a number of welding, forging, and weaving establishments.

But the larger industries tend to be rather highly decentralized. The extent to which decentralization of manufacturing has occurred depends on the kind and size of the particular industry. Three major textile mills are located near the western periphery of the city; a large tobacco factory is situated on the north-eastern edge. Others similarly located with reference to the peripheral settlement area include a porcelain factory, a lamp works, and brick and tile works, all on the west side. The major exception to this ecological pattern is the government soap factory located in the central area occupied by public buildings.

Recent industrial developments are even more decentralized in location. Plants manufacturing airplanes and telephones are located five or six miles east of the municipal boundaries, and a factory producing electrical equipment is even farther removed on the west side. Henceforth, all large-scale manufacturing will be located in a peripheral zone reserved by the Improvement Trust Board for industrial development.

#### ECOLOGY OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

In American cities most public buildings are usually located in or near the central business zone. Most of the public buildings in Bangalore are some distance from the main centers of commercial activity. The municipal building (City Hall), for example, is located on Narasimharaja Square, about a mile east of Central Market. Nearby is Town Hall (city auditorium). The main post office, the telephone and telegraph office, and the central police station are a mile and a half north-east of



Central Market. Each of these organizations, of course, has sub-offices in other sections of the city. The Public Library is in the center of Cubbon Park, at least a mile from a business district.

Most of the city's major hospitals, on the other hand, are concentrated in a medical center on the south side of Market Square, within hailing distance of Central Market. This appears to be the reverse of the pattern in American cities, where hospitals tend to be decentralized, or at least distributed rather widely over a metropolitan area. Clinics and dispensaries in Bangalore, however, are rather widely scattered, and there are a few hospitals removed from the central medical center.

The location of public and semi-public institutions definitely indicates the role of municipal planning, especially in the Cantonment. A number of institutions are located within, or at the edge of, spacious Cubbon Park; these include the University, the City YMCA, Occupational Institute, the state government secretariat, and several cultural institutions. A mile or two south of Central Market, beyond the hospital area, is another cluster of cultural, religious and educational institutions. Farther on, in Basavangudi, is the Indian Institute of Culture, a well-known intellectual center. Some institutions are removed from the city: Far to the northwest, beyond the municipal boundaries, is the Indian Institute of Science; to the southeast, also beyond the city, is a large mental hospital. Several agricultural experiment institutions are also located on the fringe.

Whether or not this planning represents the most efficient use of public institutions it is difficult to say. In some instances, such as the case of a public library set in the center of a large park, it apparently does not.

#### RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Urban ecologists have taken account of the tendency of people to select residential sites in cities on the basis of racial, cultural, religious, or ethnic preferences or prejudices, to choose residential locations that are symbolic of wealth, power, or social prestige, or to gravitate to low-income and low-prestige areas whose costs of occupancy are within the limits of their purchasing power. Ecological literature concerning American cities contains

abundant examples of such segregative tendencies.

These tendencies are exhibited in Bangalore, as in western cities, except that caste preference or prejudice forms an additional basis for residential segregation. The importance of any of these factors depends, in the main, upon the values attached to them by particular individuals or families, although low-purchasing power may override actual social preference in the selection of a residential location.

Viewing the ecological patterning of Bangalore in perspective one may discern "natural areas" that are occupied predominantly or exclusively by members of a particular caste or religion, and areas in which there is a mixed occupancy of people with different social affiliations and backgrounds. These segregative tendencies probably reflect the strength of communal sentiment, but they may also reflect prejudices against particular groups, especially low-caste or religious groups. By and large, the segregative tendency is probably stronger among the uneducated than among families on the higher income and educational levels where caste or religious interests and loyalties, if they exist, become secondary or even unimportant factors in selection of a residential site.

Data are not available to indicate the residential locations of all Hindu castes of which there are upwards of a hundred in the city. Even where a number of castes are considered collectively—"depressed" or "scheduled" castes, for example,—the broader categories conceal segregative tendencies of particular castes. Residential locations of "depressed" castes in the city therefore do not tell us anything much about the locations of, say, the Adikarnataka, Korama, and Koracha castes. But since the various depressed or untouchable castes have a social position and style of life that are fairly comparable, we are able to secure some idea of these ecological position in the Community. It is clear that the depressed castes manifest a tendency toward segregation, with some areas having more than half the residents in this class of castes. No doubt within these larger areas would be smaller areas in which occupancy by particular depressed castes would approach one hundred per cent,

It is interesting to note that areas of highest occupancy by depressed castes are on or near the city's outskirts. This is the reverse of the situation in the United States, where the major "depressed caste"—Negro—lives mainly in the deteriorated sections of the inner zones of cities. Undoubtedly there is more pronounced segregation of American Negroes than of depressed castes in Bangalore. Only five districts in Bangalore had no low-caste residents, but most of the white residential areas in American cities are occupied exclusively by Caucasians.

Members of the Brahmin caste, at the other extreme of the social hierarchy, show similar segregative tendencies. This is evidenced by the fact that 14 census districts have less than 1 per cent Brahmin residents, whereas in four districts more than half the inhabitants are Brahmins. There is a strong tendency for the Brahmins to concentrate in the western part of the city in the original Bangalore municipality. In general, areas occupied heavily by Brahmins are attractive residential districts, among the most attractive in the city. But not all Brahmins live in fashionable districts, whatever may be their position in the social hierarchy. Some of them, in fact, live in physically deteriorated houses under conditions of congestion.

Of the religious minorities in Bangalore none is perhaps as tightly segregated as the Muslim "community." There are four important Muslim concentrations, most of which represent extreme congestion.

Segregation of religious groups, however involves something more than mere religious differences; it is segregation based on a whole complex of beliefs and behaviour patterns that differentiate Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Parsees, and other groups one from the other.

Europeans, Indian Christians, and Anglo-Indians are heavily concentrated in the Cantonment. Europeans by virtue of their comparatively superior incomes tend to live in areas of high-quality houses, or at expensive clubs and hotels. Indian Christians are widely distributed according to their purchasing power, the affluent living in areas having superior housing accommodations.

Anglo-Indians show a marked tendency to develop their own community life and

therefore to reside in areas occupied by others of the same racial mixture. Most of them are concentrated in the south-eastern portion of the Cantonment in districts locally known as Richmond Town, Langford Town, and Austin Town. As a culturally marginal group which, in the past, chose to be identified with Britain rather than with India, but whose members were often socially unacceptable to both British and Indians, the Anglo-Indians developed a "birds of a feather" consciousness which was manifest in residential segregation. To what extent they actually preferred to live apart it is difficult to say, but since they were *persona non grata* to the British and to many Indians as well, particularly Hindus and Muslims, spatial isolation was a logical outcome of their social isolation.

#### THE SLUM

The familiar ecological picture of an American slum is a zone centering around, or adjacent to, the central business district, with perhaps radial extensions of deteriorated areas along transportation routes or waterways, or around manufacturing establishments. Ecological theory has interpreted the American slum as an "area in transition," the result in part of a continuous process of invasion and succession by population, industry, and business. This invasion is most spectacular in expanding cities where competition for favorable locations is intense. The unstable character of the area is reflected in physical deterioration and, commonly, social disorganization. For the most part it is the city's low-rent area, and for this reason tends to be the port of entry for impoverished immigrants.

Bangalore presents no such picture. The central business district around Central Market has never experienced an areal expansion comparable to the pattern so common in American cities. Consequently there has been no significant ecological invasion by business of adjacent residential districts; hence no "zone of transition." Until the past thirty years or so the population and economy grew slowly. Only in recent years has rapid economic expansion occurred, and it has been mainly industrialization. Although the residential areas surrounding the central business district and the more important secondary business centers are characterized by high density and

by various manifestations of social and personal disorganization, they are by no means the areas of poorest housing, nor are they occupied by the lowest-income groups.

The most conspicuous slums, at least in the physical sense, are located elsewhere, some of them on or near the periphery of Bangalore. Unoccupied fringe areas are often settled by immigrants who cannot afford to pay rents charged in the inner zones, even if they could find housing accommodations, which is not always the case. Furthermore, by settling on the periphery they may retain their communal solidarity if there is a considerable migration of persons representing a particular caste. It is therefore, easier and cheaper for them to erect mud huts on the fringe than to find rental housing in areas already occupied. There are several such areas, all of them located outside the immediate vicinity of the business districts. Some of these settlements have been surrounded by the expanding city but continue to exist at points intermediate between the outer fringe and the central zones of the city. This pattern of outlying slums appears to resemble more closely the ecological configuration of Latin American cities than of cities in the United States.

#### UPPER CLASS AND MIDDLE CLASS DISTRICTS

The residential areas of highest prestige are not on the outskirts, as is usually the case in American cities, but are somewhat centrally located. Probably the most fashionable district in the city is on or near High Ground, a slightly elevated area in the north-west sector, about two miles north of the central business district but well within the city. Just south of High Ground, north of the "big business" district on Kempe Gowda Road, is another high-income residential area, presumably somewhat less fashionable than the High Ground district. Still another, Basavangudi, is about a mile south of Central Market. Many of the homes in these areas are spacious and luxurious. Most of the middle-class residential districts are well within the city limits.

#### RESIDENTIAL DECENTRALIZATION

Suburban developments beyond the settled portions of Bangalore simply do not exist. Wealthy or well-to-do families have shown little inclination to shift to fringe areas. No doubt

inadequate transportation in the past tended to discourage residential location very far from the center of activities, but even with modern transportation facilities available—automobiles and buses—there is still little evidence that Bangalore residents are interested in Suburbia as a way of life. Since residence in certain areas within the city (High Ground for example) is a symbol of prestige, high-status families presumably prefer to be identified with residential localities that support or enhance their own claims to status. Certainly the suburban mode of living does not have the popular appeal it enjoys in the United States.

Nor have workers shown any marked tendency to develop industrial suburbs adjacent to the outlying manufacturing establishments. Even Hindustan Aircraft and the Indian Telephone Industries, located five or six miles beyond the city's boundaries, have not become the nuclei of satellite factory towns. The thousands of workers who are employed in these industries reside in Bangalore and commute by bus, work train, or bicycle. These industries are relatively new, however, and it may be that in time they will act as a magnet for suburban developments of workingmen's homes. At any rate, the absence of any marked pattern of suburbanization gives the city a compactness that is not characteristic of most American metropolises.

This is not to say that fringe residential developments are completely absent. Public housing programs, mainly for working class or lower white collar families, are located on or near the city's edge. Housing construction under private auspices likewise tends to assume this pattern—extensions of the outer edges of metropolitan settlement rather than the development of detached satellite communities. Basavangudi, a new upper-class district on the south side of the city, is a case in point.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The present ecological structure of Bangalore bears the heavy imprint of the city's historical past. That past was characterized by limited industrialization, slow economic growth, divided political authority, and extensive planning, especially in the Cantonment. Today there is an upsurge of industrialism. Bangalore is the industrial boom town of South India. A planned economy is in prospect, both for the city and



the nation as a whole. There will undoubtedly be continued population growth, and rapid growth at that.

What effect, if any, will these changes or others have on the basic ecological structure of the city? Will industrialization, along with developments in trade, transportation, and communication, evolve a pattern similar to the Western configuration? Will communal segregation (caste and religion) decline in the wake of measures taken to strengthen political and economic democracy? Only a self-assured prophet would attempt to provide specific answers to these questions.

A possible clue to future ecological changes may be found in Latin American cities. Dotson<sup>2</sup>, Caplow<sup>3</sup>, and Hayner<sup>4</sup> observed a tendency for the classical pattern to change under the European value systems. The most industrialized metropolis of Latin America, Mexico City, has exhibited rather striking changes in the direction of ecological configurations similar to those of cities in the United States of Western Europe. It is possible, then, that the impact of industrial technology, large-scale economic organization, modern transportation, and Western status values will bring about similar changes in the ecological structure of Bangalore.

There is reason to believe that industry will become increasingly decentralized and that industrial districts will eventually emerge. In fact, the Improvement Trust Board has already delineated several fringe districts for new indus-

trial developments, and all of these areas are well beyond the borders of the city. What is not so clear are possible trends in the ecology of business. Fundamental changes in the organization of trade, such as the growth of large-scale chain enterprises, would likely make for greater centralization of controls and hence stimulate the growth of a central business area. But such changes will likely come slowly. For a long time Bangalore will be a city of small shops.

Nor is it clear what the trend will be in patterns of residential segregation. The removal of caste barriers penalizing the untouchables or scheduled castes, together with a general improvement in their economic position, may make it possible for them, as well as other minority groups, to achieve a more favourable ecological location. But the ties of caste, family, and religion are strong, and existing ecological patterns so deeply imbedded in custom, that changes will probably come slowly for most of the groups. Possibly the most effective force making for redistribution of the various castes, ethnic, or religious groups will be slum clearance and public housing programs in which occupants will be selected on the basis of need rather than social or cultural attributes.

The foregoing observations demonstrate clearly a fundamental problem of ecological theory as well as of sociological theory in general. It is the hazards involved in developing theories of society based upon observed data from a single society or culture area. Generalization derived from a single culture tend to give American sociology a rather narrow provincialism which seriously limits its usefulness outside our national boundaries.

2. Floyd and Lillian Ota Dotson, "Ecological Trends in the City of Guadalajara, Mexico," *Social Forces*, 32 (May, 1954), pp. 367-84.

3. Caplow, *op. cit.*

4. Norman S. Hayner, "Mexico City: Its Growth and Configuration," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50 (January, 1945), pp. 295-304.



# EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN INDIA

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WHILE race and health improvement is an essential condition to the solid physical foundation of a community or nation, educational progress or intellectual development is the integral and component part of its social progress. Education has, however, a three-fold function in India's rising new civilization: First, the implementation of the provision of the Constitution for free and compulsory education of the children and social education of the illiterate adults. Second, the dissemination of the doctrine of "plain living and high thinking," which is both ideologically and economically an absolute necessity for a country already over-populated. Finally, like spiritual, ethical and aesthetic values, intellectual value is also an integral part of human nature as well as of Hindu culture. Through incessant search after knowledge, the Indo-Aryans not only laid the foundation of science, philosophy, art and literature, but even realized the ultimate reality of the universe in terms of both a Spiritual Being (Vedantism) and a Moral Principle (Buddhism), which are among the highest moral and spiritual values of mankind. Intellectual value should, therefore, remain a supreme end of India's rising civilization not only to the Hindus and the Buddhists, the ethnic and cultural descendents of the early Indo-Aryans, but also to all those peoples who have made the great land of India their home and have become an integral part of her population.

## INTRODUCTION

In spite of her glorious intellectual past, India has passed through many long periods of the "Dark Ages," except under such rule as that of Emperor Akbar. for about 1,000 years, due to a number of causes, such as foreign invasion, alien rule and colonial policy. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, especially under the impact of the West, there has, however, been a revival of intellectual activities as expressed in renaissance, religious reform, political, industrial and educational movements. The foundation of modern education was laid by the Education Despatch of the India Office in 1854. At first, education was a Central subject directly under the

Government of India, but the Government of India Act of 1919 introduced the system of provincial autonomy and made education a provincial subject.

The progress of education under Provincial Governments is best indicated by the increase in number of the institutions and the scholars from 208,108 and 8.38 million in 1921-22, respectively, to 269,535 and 16.03 million in 1946-47, i.e., 22 and 92 per cent on the eve of Partition of India. Due to the cessation of a large part of territory as Pakistan, these figures declined respectively to 164,007 and 13.57 million, i.e., by 39 and 16 per cent; but the latter figures in their turn increased again respectively to 290,264 and 26.50 million, i.e., 77 and 95 per cent in 1951-52. In fact, national independence gave a new impetus to the development of education in India, as indicated by the percentage increases of 37 in institutions, of 33 in enrolment, and of 45 in expenditure in the course of five years (1948-49 to 1952-53), as indicated in the table below:

### Progress of Education in India, 1948-53

Year	Institutions (1000)	Enrolment (million)	Expenditure Rs. Million
1948-49	227	21	920
1949-50	281	24	1030
1950-51	284	26	1150
1951-52	291	27	1230
1952-53 (Approx.)	311	28	1340
Percentage increase	37	33	45

Source: *India, 1954, Annual Review*, The Indian High Commission, London, pp. 122.

Another effect of India's national independence was the reconstitution of the Department of Education into a full-fledged Ministry of Education in 1957. Although education is a State subject, the Central Government has a three-fold connection with the education of the States: (i) The Central Government is directly responsible for the administration, including education, of some of the States and Territories (e.g., Part C States and D Territories); (2) although most of the universities are under State Governments, the Central

Government has taken direct charge of the Universities of Aligarh, Banaras, Delhi and Visva-Bharati; and (3) the Central Government is also directly responsible for the maintenance of national character and uniform standard of education all over the country. This authority or Government control is, however, partly delegated to universities; boards of secondary and intermediate education; local bodies, such as district boards, municipal boards, cantonment boards; and also philanthropic and religious organizations.

The present conditions of the recognized educational institutions and of the scholars are best indicated by the following table. The facts are evident and require scarcely any explanation, except for the fact that India has a population of 361 million but, in education, is far behind most of the countries in Europe and America.

*Recognized Educational Institutions  
in India, 1951-52*

Type of Institution	Number of Institutions	Enrolment (in thousands)	Expenditure (Rs. Million)
Universities	30	26	46.6
Boards of secondary and intermediate education	12	..	7.5
Arts and science colleges	579	347	83.3
Professional and special education colleges	311	71	52.0
Secondary schools	22,500	5,648	334.0
Primary schools	214,862	18,901	401.5
Pre-primary schools	331	23	1.5
Vocational and special education schools	51,999	1,484	54.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>290,264</b>	<b>26,500</b>	<b>980.8</b>

Source: India—A Reference Annual, 1954, Government of India, p. 268.

There is a great difference in number between boys and girls in educational institutions in India. In 1921-22, out of 8.37 million scholars in British India, only 1.41 million or 17 per cent were girls as compared with 6.96 million or 83 per cent boys. In 1951-52, out of 26.49 million scholars, 6.68 million or 25 per cent were girls and 19.81 million or 75 per cent boys, showing an increase in the proportion of girls from one-sixth to one-fourth in the course of a generation. This difference will

very soon be wiped out as soon as the provision of the Constitution granting free and compulsory education for boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14 comes into full force.

The numbers of boys and girls in different stages of education are shown below. The table indicates that the proportions of girls are lower in higher stages of education.

*Boys and Girls in Recognized Educational  
Institutions, 1951-52 Shown by Stages  
(in thousands)*

Stages of Education	Boys	Girls	Total
Pre-primary	19	14	33
Primary	13,374	5,466	19,240
Secondary	4,378	891	5,269
Professional and Technical	1,215	263	1,478
Collegiate (1)	426	52	478
<b>Total</b>	<b>19,812</b>	<b>6,686</b>	<b>26,498</b>

Source: India—A Reference Annual, 1954, Government of India, p. 276.

(1) Comprising intermediate, under-graduate, a research and professional and technical education.

The present educational structure comprises: (1) Primary schools which use the regional language or mother-tongue as the medium of instruction; (2) Middle schools which impart instruction in the regional language and English, or only in the regional language; (3) Secondary schools which afford facilities for education up to Matriculation or an equivalent standard; (4) Intermediate colleges that are affiliated to boards or universities; (5) Degree colleges that are affiliated to universities; and (6) Post-graduate and Research Institutions.<sup>1</sup>

A provision of Rs. 1,610 million has been made in the Five-Year Plan for the expansion of educational facilities at the Centre and in the States. The Plan contemplates that, in addition to meeting special responsibilities in the fields of higher and technical education, the Central Government will assist only in the selected programs of national importance in the fields of elementary, secondary, and social education. In respect of elementary education, the States will receive help in carrying out pilot projects

1. Source: India—A Reference Annual, 1954, Government of India, p. 269.



of basic education including a scheme to set up model basic institutions in selected areas, such as pre-basic and basic schools, a post-basic school, a teachers' training school, and post-graduate teachers' training college. The Plan has, therefore, set aside about 7 per cent of the total expenditure for educational expansion. Of this amount, Rs. 415 million is being spent by the Centre and Rs. 1,195 million by the States.<sup>2</sup>

#### I. PRIMARY AND BASIC EDUCATION

The elementary education is still imparted in India mostly by primary schools, although they are being rapidly replaced by basic schools, which intend to embody a bias towards some crafts. This elementary education is being supplemented by social education or education of illiterate adults for intelligent citizenship.

##### PRIMARY EDUCATION

Primary education, as imparted by the *pathshala* among the Hindus, has come down from time immemorial, and as imparted by the *maktabs* among the Moslems, has come down from the Moslem period, both of which had existed when the British took charge of India's educational system by the middle of the 19th century. In spite of some improvement in the secondary and higher education, the primary education lagged behind. In 1882, the Government of India appointed, especially under the influence of the Christian missionaries, the first Indian Education Commission to inquire into the condition of primary education. The Commission recommended the entrusting of primary education to the care of the newly-created self-governing bodies, such as district and municipal boards, and the secondary education to the grants-in-aid for their development. Even this and other similar subsequent measures have failed to bring about much improvement in primary education. One-half of the primary schools were conducted by one teacher; three-fourths of the schools were privately owned; and four-fifths of the schools were located in rural areas.<sup>3</sup>

The first attempt to introduce free and compulsory education in India was made by G. K. Gokhale in the Legislative Council of the

Governor-General in 1910-11. A second attempt for the same purpose was made by the Provincial Governments between 1919 and 1930, most of which enacted acts authorizing local bodies, district boards and municipalities, to introduce, with the previous sanction of their Governments, compulsory education and even to levy an educational cess for the purpose, if necessary. Because of the optional clause, the results attained were rather meagre. Finally, in 1944, the Central Advisory Board of Education drew up a national scheme of free and compulsory education known as the *Sargent Plan*, for all children between the ages of 6 and 14 (instead of 6 and 10 as before), the scheme to be achieved in 40 years, which was subsequently reduced by the G. B. Kher Committee to 16 years.<sup>4</sup> It was not until the attainment of national independence that the Constitution of the Indian Union accepted the free and compulsory education of all children between the ages of 6 and 14 as the basic principle of its Republic and the foundation of her political, economic, and social democracy.

The compulsory education of the children in a country of 360 million population is a gigantic task, as indicated by the following official appraisal:

"It has been estimated that a national system of education providing education for 100 per cent children of the age-group 6 to 14; Secondary education for 20 per cent of those coming out for the first stage; University education for 10 per cent of those passing out of high schools; Technical education on a modest scale and other minor items, will require an annual expenditure of nearly Rs. 4,000 million when it comes into full operation. In addition nearly Rs. 2,000 million will be necessary to train 2.7m. of teachers who would be required for Basic and High Schools only, and Rs. 2,720m. for buildings."<sup>5</sup>

#### (1) BASIC EDUCATION

Both the concept and scheme of Basic education originated with Mahatma Gandhi, who published it in his weekly journal *Harijan* in 1937. The cardinal point of basic education is "learning through activity." The tangible results achieved by the child create self-

2. *India—A Reference Annual, 1955*, Government of India, pp. 332-33.

3. *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1932-37*, Part II.

4. Bureau of Education, Pamphlet No. 60 "Education in Free India", 1947-48, Ministry of Education, Government of India.

5. *India in 1952*, The High Commission of India, London, p. 82.

confidence, which is, in fact, the basis of personality. Both the principle and scheme laid down by Mahatma Gandhi were discussed and finally accepted by an Education Conference held at Wardha in October 1937, and the following resolutions were adopted: (1) Universal free and compulsory education for 7 years from the age of 7 to 14; (2) the mother tongue as the medium of instruction; (3) adjustment of education throughout this period to some form of manual and productive work or handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child. The Conference appointed a Committee to work out the details of the syllabus of the basic education and the Committee made its report in December, 1937, with a complete outline of the scheme of basic education.

The Indian National Congress accepted the Basic Education Scheme and appointed an All-India National Education Board under the title of the Hindustan Talimi Sangh to give effect to it. In 1937, when the Indian National Congress came into power in 6 out of 11 provinces, attempts were made to give effect to this programme under the title of the Nai Talim (New Education). Early in 1945, another National Education Committee met at Wardha to review the whole situation with regard to the Basic Education.

The Basic Education, as adopted by the Government of India, falls under two categories: the junior and the senior. To these must also be added the pre-basic education, which has made tremendous progress in most of the advanced countries in recent years, and a beginning has also been made in India.

*Pre-Basic Education:* The development of pre-basic or nursery education is a most significant phenomenon in India. Pre-basic education means "learning while playing." Due to better nourishment and care, the child develops much earlier and quicker today than before. In India, nursery education has made its appearance and in 1951-52 there were 331 nursery schools with 33,000 children. Thus, a beginning has been made and it is bound to grow steadily, though slowly, all over the country.

*Junior Basic Education:* The Government of India has advised the State Governments to make adequate provisions, as early as possible, for free and compulsory basic education for all children between the ages of 6 and 11, irrespec-

tive of caste, creed and social status. The instruction imparted in the junior basic schools is of the same standard as in the primary schools, but it has a bias towards basic crafts, such as agriculture, spinning and weaving, fruit preservation, vegetable gardening, carpentry, leather work, book craft, domestic craft, etc. The basic school must have at least two acres of land for gardening with necessary facilities for irrigation. The Central Advisory Board of Education has recommended that at least eight years of basic education should be provided for every child, the first stage of junior basic education covering five years. It is expected that within a short period of time all primary schools will be replaced by junior basic schools.

*Senior Basic Education* is complementary to junior basic education and covers all children between 11 and 14 years of age. Like that in junior basic education, the instruction in senior basic education has also a bias towards crafts. Of all the children completing junior basic schools, 80 per cent go to senior basic schools and the remaining 20 per cent go to the junior department of the high schools, where they are trained for receiving higher education at the universities.

*Basic Education Training:* One of the recommendations of the Planning Commission was the development of pilot projects in Basic Education. On the initiative of the Ministry of Education, each State has, therefore, set up a scheme to demonstrate in a selected area sound methods of basic and social education. The main features of the scheme are: (a) A post-graduate college for the staff of Basic Training Colleges and administration personnel, a full-fledged Basic School for practice and demonstration; (b) a basic training college for primary school teachers; (c) five well-planned community centres; (d) an integrated library service for the area; (e) a Janata College for training village leaders; (f) a share of grants for improving primary and basic schools in selected areas. In all, sanction was given to State Governments for 3,000 teachers and 2,000 Social Education workers under this scheme.

Among the most important basic training institutions in India, mention may be made of the Nai Talim Bhavan at Sevagram; the Jamia Millia Teachers' Training Institute, Delhi; the Vidya Bhavan, Santiniketan; and Sarvodaya

Maha Vidyalaya or Bihar Community College. There are a few training schools under private auspices, such as Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya at Madras and Vidya Bhavan at Udaipur. In addition, all the States have set up their own basic training schools and post-graduate basic training colleges.

#### SOCIAL EDUCATION

Social (Adult) education originally meant imparting instruction in literacy to India's illiterate masses, but has recently undergone complete changes and now implies fundamental education as defined by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Like the basic education for children, the social education for adults also aims at developing intelligent citizenship and is thus closely related to primary education. This definition has been accepted by all the States and has thus become the objective of the Indian Union. Among the special features of social education the most important would be the development of school-cum-community centres, Janata (People's) College for training social education workers, production of special literature, and audio-visual aids.

Like the education of children, the education of adults should also begin on functional bases; and both age and sex as well as the social, political, and economic objectives should be taken into consideration. The concept of social education has been extended to include new items such as (1) Literacy; (2) a knowledge of the rules of health and hygiene; (3) training for the improvement of the adults' economic status; (4) a sense of citizenship with an adequate consciousness of rights and duties; and (5) healthy forms of recreation suited to the needs of the community and individual. Though rather sophisticated, these tenets would be helpful to the directors of the adult education. The implementation of social education has been undertaken both by the Central and State Governments.

There are various types of adult education centres, which provide both short terms and comprehensive courses. The short courses provide mostly education in literacy, but in some of the States there are more elaborate courses for health, sanitation, civics and training in leadership. Education through audio-

visual aids forms an important part of social education. Mobile vans are equipped with projectors and films, gramophones and magic lanterns. Programmes are broadcast from A.I.R. (All India Radio) both for rural and industrial areas. Facilities for education and training in the visual arts and crafts, agriculture, music and dancing, and other similar subjects, are being provided in schools and colleges. The Central Government has arranged for the training of teachers in basic education, arts and crafts, music and dancing at Jamia Millia in Delhi and at Visva Bharati at Santiniketan.

Social education has recently been enforced by several factors, of which the following are the most important:

(1) Translation into regional languages of Hindi pamphlets for neo-literates since 1949-50, especially such treatises as *History of India*, *History of the World*, and *Story of Life*. Attempts are being made to publish about 25 books of literature of good quality.

(2) The establishment, in co-operation with the Ford Foundation, of four literary workshops for producing reading material especially suitable for neo-literates.

(3) The establishment of a Group Training Centre in Fundamental Education at Mysore with the help of UNESCO for training leaders in social education drawn from different countries.

(4) Publication of social education literature, which the Government of India started in March, 1950 and which has already published 155 pamphlets.

(5) The establishment of the Social Welfare Board under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. The Board aims at stimulating and co-ordinating the activities of various bodies working in the field of Social Welfare.

#### 2. SECONDARY EDUCATION

Like the primary education, secondary education was also largely carried on by private enterprise. The movement of national education by the beginning of this century resulted in the foundation of several national educational institutions, such as the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College by the Arya Samaj at Lahore, the Gurukul (education in the tradi-



tions of the Aryan) by Swami Shraddhananda at Haridwar, the Central Hindu College by Mrs. Besant at Banaras, and the Brahmacharya Ashram by Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan. There were also founded the National Council of Education and a National College in Calcutta as well as several other higher educational institutes in other places. The three permanent effects of the National Educational Movement which have been left behind are: (1) A Technical School at Jadavpur near Calcutta, which has now become the College of Engineering and Technology; (2) the revival of arts and crafts which have become parts of the national economy; and (3) the realization by the peoples of the importance of the mother tongue as the medium of education, at least in the primary and secondary education. Although the national education movement went much beyond, it centered around the secondary education for all practical purposes.

Secondary education, as it exists today, may be divided into three classes: First, the general education which is a connecting link between the primary or basic education and higher education, and for which there were 22,500 institutions with 5,648,000 scholars in 1951-52, as indicated before (See Table No. 2); secondly, vocational education, which prepares the scholars for certain services or occupations in life and for which there were 51,999 institutions with 1,484,000 scholars; and finally, special education, such as those for the handicapped and visual arts and crafts, and similar other education. Although the number of such institutions and scholars is rather limited, they perform very valuable service to society.

#### GENERAL EDUCATION

General secondary education is imparted by the secondary schools, of which there were 12,693 in 1948 and 18,497 in 1953, showing an increase of 45 per cent in the course of five years. Secondary schools are of two different kinds: (1) the middle schools in which education is imparted mostly in regional languages or mother tongue, and in some of these schools English classes are also added; and (2) the high schools, where education is imparted both in regional language and in English from the very beginning, but gradually higher classes are continued in English and regional

languages are minimized or even dropped. In most of these English high schools, education is continued for ten or twelve years and is ended in a final examination called Matriculation.

The middle school education, even though supplemented by some classes in English, led the students mostly to normal school education for teachership. After matriculating from the high school, the students can enter a university for a three-year degree course or a four-year degree course. The courses are divided into the intermediate stage and a degree stage. It has been said of the English high school, as it had existed for a long time and as it still exists in many parts of the country even to-day, that it begins instruction in primary education, prepares for higher education, and introduces the younger generations into the international cultural movement and is thus a complete system of education in itself, although it has to neglect the regional language. Secondary education has been undergoing profound changes, as indicated below.

*The Secondary Education Commission* was appointed by the Government of India in 1952 and its report was submitted in 1953. The essential points of the recommendation are the following: (1) Education at the high school stage should commence after four or five years of primary or junior basic education and should comprise such diverse subjects as language, social studies, general science and crafts; (2) Regional language should be the medium of instruction, while the national language and a foreign language should also be taught at the middle school stage; (3) there should not be less than 200 working days in the year. There should be 35 periods each of 45 minutes' duration per week; (4) In matters of public examinations and promotions, school records should be taken into consideration; (5) Multipurpose schools should be opened to encourage technical education at an early stage; (6) There should be boards of secondary education, boards for teachers' training and State Advisory Boards. The report of the Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education to examine the recommendations was accepted in 1954 and the implementation of important provisions was expected to begin soon.

Two important developments in connection with secondary education deserve mention: First, in co-operation with the Ford Foundation, a team of four foreign and four Indian educationists was deputed to make a detailed and comparative study of two problems highlighted in the Secondary Education Commission Report, namely, methods of teacher training and the construction of curricula in schools. The team visited Denmark, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States for the study and submitted its reports; Second, the institution of headmasters' seminar-cum-camps in the field of secondary education. The first session of such seminar-cum-camps was held at Taradevi, Simla, where about 50 headmasters from 35 States met and drew up a programme of reforms. Such meetings will be continued hereafter.

In the meantime the question of implementing the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission received serious consideration by the Central Government, which proposed the following schemes: (1) Establishment of 500 multipurpose schools with about 1,000 new units of courses; (2) Assistance to 300 additional schools for improving their teaching; (3) Improvement of 3,000 school libraries; (4) Introduction of crafts into 2,000 middle schools; and (5) Training of teachers. It has been recently decided that secondary education should be a self-contained and complete stage; instruction should be continued up to the age of 17 to be followed by a three-year course leading to Bachelor's Degree.

#### VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Closely connected with secondary education and, in fact, an important part of it, is the Vocational education or instruction and training in specialized services or occupations. Growing unemployment amongst the educated classes has, since the beginning of the present century, brought home to the Indian public the defect of purely academic education. Most of the provincial governments had to appoint committees to investigate the causes of, and recommend remedies for, unemployment among the educated classes. But very few of the recommendations had been implemented.

In 1938, the Government of India requisitioned the services of Messrs. Wood and

Abbot from the Board of Education, England, "to advise them on certain problems of educational reorganization, and particularly on the problems of vocational education." The main recommendations of their report were the following: (1) Universities and technical institutes for the education of managing and directing grades of personnel in organized and large-scale industries; (2) Senior commercial schools for upper grades on the business side, and senior technical schools for upper supervisory grades mainly in non-manipulating industries; (3) Junior technical schools for lower supervisory grades in the manipulative industries; (4) Industrial schools for independent workers in small-scale industries; and (5) Trade schools for craftsmen and operatives in organized industries, and rural middle schools and higher secondary schools with agricultural bias for cultivators and farmers. Since the publication of the reports, a new type of schools called the polytechnic schools, combining general and technical education on a higher level, has come into existence and now forms a part of the Delhi University.

#### SPECIAL EDUCATION

Of the various systems of special education, mention may be made of only a few:

(1) *Education of the handicapped*: Schools for the handicapped may be classified as: (A) schools for the physically handicapped (blind, deaf and dumb); and (B) schools for the mentally handicapped. There are 50 institutions for the blind and 42 for the deaf and dumb. For the mentally handicapped, there are only two institutions, one in West Bengal and the other in Bombay. In all the States, general education is imparted to the blind through the regional languages in accordance with the Braille Code. Students are given vocational training in crafts, such as tailoring, knitting, weaving, carpentry, etc. Music is also taught in all the schools.

(2) *Audio-Visual-Education*: The Ministry of Education has set up a National Board for Audio-Visual Education to co-ordinate the work done in this field and to advise the Central and State Governments. Programmes

suitable for rural areas are broadcast from all the stations of All India Radio. Several State Governments have introduced musical and dramatical entertainment as an integral part of social education.

(3) *Propagation of Hindi*: A Five-Year Plan for the development and propagation of Hindi has been drawn up by the Ministry of Education. The Plan aims at making Hindi the official language of the Union within the stipulated period of 15 years. A new section for Hindi has been opened in the Ministry. A Central Hindi Organization (Hindi Shiksha Samiti) has been formed to advise the Ministry on the question of development and propagation of Hindi. A Board of Scientific Technology was set up in 1950 to prepare dictionaries of scientific, administrative, and other technical terms in Hindi. A library of Hindi books is being built up gradually.

### 3. HIGHER EDUCATION.

The higher education may be classified under three headings; (1) university education; (2) technical education; and (3) arts and culture. The number of the people at present engaged in higher education, directive services, and research and investigation, is very insignificant for India's vast population. The Government of India has fully realized the importance of higher and specialized education to the reconstruction of the social, political, and economic life of modern India and has undertaken the development of education in all these aspects and on a vast scale.

#### UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

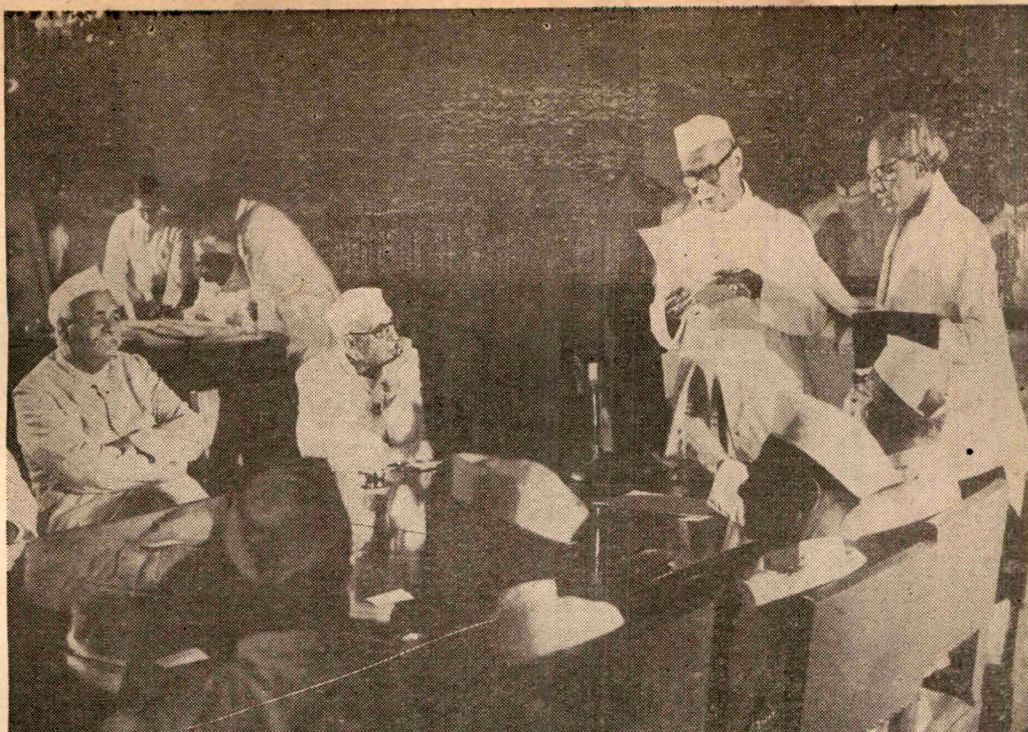
The foundation of university education was laid by the establishment of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras in 1857. They were followed by the rise of a university at Lahore (now in Pakistan) in 1882, and of another at Allahabad in 1887. These older universities, as they are now called, have made great progress both in number of courses offered and in character of education. The development of these and the subsequent universities has been influenced by several factors: First, the University Commission of 1932 and its following University Act of 1904, authorizing the universities, among other things, to inspect and control their affiliated colleges

and thus helping them in the better administration of the universities rather than merely increasing their number. In fact, between 1887 and 1916 not a single new university came into existence in India. Secondly, the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19, and its following University Act of 1920 requiring, among other things, a two-year intermediate course as a condition to the admission to the university education. The recommendations of this Commission were followed by the rise of eight universities during the period of eight years (1920-27). Finally, the attainment of national independence which stimulated the rapid development of university education and the establishment of thirteen universities in the course of eight years (1947-54) as indicated in the table below:

(Table—see next page)

*Types of Indian Universities*: It is evident that there are three types of universities in India: First, *Affiliating Universities*, which do not teach but only examine the students of the colleges of arts and science, of which there were 579 in 1951-52. They prescribe the courses of studies, organise examinations, issue certificates or grant degrees to successful students, thus preserve uniformity, efficiency, standard, and quality of education. Second, *Residential Universities*, which teach and examine and also require residence in the university. Most important of these universities are the Hindu University at Banaras, the Moslem University at Aligarh, and the Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan. There are at present six other residential universities in India. The residential universities had long existed in ancient and medieval India, such as Banaras, Ujjain, Taxila and Nalanda. The best examples of this type of universities in modern times are Oxford and Cambridge. Residential universities offer opportunities to the students to come in close contact with their professor. Finally, *Teaching Universities*, which both teach and examine without requiring residence. Freedom from residence in the university makes it convenient for most of the students, especially women, to live with their parents or husbands, and to take advantage of university education and to appear for examination, whenever required. Most of the great





President Dr. Rajendra Prasad administering the oath of office to Shri V. K. Krishna Menon as Minister of Defence at a ceremony held in New Delhi

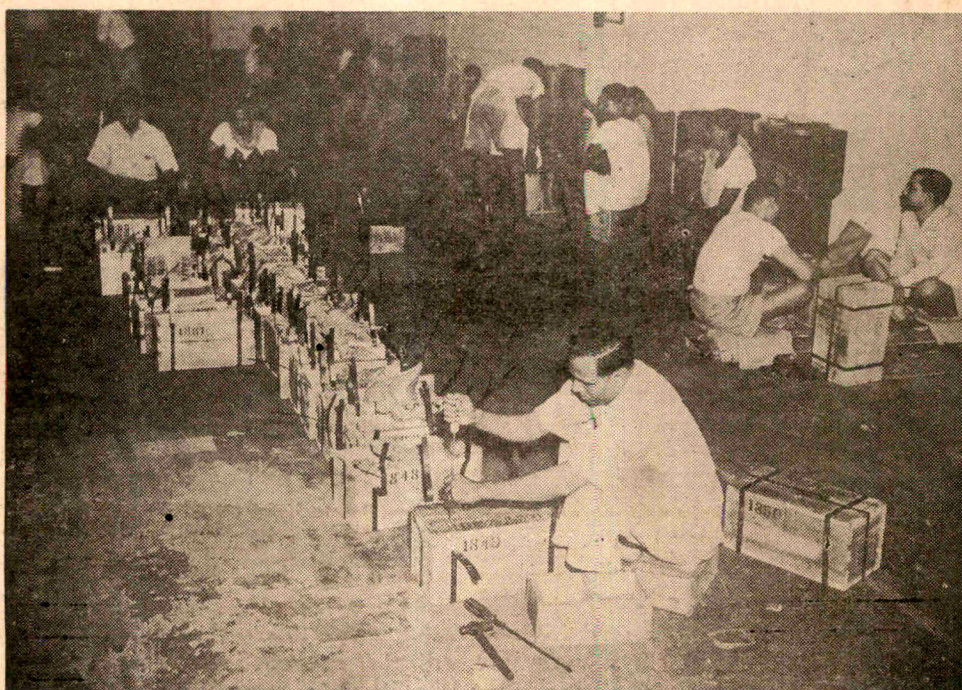


Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru greets Dr. Heinrich von Brentano, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany (New Delhi)





Front view of the Government of India Mint Building at Alipore, Calcutta



Work at the Mint to produce new decimal-series coins



*Growth in Number of Universities in India 1857—1954*

Name	Location	Character	Year
1. Calcutta	West Bengal	Teaching and affiliating	1857
2. Bombay	Bombay	Teaching and affiliating (reconstituted)	1857 1923
3. Madras	Madras	Teaching and affiliating (reconstituted)	1857 1923
4. Allahabad	U. P.	Teaching, unitary and residential (reconstituted)	1887 1922
5. Banaras	U. P.	Teaching and residential	1916
6. Mysore	Mysore	Affiliating and teaching	1916
7. Patna	Bihar	Teaching and affiliating	1917
8. Osmania	Hyderabad	Teaching and residential	1918
9. Aligarh	U. P.	Teaching and residential	1920
10. Lucknow	U. P.	Teaching, unitary and residential	1920
11. Delhi	Delhi	Teaching, unitary and residential	1922
12. Nagpur	M.P.	Teaching and affiliating	1923
13. Andhra	Andhra	Teaching and affiliating	1926
14. Agra	U. P.	Teaching and affiliating	1927
15. Annamalai	Madras	Teaching, unitary, and affiliating	1929
16. Travancore	T. and C.	Teaching, affiliating and residential	1937
17. Utkal	Orissa	Affiliating	1943
18. Saugor	M.P.	Teaching and affiliating	1946
19. Rajputana	Rajputana	Affiliating and teaching	1947
20. Punjab	Punjab	Affiliating and teaching	1947
21. Gauhati	Assam	Teaching and affiliating	1948
22. Poona	Bombay	Teaching and affiliating	1948
23. Roorkee	U. P.	Teaching, unitary and residential	1948
24. Jammu & Kashmir	Kashmir	Affiliating	1948
25. Baroda	Bombay	Teaching and affiliating	1949
26. Karnatak	Bombay	Teaching and affiliating	1950
27. Gujarat	Bombay	Affiliating	1950
28. S.N.D.T. Women's University	Bombay	Affiliating	1951
29. Visva Bharati	West Bengal	Teaching, unitary and residential	1951
30. Bihar	Bihar	Affiliating	1952
31. Sri Venkatesvara U.P.—Uttar Pradesh; M.P.—Madhya Pradesh; T. and C.—Travancore and Cochin; S.N.D.T. —Shrimati Nathubai Damodar Thackersay.	Venkatesvara	Teaching and residential	1954

Source: *India—A Reference Annual, 1954*, Government of India, p. 272.

universities of modern times are of this type, such as the Universities of Paris, Berlin, London and New York. All these types of universities are needed for higher education in India.

*University Education Commissions:* In addition to the influence upon the growth in number of the universities as described above, these University Commissions have further

effects upon higher education in general. A word must therefore be added:

*The University Commission of 1902* was appointed by Lord Curzon and its recommendations were given effect to by the University Act of 1904, which granted, among other things, power to the universities to inspect and control the working of the affiliated colleges and to



undertake the work of teaching and research. The Education Resolution of the Government of India announced a policy of instituting teaching and residential universities at Dacca (now in Pakistan), Banaras and Aligarh.

*The Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19*, of which Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, India's greatest educationist and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University was the prime-mover and Sir Michael Sadler, well-known British educationist, the president. The Commission recommended, among other things, two years additional education in intermediate colleges for all students intending to enter a university and the appointment of independent boards at the head of all secondary and intermediate institutions, and the creation of three years first degree courses.

*University Education Commission of 1948* with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as chairman, was appointed by the Government of India to report on university education and suggest improvements. Some of the recommendations made by the Commission were: (1) Students should be admitted to the universities only after they have completed 12 years of pre-university education; (2) the academic year should not constitute less than 180 working days exclusive of examinations; (3) there should be three terms, each of about eleven weeks duration; (4) more attention should be given to the subjects such as agriculture, commerce, education, engineering and technology, law and medicine; (5) existing engineering and technological institutes should be regarded as national assets; (6) three years' study for the first degree should not be judged by a single examination and examinations should be held at a number of stages. The recommendations of the Commission were generally approved by the Central Advisory Board of Education. To improve and expand the facilities for post-graduate research at the universities, grants amounting to about Rs. 4.5 million have been made to eight universities.

Partly to implement the recommendations of the University Education Commission and partly to guide the educational movement in the right direction, the Government of India has undertaken several steps: First, although education is a State subject, the Government of India has extended financial help to the Universities of Aligarh, Banaras, Delhi, and Visva-

Bharati; Secondly, the Central Government established the University Grants Commission in 1953 to act as an expert body to advise the Government on problems connected with the co-ordination of facilities and the maintenance of standards in universities and to take necessary actions. Finally, the Central Government has appointed a Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education to review the progress made in implementing the recommendations of the University Commission and to suggest further steps to be taken by the Government and Universities in this connection.

*The Inter-University Board* acts as an advisory body and provides a forum for discussion of university problems. It helps Indian universities to obtain recognition for degrees and diplomas in other countries. For the development of higher education and research, the Planning Commission has made a provision of Rs. 32 million for the planning period.

*Non-University Institutions:* Apart from the universities, there are a number of institutions that offer undergraduate, graduate, and post-graduate research and training facilities. They are classified under the following headings together with their numbers: (1) Humanities 10; (2) Scientific research 78; (3) Engineering and technology 14; (4) Agriculture 13; and (5) Medicine.

*Academies and institutes* have been established often with the help of the Government to help higher education in Pali and Sanskrit, such as the Magadha Research Institute of post-graduate studies at Nalanda and the Mithila Institute of post-graduate studies and research at Darbhanga. In addition to these universities there are also a number of post-graduate institutions and linguistic organizations which provide facilities for research in education and culture and receive grants from the Government of India for this purpose. Most important of these institutes are: (1) The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona; (2) The Asiatic Society at Calcutta; and (3) The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture at Calcutta.

*Scholarship Schemes:* With the object of training personnel required for manning the post-war development schemes of the Government of India, Overseas Scholarship scheme was started in 1945. Since then the scheme has

undergone modifications and, in 1952-53, only 25 persons were selected for scholarships of this kind. But since then, several other scholarships and fellowships have been created, such as Federation of British Industries Scheme; Indo-German Industrial Schemes; scholarships to Scheduled castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Classes; scholarships to students from Asia, Africa, and other Commonwealth countries; grants of fellowship to French students; and United Nations and Unesco (United Nations Educational Service and Cultural Organization) Fellowships.

#### TECHNICAL EDUCATION

In India, technical education forms a distinct subject and is not included in the University education. Nevertheless, technical institutes began to appear by the middle of the last century and one of the engineering colleges at Roorkee celebrated its centenary and became a university in 1948. On the recommendation of All-India Council for Technical Education, a program of the development of Technical Education was prepared in 1947-48. The Council has, on the recommendation of the Seven-Man Committee, especially appointed by the Council to present to the Planning Commission a Five-Year Plan of Development on Technical Education, drawn up a new program of improvement and expansion of Technical Education at all levels. The Plan contemplates: (a) development of facilities for post-graduate course, advanced training and research; (b) improvement of instructional facilities in engineering and technology at the undergraduate level.

The All-India Council also recommended the setting up of an Administrative Staff College and of a National Institute of Management. A sub-committee is already at work preparing a detailed scheme for the establishment of the former and is examining such questions as location of the college. A second sub-committee is preparing a similar comprehensive report on the setting up of the National Institute of Management. The Council has set up a Board of Assessment to examine standards of technical or professional qualifications. On the advice of the Council the Central Government has decided to establish a School of Town and Regional Planning in

Delhi as a joint enterprise of the Government and of the Institute of Town Planner (India).

#### ART AND CULTURE

Since the earliest times, art and culture received royal patronage, which was continued both under Hindu rule and Muslem rule, but under British rule, it was taken over by the Indian Princes. Since the attainment of national independence, the Government of India has undertaken the patronage of art and culture and, on the suggestion of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, decided to establish a National Cultural Trust to promote art and culture through the agencies of national academies, namely: (1) An Academy of Letters for Indian languages, literature, history and philosophy; (2) an Academy of Arts, graphic, plastic and applied; and (3) an Academy of Dance, Drama, and Music.

(1) *The Sangeet Natak Akademi* (Academy of Dance, Drama, and Music) was constituted by a resolution of the Ministry of Education and inaugurated in January 1953. The chief objective of the Academy is to foster and develop Indian dance, drama (including films), and music and to promote through them the cultural unity of the country, as well as to co-ordinate the activities of the regional organizations, promote research, set up training institutions, sponsor festivities and cultural exchanges in the fields of dance, drama and music. The Academy has set up regional academies in the States and inaugurated the National Music Festival in March, 1954, including 43 programs and 60 eminent artists as well as the National Drama Festival for over a month when 21 dramas were played in 14 Indian languages including Sanskrit.

(2) *The National Sahitya Akademi* (National Academy of Letters) was inaugurated in March, 1954. It is a national organization for the development of Indian letters in order to set high literary standards, to foster and co-ordinate literary activities in all Indian languages, and to promote through them the cultural unity of the whole country. The supreme authority of the Akademi vests in the Central Council, which consists of 72 members, including a chairman, a treasurer, five nominees of the Government of India, one representative of each of the 14 National Languages, 14 re-

representatives of Indian universities, and eight nominees of the Government of India chosen for their eminence in the field of letters, and two representatives each of the *Sangeet Natak Akademi* and the *Lalit Kala Akademi*. The main objective is to make the people conscious of the unity of Indian literature though written in many languages. The first task of the *Akademi* is to publish a national bibliography of Indian literature. It is to be followed by the publication of a bibliography of all the books published since January, 1954, and a translation of books from other languages. The Government of India has also announced the prizes of Rs. 5,000 for the most outstanding books published in each of these 14 languages since independence.

(3) *The Lalit Kala Akademi* (National Academy of Art) was set up by a resolution of the Ministry of Education in October, 1953, and inaugurated in August 1954. Its primary function is to encourage and promote study and research in the fields of painting, sculpture, architecture and applied arts. It will also co-ordinate the activities of regional or State activities, promote co-operation among art associations, encourage exchange of ideas between various schools of arts, publish literature on art, and foster national and international contacts through exhibitions, in exchange of personnel and art objects.

*Publication:* The *Akademi* has begun its publication program by bringing out a portfolio of contemporary paintings. The first issue of the *Akademi's* official journal, called *Lalit Kala*, was out in July 1955. Among other things an important program of the *Akademi* is a detailed country-wide survey of the surviving folk arts and crafts and the working conditions of the craftsmen.

*Exhibition:* The first National Exhibition of Art organized by the *Akademi* was inaugurated by the President of India on March 22, 1955, in Delhi. The *Akademi* has instituted awards for the best exhibits, the highest being a gold plaque and a cash prize of Rs. 2000.

(4) *Other Cultural Activities:* Among other cultural activities of the Government, mention must be made of the following: (1) The initiation of scholarships, each of the value of Rs. 250 per month for young workers who have already received their basic training

and shown outstanding promise in different fields of cultural activities; (2) The setting aside of a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 for 1954-55 to assist distinguished men of letters, who might find themselves in straitened circumstances; (3) The inauguration of the national gallery of modern art; and (4) the establishment of the first mountaineering institute at Darjeeling in honor of Shri Tenzing Norky, the conqueror of Mt. Everest, on May 29, 1953.

#### 4. RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENT

Research and experiment are a part of advance education in modern times. Both have long been known in India, especially in connection with such subjects as agriculture, forestry, fishery, mining and tropical and other medicine, and some definite results have also been achieved, such as improved varieties of sugarcane, cotton, wheat, and breeds of dairy cattle. Research work has been established in different parts of the country and in various departments of the Government.

#### AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

The importance of research to agricultural development was first realized by the Government of India from the reports of the Famine Commission of 1880. In 1889, Dr. Voelker was deputed by the Secretary of State for India to advise the Government of India on the utilization of modern science to agriculture in India. His report of 1891 became the basis of the Government policy on agriculture. The Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa and the All-India Board of Agriculture were founded in 1905.

The greatest event in the agricultural development of India was, however, the appointment of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1926-28), one of the recommendations of which was the creation of Indian Council of Agricultural Research in 1929. The Council's Advisory Board consisted of experts representing the States, the universities, and scientific bodies and the Governing Bodies were composed of States Minister of Agriculture and the representatives of Parliament and commercial interests. The Governing Body is assisted by a Board of Research and a Board of extension. In 1951, the Council was completely re-



organized to enable it to discharge its responsibilities more effectively, especially in the field of extension work. Steps have been taken to set up an extensive service on a national basis to bring about a better co-operation between the research workers and farmers. Central Committees for important commodities, e.g., cotton and sugarcane have been established in order to promote improved production and marketing.

The work of the Council is supplemented by those of the newly-created Ministry of Food and Agriculture, which maintains a number of research institutes. The research and extension activities of the Ministry are carried out through the agencies of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, the Central Research Institutes, and the Central Committees. During the year 1952-53, more than 300 schemes were developed and a sum of Rs. 4 million was earmarked for new schemes and for the extension of certain old schemes. The most important of these schemes was the method of rice culture in Japan which was very successfully carried out in Bombay State.

*Central Research Institutes:* The Indian Agricultural Research Institute at Delhi conducts research in basic problems of all-India importance, such as soil fertility and improved varieties of seed which can resist drought, disease, insects and pests and adapt themselves to different types of soil and climate. The research activities at the Institute were intensified in 1952-53 and new projects taken in hand under the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation agreement: (1) The Central Rice Research Institute at Cuttack carries out field trials and research on the agronomy, mycology, entomology, botany and chemistry of rice; (2) The Central Potato Research Institute is engaged in evolving improved varieties of potatoes capable of giving high yields; (3) The Central Vegetable Breeding Station at Ku'u continues its investigations on self-fertilised seeds and the manipulation of agricultural practices to secure increased production; (4) The Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun was opened in 1914 and is engaged in research on silviculture, botany, entomology, the seasoning and preservation of wood, timber mechanics, cellulose and paper chemistry, and on minor forest products; (5) The Indian

Veterinary Research Institute at Izzatnagar was established in 1890 as a small bacteriological laboratory. It has six main research divisions and four auxiliary sections. In addition to research, the Institute undertakes the manufacture of vaccines and provides training for students. The Institute has been recognised by the F.A.O. as an international training centre; (6) The Indian Dairy Research Institute at Bangalore trains students for a diploma course in dairying, and conducts research on dairy problems. (7). At the Indian Lac Research Institute in Namkum, fundamental and applied research on the entomology and chemistry of lac is carried out.

*Commodity Committees:* The Indian Central Committees for cotton, jute, oil seeds, sugarcane, coconut, arecanut and tobacco operate and subsidise a number of research schemes at various research stations and sub-stations. Of these Committees, most important are: (1) Cotton Committee; (2) Jute Committee; (3) Oilseed Committee; (4) Sugarcane Committee; (5) Coconut Committee; (6) Arecanut Committee. Besides these institutions, there are 22 agricultural colleges affiliated to the various universities. Some of these have well-equipped research sections.

*Extension Services:* The beginning of an extension organisation for bridging the gap between research workers and farmers was made in 1952. A delegation consisting of Joint or Deputy Directors of Extension from the States together with two officers of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research visited the U.S.A. and Japan to study the extension services in these countries. An agreement concluded between the Ford Foundation and the Government of India in January 1952 provided for the setting up of five Extension Training Centres and 15 Intensive Development Blocks in different States of India.

#### INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

The Industrial Research Planning Committee appointed in 1944 by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research to organize Indian research on a national basis made its report on August 11, 1945, and recommended the setting up of a central research organization to be called the National Research Council, with an authority to initiate immediately a

five-year program of development of scientific and industrial research. The plan envisaged the building and equipment of a national chemical laboratory, a national physical laboratory, certain specialized research institutes, an effective strengthening of the existing research organizations, the setting up of a network of research laboratories in all provinces and major Indian States, and the training of a sufficient research personnel by the award of scholarships tenable in India and abroad.

The functions of the Council are as follows:

- (1) To organize and maintain laboratories;
- (2) to establish and maintain specialized research institutes;
- (3) to stimulate pure and applied research in universities by grants-in-aid and by scholarships and fellowships;
- (4) to provide for the immediate problem of the dearth of technical and research personnel by the inauguration of scholarships available in India and abroad;
- (5) to stimulate and encourage research activities by industries;
- (6) to co-ordinate research activities of all the existing research institutes and departments of the Government and undertake planning of research programs on a comprehensive basis;
- (7) to function as a National Trust for Patents;
- (8) to set up a Board of standards and Specifications;
- (9) to function as a clearing house, encourage deserving scientific and technical societies, and foster the growth of new ones on appropriate lines.

Because of close relation between pure research and industrial application in some cases, it is often hard to keep the distinction: (1) The Board of Scientific Advice took up some scientific work which was co-ordinated with official agencies in 1932. This was replaced by the Industrial Research Bureau in 1934; (2) The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research also helps in the formation of industrial research associations, such associations have already been formed by the Ahmedabad textile industry, Bombay silk and art silk mills, Calcutta jute mills and Sri Ram Institute for industrial research. Recently most of the scientific and industrial research has been combined and consolidated.

#### SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

State assistance to scientific research is a thing of recent origin in India. Until recently such research was mostly undertaken by univer-

sities and other private institutions. There have, however, been a large number of scientific organizations which have been long established in India in different fields of activities.

*Learned Societies:* The first in the fields of learned society was the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1784; the Survey of India in 1800, the Geological Survey in 1851, the Botanical Survey in 1889 and the Zoological Survey in 1916. But the inauguration of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Sciences in 1876 was followed by the rise of a number of learned societies. Between 1820 and 1948, some 28 such societies were in function in various parts of the country.<sup>7</sup>

*Scientific Societies:* Of the outstanding scientific recognized societies, mention must be made of the following:

(1) The Indian Science Congress Association, inaugurated in 1914, provides a common forum for the scientists of the country. Since its foundation, the Indian Science Congress has grown in importance. Under its auspices, Indian and foreign scientists meet every year to discuss common problems and exchange ideas.

(2) The National Institute of Sciences (1935) has been recognized by the Government of India as the premier scientific organization and a link between scientific academies, societies, institutions and Government scientific departments and services. It occupies a statute analogous to that of the Royal Society of London or that of the National Academy of Washington.

(3) The Government of India set up the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research in 1940 and made it an autonomous body in 1942 with a view to establishing, maintaining and managing the laboratories and institutes devoted to scientific and industrial research.

The Council is administered by a Governing Body with Prime Minister as its Chairman

7. Of these societies and associations most important were those on Agriculture and Horticulture (Calcutta, 1920); Anthropology (Bombay, 1886); British Medical (Bombay Branch, 1886); Indian Chemical (1924); National Institute of Sciences (Delhi, 1935); Mining and Geological Institute (1906); Indian Science Congress (Calcutta, 1914); National Academy of Sciences (Allahabad, 1930); etc.—Source: *India in 1953*, Government of India, 1953, pp. 221-22.

and the Minister of Natural Resources as its Vice-President. Non-officials representing science, business, and industry, as well as the representatives of the Ministry of Finance, are also members of the Governing Body. The Governing Body is advised by a Board of Scientific and Industrial Research consisting of some eminent scientists, mostly non-officials.\* The Board is also assisted in turn by a number of research advisory committees.

(4) The Department of Scientific Research was created by the Government of India in June 1948, to supervise and co-ordinate scientific research undertaken in the States and private institutions. Subsequently, the Department became a part of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, which was established by the Government of India in 1952.

*National Laboratories:* With the achievement of national independence in 1947, the question of industrial advancement became more important and it was also realized that the standard of living must be improved by pressing science into the service of manufacturing industries. Since August 15, 1947, the Research Board, representing the National Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has established the following national laboratories at the estimated cost of about Rs. 28.4 million up to March 31, 1952: (1) Central Glass and Ceramic Institute, Jadavpur, Calcutta; (2) Fuel Research Institute, Dhanbad; (3) National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur; (4) National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi; (5) National Chemical Laboratory, Poona; (6) Central Road Research Institute, Delhi; (7) Central Leather Research Institute, Madras; (8) Central Electro-Chemical Research Institute, Karaikudi (South India); (9) Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow; (10) Central Building Research Institute, Roorkee (Uttar Pradesh); (11) Central Food Technolo-

gical Institute, Mysore; (12) Central Electronic Engineering Institute, Pilani; (13) National Botanical Garden; (14) Central Salt Research Station, Bhavanagar (Proposed).

*Independent Research:* In addition to Government Research Institutes, there are also several private institutes devoted to pure research: (1) Birbal Sahni Institute of Palaeobotany, Lucknow; (2) Bose Research Institute, Calcutta; (3) Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta; (4) Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore; (5) Raman Laboratories of the Indian Academy of Science, Bangalore; and (6) Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay.

The Council also helps in the formation of industrial research associations similar to those that are being set up in Great Britain. Such associations have already been formed by the Ahmedabad textile industry, silk and art mills of Bombay and leather manufacturers and tanners of South India. Of the other researches initiated by the Council or otherwise, mention may be made of the following:

(1) *Subsidizing Research:* The Council encourages fundamental and applied research in the universities and other research institutes through grants-in-aid. At present there are over a hundred research schemes in progress in these institutions.

(2) *Engineering Research:* With a view to initiating and co-ordinating research on different engineering subjects, the Board of Engineering Research was inaugurated in 1950. The Board is assisted by five expert committees such as those of Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical and Radio Engineering, Aeronautic Engineering and Hydraulic Engineering.

(3) *Nuclear Research* is of recent origin in India and the pioneer work was undertaken by the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research founded in 1945. The Institute undertook both research and training on nuclear physics. It is financed by the Government.

(4) *Atomic Energy Commission* was set up in August 1948. Under the Atomic Energy Act of 1948, the Commission deals with all matters connected with the development and production of atomic energy. The Board of Research on Atomic Energy and the Cosmic Ray Committee assist the Commission in carry-

8. These research committees are on the following subjects: (1) Glass and Refractories; (2) Chemical Research; (3) Physical Research; (4) Fuel Research; (5) Vegetable Oils; (6) Cellulose Research; (7) Biochemical Research; (8) Pharmaceuticals and Drugs; (9) Plastics; (10) Essential Oils; (11) Atmospheric Research; (12) Metals Research; (13) Mining Research; (14) High Altitude Research; (15) Leather Research, etc.—Source: *India in 1953*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, p. 223.



ing out the educational and research program. The Commission has been responsible for setting up the Indian Rare Earth Limited in Travancore which is owned both by the Government of India and of Travancore-Cochin."

*Calendars Reform Scheme:* In India there are at present 30 calendars in vogue. It has been recognized that there should be a single and uniform calendar all over the country. Early in 1953, the Government of India set up a Calendar Reform Committee under the Coun-

9. Source: *India in 1953*, Government of India, Delhi, 1953, pp. 221-26.

cil of Scientific and Industrial Research. Attempts are being made to prepare an All-India National Solar Calendar on a scientific basis to which the Lunar Calendar, which is essential for religious purposes will be adjusted. It has been decided that a locality 82.5 degree east of Greenwich on the same latitude as Ujjain, should be selected as the central Indian station for all calculations. The Committee has also recommended the establishment of a central astronomical observatory equipped with modern instruments.

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## THE DRAGON'S TEETH

By J. C. BOSE

It must have been not a very happy moment when Vincent Smith wrote:

"India, beyond doubt possesses a deep, underlying fundamental unity far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners and sect."—*Oxford History of India*.

Right from the days, since when Clive instructed the Board of Directors of the East India Company to 'encourage' in respect of the Army what he called 'rivalship between the Scotoos and Musa'mans' to obviate the danger of 'cabals of any alarming nature being formed,' British rule made no bone of its pleasure to see to it that this unity did not help the people to consolidate into one strong united Nation.

As Bengal faced in the first decade of this century the flash and steel of a well-posted, terribly efficient administration, and was writing a page of history no less decisive as it was glorious, forces beyond the schedule of bars and bayonets were at work to thwart, waylay and circumvent the national struggle. The major one that beats the others hollow in its sinister purposefulness is Separate Electorate. It constitutes, possibly for all time, a standard of what since the days of Pericles Imperialism has sought to pass its divide and rule under the

debasement counterfeit trusteeship. It completely disrupted India, built anew in modern times on the basis of a synthesis of the East and the West.

On 1st October, 1906, His Highness Aga Khan headed a deputation of some Mahomedans to wait upon Lord Minto, the Governor General, praying for a separate electorate for the Moslems:

"Now in 1906," says Aga Khan in his *Memoirs*: "we boldly asked the Viceroy to look facts in the face; we asked that the Moslems of India should not be regarded as a mere minority, but as a nation within a nation, whose rights and obligations should be guaranteed by statute."

I doubt if the word 'nation' was anywhere used. Minto said in reply:

"The Mahomedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded."

Morley in sponsoring the India Bill of 1909 spoke of the difference between the Moslems and the Hindus as "a difference in life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things as well as articles of belief that constitute a community." In any case, Minto said to the deputationists, "I am entirely in accord with you." What modicum of unity Britain gave India by one Rule, one Law, one coinage, one postage and facilities of travel, adventitiously,

aided by the English language acting as the *lingua franca* of India's new-born intelligentsia, the unity England boasted as having given India which no other conqueror ever gave the conquered, was wrecked here and now.

"Here were critical years," I cite this authority of Aga Khan, none more competent to say, "in that vast complex process, which brought about in little more than forty years the partition of the Indian sub-continent into two separate States, Bharat and Pakistan."

On the question of the *bonafides* of the deputation, it is enough to say that Mahammad Ali, who supported Separate Electorate, characterised it as "a command performance" and compared the deputationists to the undertrial prisoner in the dock, who, when asked by the Judge if he had a counsel to plead for him, said, 'No, but I have friends among the Jury.' The two architects exchanged notes; Morley wrote to Minto:

"It was your early speech about their extra claims which started the Mahomedan hare."—*Recollections*.

It gives us beyond controversy an authoritative clue to the genesis of Separate Electorate. Nothing more revealing, however, is Lady Minto's *Journal*. She writes:

"This has been a very very eventful day, as someone said to me, an epoch in Indian history. In the afternoon a tea-party was given for the Deputation in the garden of the Viceregal lodge; was also attended by members of Council. We talked to many of the delegates as most of them speak English and it was touching to hear their appreciation of the sympathy and understanding shown them. This evening I have received the following letter from an official—'I must send your Excellency a line to say that a very very big thing has happened today—a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year; it is nothing less than pulling back sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of seditious opposition.' Mr. Morley after receiving an account of the proceedings wrote, 'All you tell me of your Mahomedans is full of interest, and I only regret that I could not have moved unseen at your garden party. The whole thing has been as good as it could be.'"

I quote Lady Minto at some length, because in these few lines she has built up a structure complete in harmony. In what concept Britain understood 'statesmanship' in her relation with India cannot afford to be glossed

over and is an abiding possession of history. The then Indian leaders were hiccups of gratitude for the Morley-Minto Reforms. To Pundit Madanmohan Malaviya, the President of the 1909 Lahore Congress, Minto was 'the liberal-minded Viceroy,' who 'had taken a statesman-like note of the signs of the times and the needs of the country.' Later on, as the wearers came to feel where the shoe pinched, there were oblique glances at Minto, but Morley continued to be 'the high-priest of liberalism.' It is unfortunate, historically, that the tendency lingers. Jawaharlal Nehru writes as late as 1945 that

"Morley resisted separate electorate but ultimately agreed under pressure from the Viceroy."—*The Discovery of India*.

Would Morley, who resisted Edward VII to bitter extremes for the token observance of a clause of Queen Victoria's Proclamation in the matter of admitting Indians 'freely and impartially' to high offices under the Crown, would Morley, whom Churchill calls "an autocrat and almost a martinet at the India Office" accommodate the conservative Minto on so vital a matter were he not inwardly at one with him? What otherwise explains his exultation that 'the whole thing has been as good as it could be.' Morley congratulates Minto in his personal correspondence:

"It stamps your position and personal authority decisively. Among other good effects of your deliverance is this, that it has completely deranged the plans and tactics of the critical faction\* here. I hope that even my stoutest Radical friends will now see that the problem is not quite so simple as this."

The self-same Morley shrieked with righteous indignation in the House of Lords that a monstrosity like separate electorate was being incorporated into the statute of India against his grain and in the compulsion of circumstances.

"Some may be shocked," he says, "at the idea of a religious register, of a register framed on the principle of a religious belief. We may wish, we do wish—certainly I do that it were otherwise. We hope that time with careful and impartial statesmanship will make things otherwise."

\* Sir Henry Cotton, Ramsay Macdonald and others were heckling Morley on the policy of playing off the Mahomedans.

In the context of the extent of Morley's shock as now laid bare, the point for determination remains if such a hope, as he expressed, does at all fit in with the trend of his thoughts. Supposing his own disclaimer that "if this chapter of Reforms led directly or necessarily up to the establishment of parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing at all to do with it" was a claptrap to wheedle the diehards, what Churchill says from his very intimate association with Morley cannot be passed over. Churchill says in *Great Contemporaries* that

"Morley felt no sense of contradiction in declaring his hostility to anything like Home-Rule for India."

"Statesmen," says Morley in his biography of Gladstone on the point of Gladstone's uneasiness over the manifestly unjust Opium War in China, "can have no concern with paternosters, the Sermons on the Mount or vademacum of the moralist." Is this too his excuse and apology? The added piquancy is in the truth that Morley, the intellectual child of John Stuart Mill, Morley, the author of *Cromwell*, *Burke*, etc., was loath to have himself stultified in the eye of posterity and therefore breathed some hot sanctimony into his speech. He did not, besides, reckon a Minto with wife to trot out 'my husband's statesmanship.' 'Honest John' is, however, honest in one respect and is to be complimented for his forthright assessment of separate electorate.

"We are," he writes Minto, "sowing the dragon's teeth."

Morley at least, therefore, contemplated a result as fatal, as what ensued from Cadmus having sown dragon's teeth at Boetia in Greece, from out of the two rows of which soldiers sprang up and fought each other till the city was razed to the ground.

The next dose of the promised 'careful and impartial statesmanship' is the Montford Reforms. Montague announced on behalf of the British Cabinet that the policy of His Majesty's Government was that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration with a view to progressive realisation of responsible government, the expression 'responsible government' being substituted for self-government of the original draft, under pressure from Lord Curzon, the then Foreign Secre-

tary. Montague, as he toured India for an on-the-spot study, wrote Lloyd George to beware of any extension of separate electorate, which had proved the ruin of democracy in India:

"Division by creeds and classes," says the Joint Report of Montague and Chelmsford, "means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur."

But the conclusion is pre-conceived, pre-determined and as inexorable—'much as we regret, we are convinced that the present system must be maintained.' Joseph Addison in his *Coverly Papers* gives us the picture of a young man writing his father home. Amid the many things he was writing about, he was so intensely thinking of his new-found flame that he concluded the letter by the sentence 'and you are she, my dearest dear.' Montague not only maintained separate electorate but maintained it with vengeance by eventually extending it to the Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. In fact,

"The very idea of India," says Josiah Wedgwood in the House of Commons during the passage of the India Act, 1919, "vanished from the Bill to be replaced by disunited communities of Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and the English."

We pause to reflect that Montague and Chelmsford jointly held that for India to become a self-governing national unit with separate electorate as the linchpin in the wheel of administration was an impossibility. And having committed themselves to this in print at a moment of absent-minded frankness, they as loudly proclaimed that self-government was the aim of British rule in India. Next it is interesting to see how one duplicates the other even linguistically. Morley wished us to wait 'till time with careful and impartial statesmanship would make things otherwise' and Montague 'until conditions alter, even at the price of slow progress towards the realization of a common citizenship.' Are they not like Macaulay's *Steele* inculcating what was right and

† Ramsay Macdonald's Cabinet, with Baldwin, the leading member warmly supporting, declared in 1929 that the promise of self-government was implicit in the 1917 Declaration of Montague.



doing what is wrong, so far as our political destiny was concerned?

Contarini, the hero of Disraeli's fiction *Contarini Fleming*, tells his father that he has left the school, because he wanted to be taught some ideas but was given instead 'words and only words.' The father disapproves of the son's action, because, ideas, he says, may be correct or incorrect, but 'words rule men.' I cannot resist this imagery when I recall how hypocrisy cloaked every form of exploitation; how every concession was hedged in by alien conditions and reserve, residuary power as to neutralise its efficiency; and how, in short, ideals preached were not lived up to, unless forced by the stress of circumstances.

Asquith as British Prime Minister eulogised Morley for the Reforms as "a step, which will avert the serious danger which has been confronting us for the last few years."—Speech at the House of Commons on the India Bill, 1909.

With regard to Montague, his sister claims that her brother's one solid contribution to the Empire is that he kept India absorbed in her own affairs so that she might not tune herself up to the mighty forces at work in the First Great War.—Introduction to *The Indian Diary* of Montague.

Lady Minto speaks of Ripon as a school boy, who has started in a race with his fellows and is running loyally ahead, unaware that these have stopped and that the world is laughing at his useless zeal. Montague, after the war concluded, was thrown into a far worse plight.

In between Morley's and Montague's Reforms there was for Bengal particularly one big dose of 'careful and impartial statesmanship.' In the name of annulling her Partition, Lord Hardinge denuded Bengal of some districts to make them over to the newly-created province of Bihar and Orissa. In other words, Hardinge made the whole of Bengal a Moslem zone what Curzon intended the new province of East Bengal and Assam to be. In still more explicit terms Hardinge consummated the process by which the nationalists, i.e., the 'seditious opposition' would not form a majority in Bengal.

While contemplating to undo the Bengal Partition in the manner he did, Hardinge had up in his sleeves a Muslim University at Dacca. By designing to make it devote to emphasize the study of Islamic culture and civilization

and making it function on the basis of separate representation to the Senate and the Syndicate, etc., what was primarily intended was to foster a spirit of divisiveness between the Hindu and the Moslem right from the plastic youth of life. It is again difficult to ignore the family-likeness between the Dacca University formed out of its nucleus, the Dacca College, and the Aligarh University out of Aligarh College. In loyal lineage to Principal Beek of the Aligarh College, who weaned away Syed Ahmed from the Indian National Congress to help grow pro-British and anti-Congress shibboleths in the Moslems of India, Principal Archibald of the Dacca College drafted the Address of Aga Khan's Deputation and otherwise rendered a yeoman's service to usher into existence the Muslim League at Dacca. In the concrete, the Dacca University cumulatively destroyed Bengal's composite culture; 'the independent sovereign nation of Pakistan,' as Aga Khan claims, 'was born at the Aligarh University.'

For a subject-people under the British Crown, the lesson of history is, there is nothing to choose between a Curzon and a Hardinge. By remorseless gearing Hindu representation in the truncated Bengal was reduced to 30 per cent under Hoare-Willingdon autonomy—the Lucknow Pact fixed Moslem representation in Bengal at 40 per cent. It is significant that the same old Aga Khan, raised in flattering succession from K.C.I.E. to G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I. and a His Highness with a salute of eleven guns to boot, was duly at his post in the Round Table Conference to help England add one more feather to her cap of Morley-Minto brand 'statesmanship'. The Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare (now Lord Templewood) chuckled in the House of Commons that he could not imagine of any 'land-slide' by which Bengal would run counter to British interests.

The authors of Montford Report say:

"We can see no reason to set up communal representation for Mahomedans where they form a majority of voters."

It was a still-born suggestion and the Congress leadership, which by now passed to the new-school politics, cared not a straw to pursue it. Was it at all any thought for that leadership to consider how the imperialistic designs bore



on Bengal? With every instalment of Reforms as other provinces retired for the time being to enjoy a bivouac, Bengal heard the clang of one more nail driven to her corporate, national life. Far be it from me that I should belittle the leadership, which has reared up Indians into a Nation by 'bringing together bone to bone and infusing breath into them, so that they lived and stood upon their feet an exceeding great

army.' History will yet scan that leadership a bit hard, because it failed most abysmally to read aright the malignance of separate electorate, which crushed Bengal and then led to the fratricidal division of India. There is a sense of strange irony in an attitude of 'neither acceptance nor rejection' of the separate electorate and then split hairs over its inevitable consequence.

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## LOTUS AND INDIAN ART

By S. K. ASAWA

INDIAN artists represented their ideas with the help of symbols, and the lotus-flower is the main symbol of Indian art. Primarily, the lotus-flower appears to have symbolized for the Aryans from very remote times the idea of superhuman or divine birth; and secondarily, the creative force and immortality. The traditional

and the emergence of the first-created object from the primordial waters of chaos. As an emblem of purity the lotus-flower is instanced in the Vaisnavite 'Bhagvad-Gita.'

As an emblem of divine birth, the lotus-flower is the commonest of motifs in Buddhist art and literature. In the Buddhist paradise of Sukhavati, the goal of popular Mahayana Buddhists where no woman exists, every one is born as a god upon a lotus-flower. The Western notion of the beatitude of 'Lotus-eating' is possibly a memory of this old tradition of divine birth, and divine existence.

A form of this myth of divine birth is probably the myth which invests Buddha with the miraculous power of imprinting the image of a lotus-flower on the earth at every step that he took. The lotus was especially identified with the Sun. This association rested doubtless upon the natural observation that the flower opened when the sun rose and closed at sunset. This suggested to the primitive mind the idea that the flower might be the residence of the sun during its nocturnal passage through the under-world, or that it might be the re-vivifier, resurrector, or regenerator of the fresh or refreshed sun of the next day. Its large multi-rayed flowers would also contribute to this association. It is probably from this association with the sun that we find the lotus-flower in the Gandhara sculpture, and often subsequently, taking the place on Buddha's footprints of the 'wheeled disk of the sun with its thousand spokes.' This possibly was the source of lotus-marked footprints.

As regards its application in the religious art, the lotus figures, with the rise of that art in India, are found on all the Buddhist monuments which came into being in different parts of the country from about 200 B.C. onwards. In its simplest form the expanded lotus is very frequent as a circular ornament in the sculptures at Sanchi, Bharhut, Amaravati and Bodhi



Fig. 3. Manjusri sitting on a lotus and dispelling ignorance with his uplifted sword of knowledge

Hindu and Buddhist explanation of it is that the glorious lotus-flower appears to spring not from the sordid earth but from the surface of the water of the lake. It thus expresses the idea of supernatural birth,



Gaya. It is also found in the rock-cut temples of Western India. In these temples the lotus-flower is introduced as medallion on pillars, panels and ceilings. Very elaborately carved half lotuses sometimes appear used thus, or, in Ceylon, as so-called moonstones—semi-circular stone slabs at the foot of staircases.

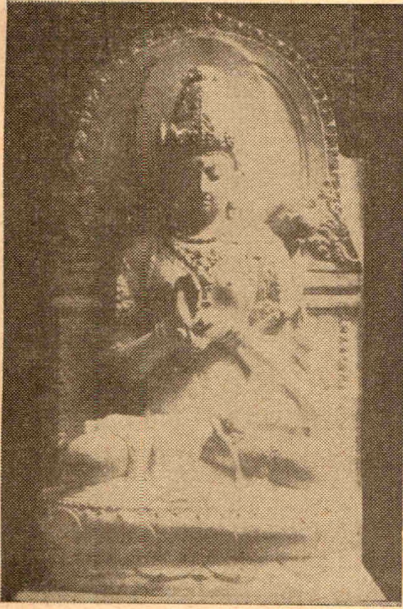


Fig. 2. Prajnaparamita sitting on a lotus

Lotus growing on stalks also occurs in the sculptures of Gandhara and Mathura. They are also figured in elaborate floral designs on the pillars of Sanchi and panels of Amaravati.

Figure 1 shows the beautiful application of lotus-flower in one of the pictures of the splendid shrine of Borobudur in Java. The Shrine of Borobudur is the most magnificent monument of Buddhist art in whole Asia and is ascribed to *circa* A.D. 750 to 800. This figure represents a group of Indian women drawing water from the village tank. One of them bending over the lotus-covered water is just filling her vessel, watching it intently as she draws it up with her left hand, while the right hand is raised to grasp it when it comes within reach. Some with their vessels filled and balanced truly on their heads are already moving off with queenly steps, and wending their ways towards the village shrine. Others are approaching the water with their empty vessels. And one apart from the rest has placed her vessel on the ground, and, leaving her household cares awhile kneels at the feet of the master listening with rapt attention to the master full of tenderness and divine compassion; such words were never spoken before. How marvellously the artist has depicted his ideas

and what an atmosphere of purity, freshness and womanly grace breathes through it all!

The lotus is further found from the earliest times conventionalized either as a seat or as a pedestal on which divine or sacred beings rest in a sitting and standing posture. The oldest and the most striking example of this use is exhibited in the figure of the Hindu goddess Lakshmi in the Buddhist sculptures of Sanchi, Udayagiri and Bharhut. This picture of Lakshmi is very frequently repeated on the gateways of the great stupa of Sanchi. She is portrayed sitting or standing on a lotus and holding up in each hand a lotus-flower which is watered by two elephants from pots raised aloft by their trunks. This ancient type is found all over India even at the present day. It also occurs among the old sculptures at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon.

After Buddha began to be represented in sculpture, from about the beginning of our era, his image constantly appears sitting cross-legged on a lotus-flower. In this form it occurs at Rajgir, in Bihar, in Kanheri caves near Bombay, and often in the Gandhara monuments of the north-west. From the latter region this type spread beyond the confines of India, reappearing in Nepal, Burma, China, and Japan. Even when the seat is not actually the flower itself two, three or four lotuses are carved on the front. Such lotuses are even found delineated on a foot stool on which Gautama rests his feet instead of sitting cross-legged. The number of petals of such lotuses varies from four to six.

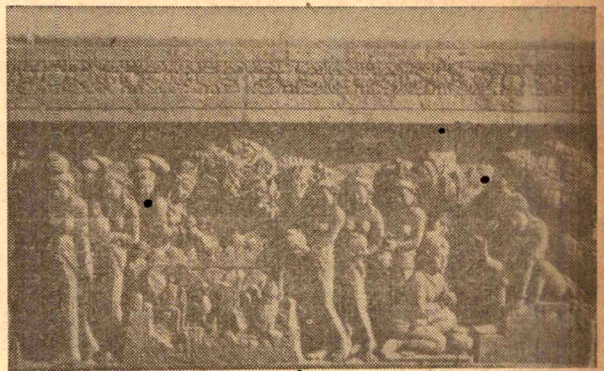


Fig. 1. A group of Indian women drawing water from the village tank which is covered with lotus leaves

The beautiful stone figure of Prajnaparamita from Java Fig. 2, now in the Ethnographic Museum at Leyden is a wonderful realisation of Indian artistic ideas and worthy to rank as one of the most spiritual creations of any art, Eastern and Western. Seated on a lotus-flower, the symbol of purity and divine birth in the pose of a Yogini, Prajnaparamita is making with her



hands the *mudra* or symbolic sign of spiritual instruction. Her face has that ineffable expression of heavenly grace which Giovanni Bellini, above all Italian masters, gave to his Madonnas. Prajnaparamita, as the consort of Buddha, was regarded as the mother of the universe. A book is placed on the lotus-flower, the stalks of which are twined round her left arm. The date of this sculpture is unknown but from the style of the execution it must be attributed to the former period of Buddhist art in Java.



Fig. 4. Dharmapala standing on a dead body over a lotus-flower

The use of lotus seat has been extended to images of 'Bodhisattvas' not only in India but in Buddhist countries beyond its borders. Thus Manjusri is represented sitting in this way not only in Sarnath near Benares, but also in Java and Tibet. Manjusri (Fig. 3) is the Buddhist analogue of the Hindu Brahma or Visvakarma. What a suggestion of majesty and restrained power there is in Manjusri dispelling ignorance with his uplifted sword of knowledge and sitting on a lotus-flower. This is from a gilt copper statuette in the Calcutta art gallery, which is interesting as a historical landmark. The inscription on it shows that it was made to commemorate the death of a learned Pandit and dedicated to a Nepalese shrine in the year A.D. 1782. The full inscription translated is as follows:

"Blessing! Hail! Khagamaju! On the occasion of the death of Buddhacharya Ranta Traya this image of Manjusri was made in the *samvat* 902, month Kartik, 10th day of the waning moon. Bliss."

The lotus seat and pedestal have almost an universal application in connection with the figures of Hindu mythology. Thus Brahma, Shiva, and Vishnu appear seated on a lotus seat with their respective

wives Saraswati, Parvati and Lakshmi. Also Agni, god of fire, Pavan, god of wind, Ganesh, god of wisdom, Vishnu's incarnation Rama and demon Ravana are all found represented on a lotus-flower. Vishnu in addition holds regularly a lotus-flower in one of his hands.

The device of lotus-flower in the hand seems to have symbolized not merely divine birth but the possession of the life everlasting, and the preservation and procreation of life. Such was it with the goddess Shri and her derivative—the Buddhist Tara, both of whom have the title 'Garlanded by lotus.' In the mystical Vedic 'Satapath Brahmana' the lotus-flower was a symbol of womb. The lotus-flower is also seen in the hands of Avalokita—the consort of Tara, Maitreya and other divine 'Bodhisattvas.' The lotus in the hand is the metaphysical significance and denotes the preservation of the life of the Law and the re-vivifier of the same.

Among the Tibetan saints the lotus is the special emblem of the founder of the order of Lamas. Images of divine symbols such as seven treasures are also figured usually upon lotus-flowers.

Figures of lotus-flowers are also found in the cave temples of Aurangabad and on the walls of Ajanta and Ellora. The lotus-flower is also found on the pillars of Asoka's time. Figure 4 shows another beautiful application of the lotus-flower. In this Dharmapala is represented standing on a dead body over a lotus-flower. What tremendous energy and divine fury are concentrated in the statuette of Dharmapala, a manifestation of the supreme Buddha as a defender of the faith, trampling under foot the enemies of religion.

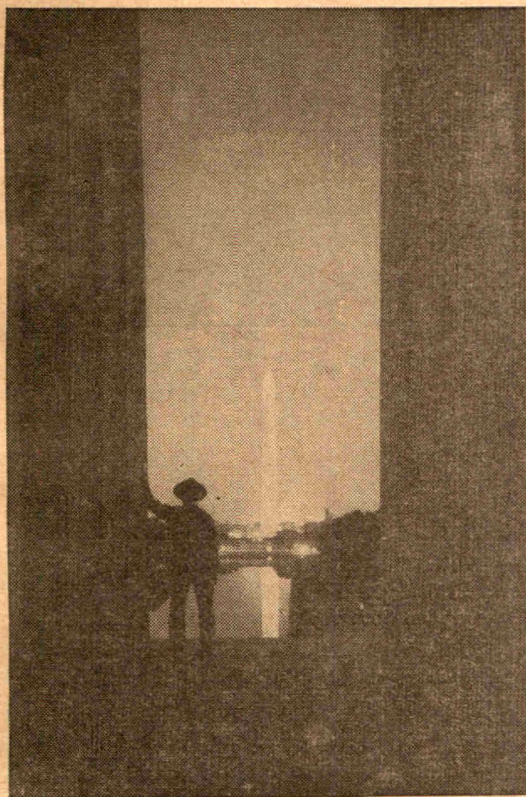
When the influence of Buddhism waned we found Hindu sculpture reverting to more conventional and symbolic types. Because of this the lotus was used to represent even more ideas. During the tide of Buddhism, India had sent streams of colonists, missionaries and craftsmen from the sea ports of her western and eastern coasts to all over Southern Asia, Ceylon, Siam, and far distant Cambodia. Through China and Korea, Indian art entered Japan about the middle of the sixth century, circa A.D. 603. Indian colonists from Gujarat brought Indian art into Java, and at Borobudur, in the eighth and ninth centuries, when Indian art achieved its greatest triumph. In all these monuments and sculptures the lotus occurs very frequently as a symbol of various ideas such as purity, divine birth, beauty, duty and greatness.

In fact, the lotus-flower has symbolized all the noble and bright ideas and feelings which can rise in the human heart and mind, and no doubt it proved to be a most useful boon for Indian art which is essentially idealistic, mystic, symbolic and transcendental.



## AMERICA LIVES IN THE LINCOLN TRADITION

If Abraham Lincoln could revisit Washington, D.C., where he lived while serving as Congressman from the State of Illinois and as President of the United States, he would marvel at the progress the national capital and the country have made in various fields of endeavour. Amid all these changes, however, Lincoln also would find something familiar in the country—the principles of freedom and equality which he championed, and which Americans have cherished during the intervening century.



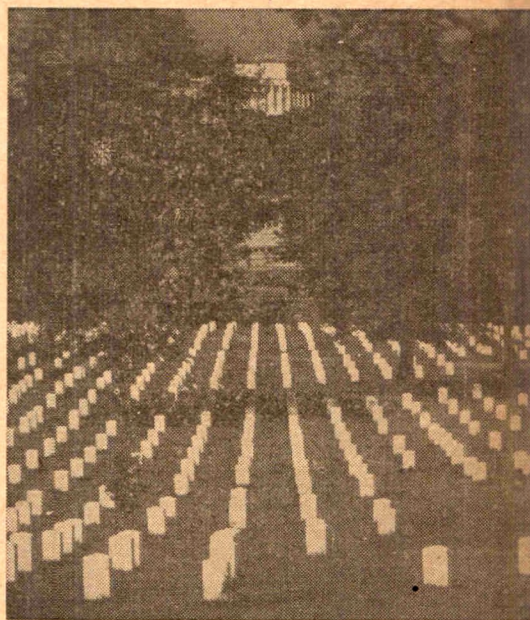
Looking east from the Memorial, Lincoln's statue faces the tall white shaft of the Washington Monument and directly behind it, the domed National Capitol

Over the years a grateful people has paid tribute to the memory of this distinguished statesman and humanitarian in many ways, notably by naming cities and towns, universities and schools, highways, mountains and parks in his honor. The State of Nebraska named its capital city after him.

But it is a marble shrine in Washington, D.C., the Lincoln Memorial, that best expresses the epitome of this Nation's reverence for Abraham Lincoln. It is to this shrine that some two million people come yearly, from all over the world, to pay a personal

tribute, to feel a sense of closeness to a great and simple man. It is from this shrine that people come away with a sense of exaltation, of encouragement, and sometimes of inspiration.

This Memorial, a marble structure erected in Potomac Park, was dedicated on May 20, 1922. The building, designed by Henry Bacon, American Architect, is 188 feet long, 118 feet wide and 80 feet high. Bacon was a devotee of the grand style in architecture, an ardent lover of the art of Greece. From the time he was commissioned to design the Memorial, it was the all-absorbing interest in his life. A part of every week for ten years found him in Washington, watching over every stone that was laid, trying every experiment that could possibly lead to perfection.

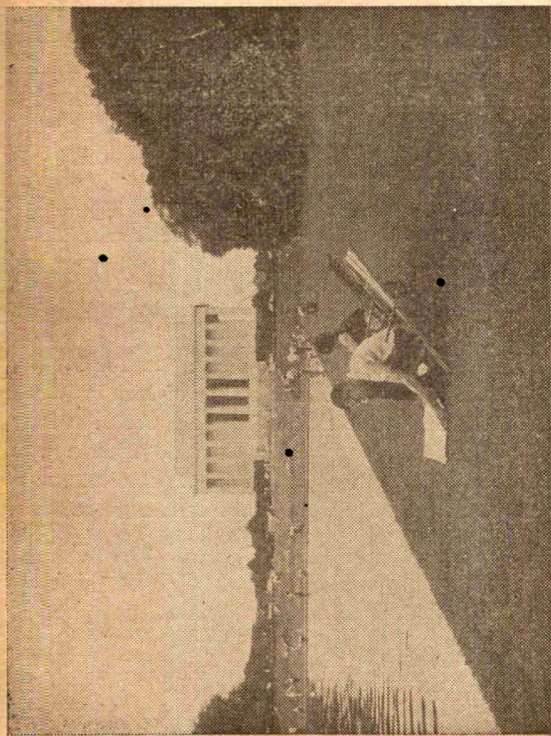


The Lincoln Memorial faces Arlington National Cemetery across the Potomac River

Referring to the Memorial, Daniel Chester French, the sculptor of the heroic-size statue of Lincoln who dominates the interior of the building, wrote: "Many people say they are unable to associate Lincoln with a Greek Temple, as they believe the Memorial to be, but to me nothing else would have been more suitable, for the Greeks alone were able to express in their buildings, monuments and statues the highest attributes and the greatest beauty known to men. The Memorial tells you, as you approach it, just what manner of man you are come to pay homage to, his simplicity, his grandeur and his power."

French's statue of Lincoln is 19 feet high, and

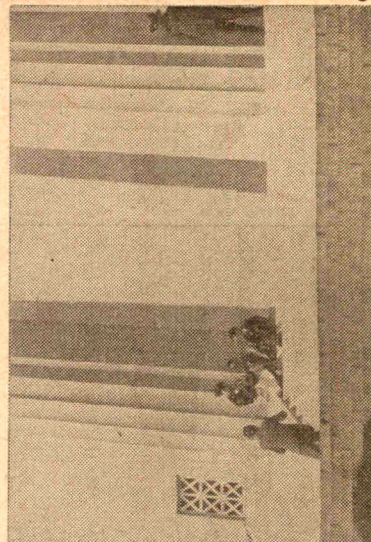




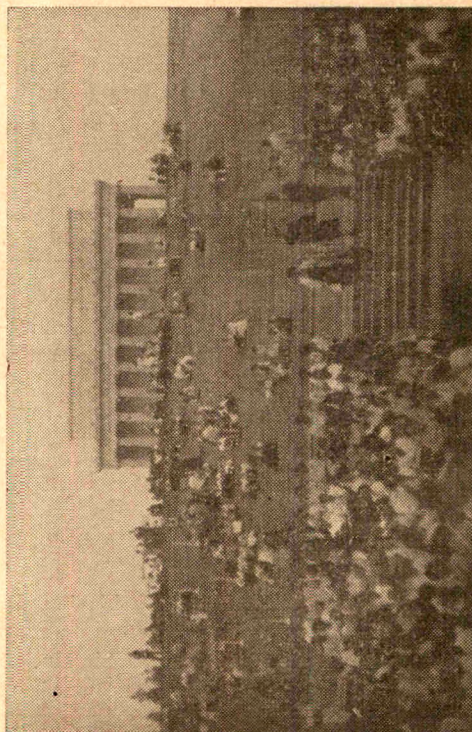
The park area around the Lincoln Memorial is used by people who enjoy their leisure time here



Rush hour traffic speeds past Lincoln Memorial as people drive home from work



Two million citizens a year walk up these marble steps to visit the Lincoln Memorial



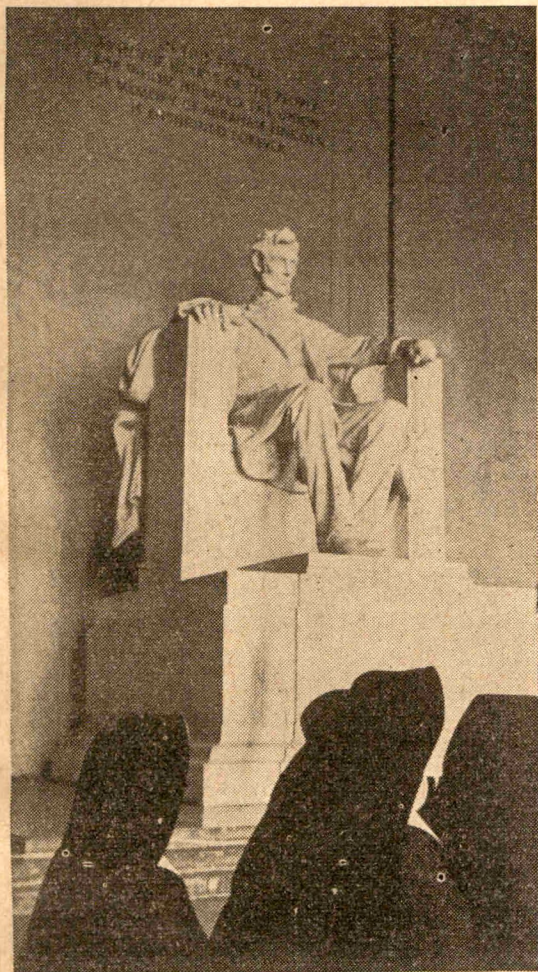
Music lovers of the Washington area gather at dusk to hear a symphony concert in the amphitheatre near the Lincoln Memorial



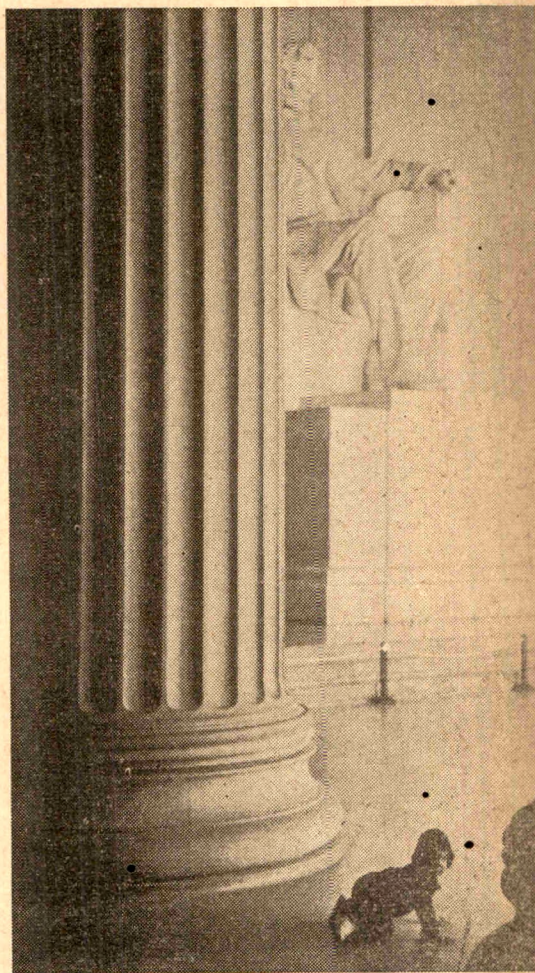
portrays the President seated in an armchair. When he was first commissioned to do the statue, the sculptor wondered how he was going to portray his Lincoln. The statue should have the calm of the best Greeks, and still retain the intense personality of the subject. The sculptor concluded that the site definitely demanded a seated figure, largely because of the many vertical notes of the Memorial's colonnade—a

French, worked together in complete sympathy to bring this dream of a grand memorial to Lincoln to its fruition, there is today beside the Potomac River, one of the noblest memorials in the world and one of the most satisfying.

The unity of the country which Lincoln preserved despite the ordeal of a civil war (1861-1865) has grown stronger in the century just past. This unity found



Nuns visiting Washington, D.C., view the heroic-size statue of the 16th President of the United States (1861-1865)



One of the nation's 169 million citizens enjoys his freedom as his parents and other visitors pay silent tribute to the Memorial

vertical figure would be ineffective because of the repetition. In keeping with a classic building, the curule chair was decided upon, the formal dignified chair of Roman antiquity. The pose in such a chair would bring out the largeness and breadth of Lincoln, and the figure and the chair would become a spacious and integrated whole. It would have, at the same time relaxation and solidity.

Because these two dedicated artists, Bacon and

strength and vigor in newcomers from many parts of the world who sought opportunity, freedom and security and contributed their skills, talents and arts to the economic and cultural growth of the nation.

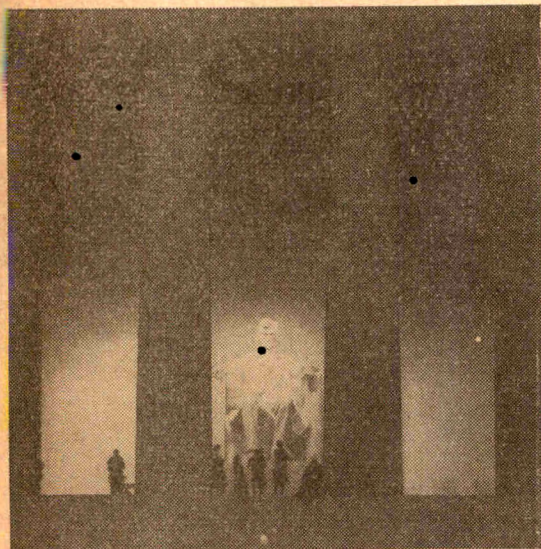
The park area around the Memorial is used by people who set up beach chairs and read their newspapers; by little boys who sail boats and play ball, and by other visitors who just relax on the green lawns. Increased leisure time for the average



American is something Lincoln could see anywhere in the country. The work-week has steadily shrunk while at the same time the average citizen's productivity has vastly increased and his living standard improved.



The satisfaction derived from hard work was something Lincoln could share with his fellow-Americans



The unity of the country which Lincoln preserved despite the ordeal of a civil war (1861-1865) has grown stronger in the country

The satisfaction derived from hard work was something Lincoln could share with his fellow Americans. Before he became a lawyer, Congressman and President he had worked as a store clerk, postmaster and a laborer, splitting rails with an axe to earn his living.

Rush-hour traffic speeds past Lincoln Memorial (top of photo) and across the highway bridge spanning the Potomac River as people drive home from work. In Lincoln's time most workers lived within walking distance of their place of employment or depended on bicycles or horse-drawn cars for transportation to and from their homes. In the last half-century, the automobile has radically changed their way of life for many Americans. It has become a vehicle of decentralization, enabling countless thousands of city workers to live in suburban areas. Today seven out of ten American families own one or more cars.



The park adjoining the Memorial has been developed into soccer fields and base-ball diamonds for public use

The park adjoining the Memorial has been developed into soccer fields and baseball diamonds for public use. Such playing fields are typical of thousands of sports areas maintained by communities throughout the country for the enjoyment of their citizens.

One of the nation's 169 million citizens enjoys his freedom as his parent and other visitors to the Memorial pay silent tribute to one of their country's great



Presidents, Abraham Lincoln. When he was Chief Executive, the nation's population totalled 31 million.

Music lovers of the Washington area gather at dusk to hear a symphony concert in the amphitheatre near the Lincoln Memorial. Americans not only like to listen to serious music at concerts and on phonograph records, radio and television, but take an active part in orchestral and choral groups, as testified by the growing number of amateur musical organizations throughout the country.

Two million citizens a year walk up these marble steps to visit the Lincoln Memorial. Many of them are parents bringing their children there to acquaint them more fully with Lincoln's role in American history and with the heritage of freedom and equality which he preserved and passed on to them.

Looking east from the Memorial, Lincoln's statue faces the tall white shaft of the Washington Monument, and directly behind it, the domed National Capitol, seat of the United States Congress. Around these landmarks is the City of Washington whose popu-

lation has grown more than ten-fold since Lincoln's inauguration as President in 1860—from 75,000 to 850,000.

Nuns visiting Washington, D.C., view the heroic-size statue of the sixteenth United States President during their tour of the Lincoln Memorial. They represent one of the 254 religious bodies in the United States, which comprise a total church membership of more than 100 million citizens.

The Lincoln Memorial faces Arlington National Cemetery, across the Potomac River. Here are the graves of men who died in their country's wars, whose sacrifice is measured in these words from Lincoln's eloquent address on the battlefield at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on November 19, 1863: "... we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."—*USIS*.

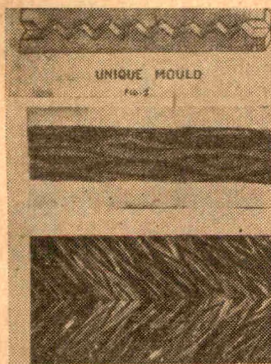
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## RE-UTILISATION OF TIMBER WASTES

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE, B.A., I.O.S.

'Waste not Want not' was probably coined to caution individuals against misuse of money or an useful article. But, with the progress of knowledge and industry, this has now assumed a national character. Every industry uses various kinds of raw materials the total quantity of which are not always usable. This

Forest Research Institute in Dehra Dun that such wastes can very well be the basic material for an expanding cottage industry. It may read strange, but man's ingenuity brings in new and newer things which bear no resemblance with their original condition.



Various patterns. Top—Unique mould.  
Middle and Bottom—Floral designs



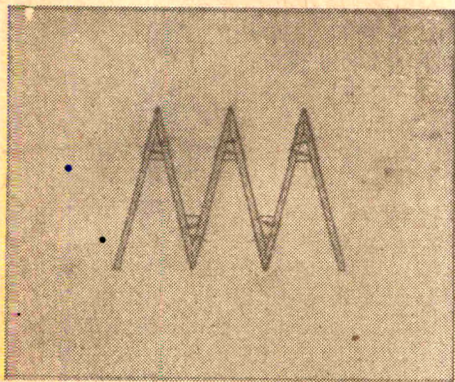
Various patterns and floral designs

residual quantity, treated as waste in most cases, are sold at nominal price or thrown out as scrap. If you walk round a plywood factory or a saw mill, you will notice that truck-loads of timber or plywood chips and sawdust go out of these concerns for use mostly as fuels only. But, it has been established by the

The Forest Research Institute was celebrating its golden jubilee during early December, 1956. A very well-laid exhibition attracted a large crowd and they must have been impressed about the importance of the forest and forestry in relation to the very existence of human civilisation. They must have also seen how with planning and co-operation these can add to our national prosperity.



As you walk across towards the tea-stall for refreshment, you will pass by a counter behind which one Mr. Rao will catch your attention. With a smiling face he greets you, "Could I be of any help to you?" You can hardly finish your positive reply when he places before you a teapoy the legs and



Wooden spring

tops of which are decorated with floral designs. He then adds, "Do you know that this is all made of waste timber or its like?" When you tell him in reply that it is all very well to produce a demonstration toy without any reference to its cost of production, commercial applicability or a consumer market, and that similar type of beautiful things such as 'Floral veneers', 'Inlay-work', 'Fret-work', and 'Marketry-work' are well-known techniques and have been practised since time immemorial, Mr. Rao is not at all perplexed and tells you with a smiling face that it is a unique thing.

This new technique has been named by the F.R.I. as Diaper work. Mr. Rao who is told to be the man behind this development, demonstrates before you with a few pieces of waste timber how these can be moulded into a block which can again be sawn into planks of various floral designs. These designs display many colours which can be obtained from natural timber colours or dyed. The greatest advantage of this technique is that you do not have to depend on timber wastes only, but similar articles can be produced from thin bamboo pieces; even match boxes can be utilised for this purpose. Imagine how many hundreds of thousands of empty match boxes are thrown away daily. If the general public is made aware of the commercial re-utilisation of these match boxes, they will take care to preserve these like old newspapers, empty bottles and tins. Not only will these fetch a few coins to the house-wives, but the dealers in old articles will also find a new source of earning, in addition to the general benefit of the consumer world.

The above range of raw materials required for the Diaper work are no doubt cheap and easily procurable; equally simple are the appliances and the processing materials. The tools needed most are carpenters' tools, wooden moulds easy to make, a press capable of giving pressure of two hundred pounds per square inch, peeling lathes, veneer clippers, and drivers which are common in plywood and timber industries. There is nothing uncommon or difficult about any one of these. Processing materials, viz., cold setting glues, ordinary colouring materials, common washing soda and the like should present no difficulty in procurement or price. Manufacturing process is so straightforward that not a very high degree of skill is demanded of the workman engaged in bulk production.

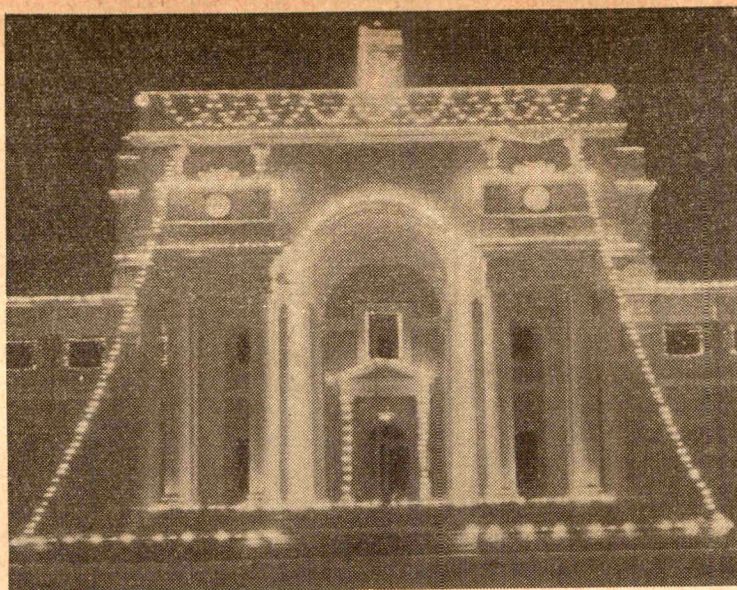


Mould, block and a finished teapoy

It is, therefore, obvious that large-scale re-utilisation of timber wastes is within the reach of an ordinary man of industrious habit, not to speak of a co-operative effort. With care and proper planning it can throw open possibilities of attracting foreign markets which is very much needed on the background of our decision to cut down imports. We must tap all sources to keep our sterling balances intact.

Greater stress has been placed on the Forest and its products during our Second Five-Year Plan. It, therefore, means that the timber industry will be growing bigger and bigger everyday. The wastes will





Illuminated main gate, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun

also pile up in its trail. It, therefore, stands to reason that every possible encouragement should be given for the establishment of cottage industry for re-utilisation of wastes not only for the sake of doing it but also to fill up the gap of common man's desire to have something which is beyond his reach today.

It can not only decorate your tables, picture frames and other furniture, but can also find a large market in the radio industry for making cabinets. In addition, you can utilise the technique to make boards from moulded sawdust. These can not only replace the common cardboards, but are going to be more cheap and durable. Suitcases made out of these boards are claimed by the F.R.I. to be stronger and lasting. Beautiful floor mattings which are beyond the common man's reach today can be made at a very cheap rate. Besides, dolls and toys of any size and shape can be made like clay models having the additional advantage of becoming almost unbreakable.

By an almost similar process you can make wooden springs which can very well replace steel ones for many purposes. Lead pencils are required in millions, but how many of these are made in India! But, strangely enough both raw materials and manufacturing processes are within our reach. Even individual families can produce these. I am using a lead pencil presented by Mr. Rao made by his wife. Although it is not of a very high order but that does not mean that we are incapable of producing them. What is needed is courage to undertake a job, proper planning and research. We are bound to progress. But unless we can make a beginning, however modest it may be, nothing of any consequence is coming within

our folds. During a hundred and fifty years of foreign rule we have been accustomed to see and use high-grade articles imported from that great industrial country which is working in our inner minds not to accept articles which are not of the highest order. We have to get out of this thinking and make a beginning; because sincere efforts, research and experience alone can lead us to the path of perfection.

Our aim of establishing a socialistic pattern of society means that a balance must be made between heavy and small-scale industries in such a manner that one does not interfere with the activities of the other. On the other hand, one must supplement the efforts of the other. We have to travel a long way to reach that goal; but, during the second Plan period when most of our schemes have been projected towards heavy industries, it is needless to mention that all care should be taken to build up cottage industries for meeting consumer demands of ordinary articles.

The technique developed in the F.R.I. is our national property. Unless the fruits of their research are brought out of the four walls of that Institute and placed in the hands of our countrymen, it is useless to have such Institutes and spend money after these.

Details of the Diaper Technique have been published in the *Indian Forester* in the following papers:

"Diaper and Marqueiri": By K. R. Rao, M.E. (*Indian Forester*, April, 1954, Vol. 80, No. 4).

"F.R.I. Diaper": By K. R. Rao, M.E. (*Indian Forester*, July, 1954, Vol. 80, No. 7).

"F.R.I. Bamboo Diaper": By K. R. Rao, M.E. (*Indian Forester*, May, 1956, Vol. 82, No. 6).

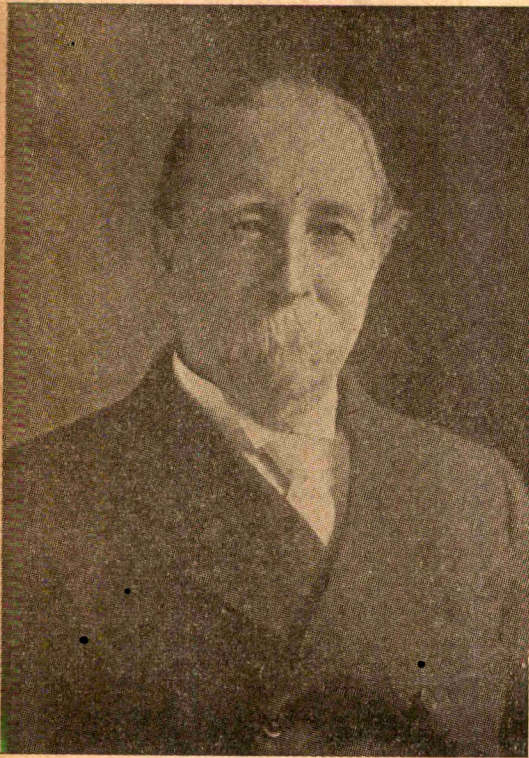


## ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME

### Father of the Indian National Congress

By B. NATESAN

No fair appraisal of the Freedom movement in India could be complete without taking into account the part played by British pioneers in the early days of the Indian National Congress. I would go so far as to say that even those like Lytton and Curzon who were accused of anti-national intentions and activities were unconsciously forwarding the cause of political freedom in India. But there were those who definitely engaged themselves in the national cause and devoted their energies whole-heartedly to the cause of political liberty in this country.



*Yours sincerely*  
*A. O. Hume*

I write to invite attention to the significant lead given by one of the British pioneers of our national movement. He was no other than Allan Octavian Hume, founder of the Indian National Congress which has played so great a part in our struggle for freedom. Indeed, a galaxy of Englishmen—among whom I in-

clude Irish and Scotsmen—from Burke and Bright to Cripps and Pethick Lawrence—have given a clear lead to foster the spirit of unrest, of progress and of freedom which ultimately led to the Sovereign Republic of India. And in this struggle, if William Digby led the British front with his friends in Parliament and the press, it was Allan Octavian Hume, founder of the Congress, who directed the Home front in India. It was the seed sown by Hume that in time grew to be the Congress later shaped and moulded by successive generations of patriots like Dadabhai, Gokhale, Tilak and Gandhi. And if Gandhi is by all accord the "Father of the Nation" Hume is by right the "Father of the Congress" with which Gandhi wrought the freedom of India.

Let it be confessed at once that various other factors also helped the final denouement. With the general spirit of unrest which swept through the country, coupled with the spirit of revolt all over Asia following the great World War, and Britishers' intuitive sense of compromise in difficult situations, there was a climate of opinion all over the world favouring the cause of national liberty. Britain, at the crisis, played the game, and India stood to gain her right to liberty. It is easy to see that, if instead of England, we had any other power to deal with, it would have been well-nigh impossible. And Gandhi's non-cooperation itself would have gone the way of so many other frustrated rebellions in history. Why, can you imagine that we could have achieved our freedom if Churchill or Eden were at the head of affairs in England? Thanks to the statesmanship of Prime Minister Attlee—and the time was ripe for settlement by negotiation—he was able to do what Campbell-Bannerman did for South Africa and Lord Durham for Canada. Any way, whatever the limitations of the system of Government in either country, the statesmanship of Attlee rose to the occasion and wrought the miracle of a peace with honour and victory without rancour.

#### A GREAT INHERITANCE

Now to return to Hume and the Congress. Born in 1829, the son of a sturdy and fearless Scottish patriot and reformer Joseph Hume, he inherited not only a political connection with India but his uncompromising faith in democracy. Joseph Hume obtained an appointment in the Service of the East India Company in 1796 and rose to the position of interpreter, between the Company and the Native powers. That was a time (as Sir William Wedderburn noted in his admirable biography of the son) when pro-consuls became Nabobs. As in the case of so



many others in the service of the Company Hume made a large fortune, 'shaking the pagoda tree.' In 1808, he returned home to buy one of the seats which the Borough of Weymouth then possessed. Hume drew his cheque, Sir William says dryly, "and the Free and Independent Electors of Weymouth undertook to return him to two Parliaments." He was duly elected at a bye-election in January, 1812, but a dissolution occurring in the following November, the vendors of the seat declined to fulfil their bargain, whereupon he brought an action for breach of contract and recovered half his money. The transaction was perfectly deliberate and in those days deemed quite straight-forward and businesslike.

In 1818, he regained seat in Parliament and represented Montrose Burghs, Middlesex, Kilkenney and again Montrose. A radical of the deepest dye he was for 30 years the recognised leader of the Radical group in Parliament. He was specially devoted to financial reforms and it was at his suggestion that "Retrenchment" was inserted between 'Peace' and 'Reform' in the later creed of the liberal party. But while thus pursuing British reforms he was equally vigilant on Indian Affairs. It is on record that in the second reading of Sir Charles Wood's Bill of 1853 to amend the Government of India Act he spoke for several hours championing the cause of the Indian people.

#### HUME AND THE MUTINY

Destined for the Civil Service, Allan Octavian Hume, like most youngmen at the beginning of their career, had a spell of uncertain vocations at start, now as midshipman in the frigate *Vanguard* and then as a medico in the University College Hospital. In 1849, at the age of 20 he joined the Bengal Civil Service and soon after found himself in a responsible position at Etawah in the then North-West Frontier Province. Hume began at the foot of the ladder and worked his way up by experience at different levels and coming in contact with all classes of people. At 26 he was chief officer in Etawah, both civil and military. But before he was 9 years in India the Sepoy Mutiny or what we should now call the first war of independence, broke out. "The storm burst on the 10th May, 1857, when the third Cavalry mutined at Meerut, 250 miles to north and reached Etawah in a couple of days."

The situation called for high public spirit and resolute courage. More than once, during this disturbed period, Hume was confronted with a difficult situation which he met with calm courage. Reporting on an action fought 21 miles from Etawah on February 7, 1858, the Commander-in-Chief drew the special notice of Lord Canning to "the extremely gallant conduct of Hume and Capt. Alexander." Fighting and courage apart, the way he set out to

conciliate the malcontents and brought peace, was striking and exemplary.

"No district in the N.-W.P. has, I believe, been more completely restored to order," writes the young 'Magistrate.' "None in which so few severe punishments have been inflicted. Mercy and forbearance have, I think I may justly say, characterised my administration . . . We had before us then a great glorious problem to solve, viz., how to restore peace and order and the authority of Government with the least possible amount of human suffering."



The venerable veterans—Hume, Dadabhai and Wedderburn

#### CIVIL ADMINISTRATION AND REFORMS

But it was on the civil side of the administration that he stamped the impress of his personality in a way that we are compelled to think he was far in advance of his age. His youth coincided with the reform movement of Cobden and Bright. He was an officer of the Company and the Crown for over thirty years from 1849, as chief of a district, then as head of a central department, and later as Secretary to Government of India. While carrying out the duties and responsibilities of his office with scrupulous regard to efficiency he never hesitated to express his personal views, faithfully and unflinchingly however much they



might be at variance with official views. Official records which Sir William quotes in his life of Hume so amply, show that he was pioneer of social progress in respect of popular education, police reform, liquor traffic, vernacular press and juvenile reformatories.

Thus he stood up for a definite separation of Police and Judicial functions—an administrative reform which has been on the Congress agenda for decades. On the question of Abkari, which he called the Wages of Sin, he was even more definite and categorical. As an administrator, though his record of collections showed an amount far in excess of collections of previous ten years, he did not hesitate to express in strongest terms his abhorrence of such sources of revenue. Gandhi himself could not have urged Prohibition in stronger or more moving terms.

#### ABKARI: THE WAGES OF SIN

"Financially speaking," he writes, "bearing in mind the almost unexampled distress in the face of which this settlement was concluded, it may be regarded as eminently successful. To me the consistent growth of Abkari revenue is a source of great regret. Year after year, but alas in vain, I protest against the present iniquitous system which first produced and now supports a large class whose sole interest is to seduce their fellows with drunkenness and its necessary concomitants, debauchery and crime. Unfortunately these tempters are too successful and year by year the number of drunkards and the demand for drugs and spirituous liquors increases. Those only who like myself take great pains to ascertain what goes on amongst the native community, really have any conception of the frightful extent to which drunkenness has increased during the last 20 years. Moreover, while we debauch our subjects we do not even pecuniarily derive any profit from their ruin. Of this revenue, the wages of sin, it may, in the old adage be truly said, that ill-gotten wealth never thrives, and for every rupee additional that Abkari yields two at least are lost to the public by crime and spent by the Government in suppressing it."

#### EDUCATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT

Hume was of those who believed in the efficiency of popular education, and in his capacity as District Magistrate he took steps to afford increased facilities for elementary education. There were only 32 schools on 1st April, 1856, in area under his jurisdiction but on the 1st January, 1857, there were 181 schools with 5,186 students. Hume was so zealous in advancing the cause of free education that the authorities tried to curb him. A Government circular, dated 28th January, 1859, raised objections to the employment of native agency for promotion of education and the Collector was warned not to attempt to persuade the people to

send children to school or to contribute to maintenance. Against these orders Hume, in a letter dated 30th March, 1859, respectfully but earnestly protested, pointing out that the Court of Directors had directed officers "to aid with all the influence of their high position the extension of education." He concluded the letter with a personal note of deep pathos:

"I cannot but found hopes of indulgence on the intense interest that I feel in the subject and the ceaseless attention I have paid it. For years past it has been the dream of my leisure moments, the object of my hopes, and although I have achieved little as yet, I cannot, as I watch the feeble beginnings, avoid recalling an alpine scene of happy memories, when I saw the first drops of a joyous stream trickling through the avalanche that had so long embraced it, and feeling confidence from that augury that day by day and month by month that rill, gathering strength and size, will work out its resistless way, and at last dissipating the whole chilling mass of ignorance, the accumulations of ages, pass on unobstructed to fertilize and enrich an empire. History, alas, presents us with too many examples of the long-obstructed stream hushing aside at last roughly its opposing barriers and sweeping onwards an ungovernable flood heaping up desolation where it should have scattered flowers. Let it be ours to smooth and not impede its path, ours not by cold explanations of policy but by enlisting the sympathies and affections of the people in the cause to watch and direct its progress and turn it, under God's blessing to good and good alone."

#### "OLD MAN'S HOPE"

Hume's interest in the teeming millions of India's peasantry are borne out by the agricultural reforms which he urged in 1879. Intimately acquainted with the life of the Indian village, and a witness of successive farmers with all their horrors, he was familiar with the sorrows of the impoverished peasantry, and in a pamphlet entitled *Old Man's Hope* he made an impassioned appeal to the comfortable classes in England:

"Ah men! well-fed and happy! Do you at all realize the dull misery of these countless myriads? From their births to their deaths how many rays of sunshine, think you, chequer their gloom-shrouded paths? Toil, toil, toil; hunger, hunger, hunger; sickness, suffering, sorrow: these, alas, are the keynotes of their short and sad existence."

Now these extracts quoted by Sir William Wedderburn in his biography of Allan Octavian Hume, from authentic contemporary records, will have shown the reader how very much the Govern-



ment of the day would have been "upset by the candid views openly and fearlessly expressed by one in the service of the Crown. Though they doubtless showed the better way they were in distinct opposition to official views which always prevail in the administration. Officialdom had its revenge and he was thrown out of office."

#### EXPELLED FROM SERVICE

His career was cut short, "because he could not bend his principles to please the Simla clique." On June 17, 1879, his expulsion from the office of Secretary to Government was explained away as 'based on considerations of what was most desirable in the interests of public services.' What a platitude? How vague the language of officialdom? And there was no charge of dereliction of duty or incapacity. No wonder *The Statesman* of the day commented: "Undoubtedly he has been treated shamefully and cruelly." The *Englishman* (now incorporated with *The Statesman*) was even more outright in its condemnation and gave out the true cause:

"The plea advanced in justification of this act was that Mr. Hume habitually in his minutes on measures coming up for discussion in his department expressed his views with great freedom, without regard to what might be the wishes and intentions of his superiors. If he believed a particular policy wrong he opposed it without hesitation, using plain language for the expression of his views."

#### PUBLIC WORK

Out of office Hume was free to devote himself exclusively and more completely to the cause he had at heart. And he did not spare himself in the service of the nation. He realised that no progress in any field was possible until the people obtained self-government by sharing political power and responsibility with those in authority.

The problem, according to him, was, 'Can the continuance of British rule be made conformable to the best interests of the Indian people?' The time was propitious. Towards the close of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty, when the country was torn by dissensions arising from government's mishandling of the situation, and the temper of the people seemed frayed, Hume became convinced that some definite action was called for to counteract the growing unrest, and the advent of a new Viceroy—Lord Ripon—seemed to open a new chapter of hope and goodwill.

"He did not blame the men; the fault was in the system. There existed no recognized channel of communication between the rulers and the ruled;

no constitutional means of keeping the official administrators informed regarding the conditions, the feelings and grievances of the people. There was a great gulf between the foreign bureaucracy, self-centred on the heights of Simla and the millions painfully toiling in the plains below."\*

How to bridge this gulf? That was the main task before him. Public opinion in India should be created and organised and made effective. And this could be done only by mobilising the educated classes and preparing them to focus their attention on matters of public interest with a view to press their case with freedom and strength born of union. Unified action was necessary and the lead must be given by those who, by their education and public interest, were competent to do so.

#### IN THE SERVICE OF THE NATION

Accordingly, the first movement towards a definite scheme is to be found in a circular letter dated 1st March, 1883, addressed to "the graduates of the Calcutta University." The letter opens with these wise and kindly words:

"Constituting as you do, a large body of the most highly educated Indians, you should, in the natural order of things, constitute also the most important source of all mental, moral, social and political progress in India. Whether in the individual or the nation all vital progress must spring from within and it is to you, her most cultured and enlightened minds, her most favoured sons, that your country must look for initiative. In vain many aliens, like myself, love India and her children, as well as the most loving of them; in vain may they, for her and their good, give time and trouble, money and thought; in vain may they struggle and sacrifice; they may assist with advice and suggestions; they may place their experience, abilities and knowledge at the disposal of the workers but they lack the essential of nationality, and the real work must ever be done by the people of the country themselves. . . ."

What is needed is union, organization, and well-defined line of action; and to secure these an association is required, armed and organized with unusual care having for its object to promote the mental, moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India.

"Our little army must be *sui generis* in discipline and equipment, and the question simply is how many of you will prove to possess, in addition to your high scholastic attainments, the unselfish-

\* Sir William Wedderburn.



ness, moral courage, self-control, and active spirit of benevolence essential in all who should enlist."

And then he proposed that a commencement should be made with a body of fifty Founders to be the mustard seed of future growth:

"If only fifty men, good and true, can be found to join as founders, the thing can be established and the further development will be comparatively easy."

—and this long letter ends with an appeal which both stirs and stings:

"As I said before, you are the salt of the land, and if amongst even you, the elite, fifty men cannot be found with sufficient power of self-sacrifice, sufficient pride in their country, sufficient genuine and unselfish heartfelt patriotism to take the initiative, and if needs be, devote the rest of their lives to the cause—then there is no hope for India. Her sons must and will remain mere humble and helpless instruments in the hands of foreign rulers, for 'they would be free, *themselves* must strike the blow.' And if even the leaders of thought are all either such poor creatures, or so selfishly wedded to personal concerns, that they dare not or will not strike a blow for their country's sake, then justly and rightly are they kept down, and trampled on, for they deserve nothing better. Every nation secures precisely as good a government as it merits. If you, the picked men, the most highly educated of the nation, cannot, scorning personal care and selfish objects, make a resolute struggle to secure greater freedom for yourself and your country, a more impartial administration, a larger share in the management of your own affairs, then we your friends are wrong and our adversaries right . . ."

He had a right to speak in this strain—a right which he won by ceaseless activity and devotion to the cause he had undertaken. And none mistook him.

#### THE FIRST CONGRESS

The Indian National Union was thus formed. Hume became the General Secretary and went to England to canvas support in the Press and Parliament. The first Conference of the Indian National Union was fixed to be held at Poona from 25th to 30th December, 1885 but owing to cholera, the venue changed to Bombay, which had the honour of holding the first session of the Indian National Congress on the morning of 27th December with W. C. Bonnerjee as President. And at this first session Mr. K. T. Telang, Sir (then Mr.) S. Subramania Iyer and Dadabhai Naoroji moved and seconded and supported the resolutions for reform and expansion of the Supreme and Local Legislative Councils. It was fortunate that the first General Secretary

of the Congress was an Englishman and a retired member of the Civil Service. For, as Gokhale said at a memorial meeting in London on August 6, 1912:

"No Indian could have started the Indian National Congress apart from the fact that any one putting his hand out to such a gigantic task had need to have Mr. Hume's commanding and magnetic personality. Even if an Indian had possessed such a personality and had come forward to start such a movement embracing all India, the officials in India would not have allowed the movement to come into existence. If the founder of the Congress had not been a great Englishman and a distinguished ex-official, such was the official distrust of political agitation in those days that the authorities would have at once found some way or other to suppress the movement. He alone knew how to charm, how to strengthen and how to teach. He is gone but not without teaching us that though we have no wings to soar we have feet to scale and climb, more and more by slow degrees, the cloudy summits of our times."

#### THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The great work of his life was thus accomplished—the national movement of which the Indian National Congress organization was 'only one outcome of the labours of a body of cultured men, mostly Indians who bound themselves together to labour silently for the good of India.'

The fundamental objects of the Congress were three-fold:

First, the fusion into one national whole of all different elements that constitute the population of India; second, the gradual regeneration along all lives, spiritual, moral, social and political of the nation thus evolved; and third, the consolidation of the union between England and India, by securing the modification of such of its conditions as may be unjust or injurious.

Hume became the Founder of the I.N.C. and the foundations were well and truly laid.

"Trust in the Indian people was the cornerstone; and the trust was well justified," said Sir William Wedderburn. "During the first 25 weary and anxious years the Congress stood trim; often under storm and stress; the floods came, and the winds blew upon the house, but it fell not, because it was founded upon a rock and the labour was not in vain."

Writing to Hume in 1907, Lord Morley said:

"I know well your historic place in the evolution of Indian policy."

The reforms followed in 1909 and before he passed away the founder of the Congress was privileged to see the first fruits of his labours.

At a public meeting in Westminster, London, Gokhale referred to Hume as

"One of those men who appeared from time to time in this world under dispensation of a wise province, to help forward the onward march of humanity, whose voice sounded like a trumpet call, waking up whole peoples from the slumber of ages; and whose title to an honoured place in the history of nations no man can possibly challenge. Mr.

Hume loved India passionately . . . and he loved justice and freedom also passionately. Thus it was that, after the close of a distinguished official career, he came forward to devote his great gifts to guiding India along the path of justice, freedom and self-respect. He came forward to teach Indians to walk nobly along the path of nationalhood."

This is precisely the language that Gokhale ~~was~~ went to use in speaking of his venerated *gurus* Ran. de and Dadabhai with whom he classed Allan Octavian Hume, the Father of the Indian National Congress

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## KASHMIR IN SECURITY COUNCIL

By SUKHBIR CHOUDHARY

THE resolutions on Kashmir situation recently tabled by Western Powers in the U.N. Security Council are tainted with partisanship and thus Kashmir has been made an issue of cold war. In this game of power politics the sponsoring Powers have not hesitated in flagrantly violating the accepted rules of procedure. This not only raises serious doubts about the intentions of those Powers but has also jeopardized whatever chances the Security Council might have had of securing an agreed settlement. And what appears to be more important is that the basic issues have not been judged in their right perspective. But, on the other hand, the sponsoring delegates have harped all the time on the extraneous matters which have no relevance whatsoever to these basic facts. By conniving at Pakistan's naked aggression, the members of the Security Council, with one or two exceptions, have displayed that they were more anxious to oblige an ally than do justice to the right cause of Kashmiri people. Today the people of Kashmir are engaged in peaceful economic construction to fight misery and poverty, the legacy of Dogra rule, and what the Security Council proposes to do is to disturb this tranquillity and make Kashmir again the centre of a storm which will envelope the whole sub-continent.

Although after the Four-Power resolution being vetoed by the Soviet Union, the proposal of sending a U.N. force to Kashmir has been dropped from the latest resolution, the possibility of reviving this idea in the near future has not been completely ruled out. But it must be kept in view that the despatch of U.N. troops would make the situation fraught with grave danger unless both the parties in dispute agree to show an intention of welcoming them in the disputed

territory. And India has not only outrightly rejected but strongly protested against the implementation of such an idea which seems to her quite fantastic and misconceived. India strongly feels that the despatch of a U.N. force to any part of Kashmir State is not only against international law and the U.N. Charter but it will also be a flagrant breach and violation of her territorial sovereignty. During the last 300 years India had a bitter taste of the presence of foreign feet on her soil. India does not need Sherlock Holmes to remind her how the foreign imperialists manufactured Mirzaffars who on the battle-field of Plassey and elsewhere, in secret conspiracy with the foreign agencies, had betrayed their kinsmen and laid the doors wide open for foreign misrule. It is very difficult for India to swallow in silence the severe consequences of the policy of *divide et impera* pursued by foreign intriguers. This is what Warren Hastings had revealed before the British Parliament during his trial:

"I won one member (the Nizam) of the Great Indian Confederacy from it by an act of seasonable restitution; with another (Moodaji Bhonsle) I maintained a secret intercourse, and converted him into a friend; a third (Madhoji Scindia) I drew off by diversion and negotiation, and employed him as the instrument of peace."

India cannot easily put in the cold storage the words documented in Marquess of Wellesley's letter to Lady Anne Bannard dated 2nd October, 1800. Wellesley had then written:

"I will heap kingdoms upon kingdoms, victory upon victory, revenue upon revenue; I will accu-

accumulate glory and wealth and power, until the ambition and avarice of even my masters shall cry mercy."

India's memory of the subsidiary system is still fresh in her mind. It was through this system that a large number of princely States were brought under British subjugation, where the sovereign was allowed to remain on his throne, with all the trappings of royalty, but substantial power was transferred from him to the person of a political agent. It were these misdeeds, miseries and misfortunes that hurt the sentiments of Indian patriots who, for nearly 200 years, from Clive to Wellesley, from Wellesley to Dalhousie, to Canning, to Curzon, to Linlithgow, have struggled hard to liberate their sacred soil from the forcible occupation of foreign feet. Secondly, it must be remembered that ever since the proposal of despatching a U.N. force to Egypt was implemented, Pakistan had been picking the idea as a means of breaking the Kashmir deadlock in her own favour. The idea originated in Pakistan but U.K. avidly got hold of it as an effective means of getting her own back on India for the Suez dispute. But in drawing this analogy between Egypt and Kashmir it is forgotten that the two cases are not exactly the same. In Egypt, the U.N. force was despatched to prevent aggression. In Kashmir, it is to be sent not to eject the aggressor but to eject a country's troops from portions of her own territory. If the Egyptian analogy is to be at all applied then the U.N. force should be sent to Kashmir to eject Pakistan troops which invaded Kashmir nine years ago and are still illegally occupying some portions of the State.

Much criticism has been levelled against India recently in the Western conservative press that India has gone back upon her so often-repeated promises and international obligations of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir. But to say so is to put the cart before the horse. India is still ready to uphold its international obligations. But it is necessary that all the prerequisites are fulfilled before the status of the territory is decided upon by plebiscite. It must be known that the U.N.C.I.P. had accepted as a fact the sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir State and did not go into a discussion of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the act of accession. So the Commission made it clear in its interview with the Prime Minister of India on 17th August, 1948, that it was 'not competent to recognize the sovereignty of any authority over the evacuated areas other than that of the Jammu and Kashmir Government.' Furthermore, the Commission never accepted the legality of the presence of Pakistani troops in Kashmir. That is why, on the one hand, in its resolution of 13th August, 1948, the Commission

ordered the total withdrawal of the Pakistani forces, but, on the other hand, requested India to withdraw only part of its forces, making special provisions to maintain domestic and internal order. It is also clear that when Mr. Nehru asked Mr. Lozano, the then Chairman of U.N.C.I.P. and the representative of Colombia, whether the acceptance of a plebiscite would entail a conditional commitment and whether there would be any commitment if Parts I and II of August 13 resolution were not implemented, Mr. Lozano replied very definitely "No". He said that it was understood that there would be no commitment on India's side if Parts I and II (total withdrawal of Pakistani forces) of the August resolution were not implemented. This condition has not yet been fulfilled by Pakistan. So, India cannot be blamed for keeping its promise. India also feels that ever since the joining of the Baghdad and SEATO Pacts by Pakistan and U.S.-Pak arms agreement, a qualitative change has taken place in the Kashmir situation which has become overshadowed by the issue of cold war and power politics. Still another important point which also made the issue of plebiscite more complicated, has been revealed by the delegate of Colombia in the Security Council debates. Instead of appointing a neutral person as plebiscite administrator some members of U.N.C.I.P. 'had specific instructions to press for the nomination of a U.S. citizen.' India's suggestion in favour of the President of the International Red Cross Society was not considered appropriate. Apparently this might have been a diplomatic victory for U.S.A. but it washed out everything that the Commission had managed to do. India also feels that when the question of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir is raised it is looked upon from the eyes of double standards by some Western Powers due to the involvement of their self-interest. This feeling of India was represented in a very amicable way by the delegate of Colombia when speaking on the Four-Power Resolution in the Security Council on 17th February, 1957 he said:

"In this debate, as well as in many others, we have found ourselves in a very invidious position . . . For example, we have not wanted to accept the idea that the desire to hold a plebiscite in a country necessarily obliges that country to carry out a plebiscite and to discuss sovereignty. The Greeks wanted a plebiscite to be held in Cyprus, but we refused. Some Arab countries wanted to apply the principle of self-determination in North Africa, but we did not agree. I think the representative of Australia will be in agreement with me when I say that at first in New Guinea a plebiscite was considered differently. This being



so, it is rather difficult for us to hold one idea in the Security Council, and then go to the Political Committee and hold a different idea, and then in another debate to hold a third idea. Our way of thinking must be consistent . . . . If we ask him (Mr. Nehru) to be logical and consistent, then we must likewise be logical and consistent."

Furthermore, India's contention is that a plebiscite is not an academic abstraction; its value can be judged only with reference to the time, place and circumstances in which it is to be applied. Due to the change of circumstances the whole idea of plebiscite has become out-of-date like the proposals of the Potsdam Conference. The pioneers of this Conference had unanimously decided in 1945 in favour of 'the complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production.' But what is happening today? It is quite the reverse. Both the Western and the Eastern wings of Germany have not only been remilitarized from tooth to nail, they have also been incorporated as indispensable allies in the respective NATO's of both the Power-blocs to hoodwink one another.

To understand the problem of plebiscite it is essential to keep in view that it is something more than an Indo-Pakistan problem, it is linked with the

fate of the people of Kashmir. Their feelings have been expressed in a clear and definite way by their various political organizations, all of whom—from extremely radical to extremely communal—have overwhelmingly decided in favour of becoming a member of the united family of India. The Working Committee of the National Conference, the leading political party, at a recently held meeting on 8th February 1957, unanimously passed a resolution which stated that the State of Kashmir had acceded to India as far back as October 1947, and that decision had now been fully supported and confirmed by the State Constituent Assembly. It also said:

"The people of Jammu and Kashmir have exercised their right of self-determination through the duly-elected Constituent Assembly . . . . Any attempt by the Security Council to re-open the issue in this respect will be fraught with grave consequences for peace, stability and well-being of the State and block its way towards democracy and social progress."

Even a large number of foreign dignitaries who recently visited Kashmir, have endorsed this decision of the people. A spokesman of the West German Press delegation declared recently that the delegation "met people and heard their point of view about all matters. Everyone we met stood behind the State's accession to India."

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## INDUSTRIAL WELFARE

By AMULYADHAN DEB, B.E.

ADVANCEMENT of human knowledge, in various spheres, has found one avenue in "Human Relations." The term 'human relations' may be treated as a recent innovation, if not invention, considering that relation amongst human beings (*Homo sapiens*) existed from primitive days. Even now-a-days, there are human beings, who hunt human heads, there are human beings who sacrifice their lives for saving human lives. Relation, derived from the word 'relative,' is therefore not absolute. Relation depends on circumstances, environments, necessities, etc. Human relation at home demands that the son should obey parents, the younger brother should obey the elder brother. We should be friendly with neighbours, if circumstances need we may quarrel with neighbours. The neighbour may quarrel with me or love me according to the circumstances. From home to neighbour, neighbour to village, village

to town and so on, till we consider world citizens. My relation with a Russian or a Pakistani will be according to international needs of my country. Human relation is, therefore, relative.

Advancement of science, of psychology, and expansion of industry, necessitated research in human relations, to reduce the relativity of relations to standard codes of practice in standard circumstances. This would help human beings (*Homo sapiens*) to behave in the standard manner in standard circumstances, without leaving things to one's absolute wisdom, to behave as he likes. Attempts are, therefore, being made to standardise human relations in society, human relations in industry (Industrial relations), human relations in public enterprises (Public relations), human relations by administrations (Personnel management), etc.

The caption of this article being Industrial Welfare,

we would now go into details regarding human relations in industry. While the industrially-advanced countries, soaked with materialism, are looking for relief in pursuit of spiritual ideals, India where spiritual outlook is innate, is fast changing over to materialism. Industrial era, in India, has just begun with the Five-Year Plans. India is also wedded to the socialistic pattern of society. It, therefore, behoves to study our relations in the realm of industry, which is planned to grow faster than ever.

Establishment of an industry implies the investment of capital, whether by the State or the individual or combination of both. This capital is of two kinds—fixed capital and variable capital, or in other words man and machine. Men are masters of machines. Even automates have human hands behind it. Whereas it is possible to effect whatever changes are necessary in machinery and plant, it is not possible to change the nature of the man behind the machinery—his nature is fixed. It is a static factor. In return of wages, an employee's time is bought, his physical presence is made obligatory, and a quantum of muscular motions per hour extracted. It is, however, not possible to buy enthusiasm, initiative, loyalty, devotion of heart, mind and soul. These things have to be earned by the employer and not bought.

Motive, means and actions—these are the three guiding principles in industry. Motive to produce, means to aid production and action for actual output. Motive is a theoretical factor. Means to aid production is the practical aspect. Handling and maintenance of men is as much important—if not more—than the handling and maintenance of machinery and plant, to aid production. Co-ordination of human element and mechanical element must be maintained, if an industry is to thrive. The progress of the industry depends on this co-ordination. If a business organisation is recognised as a co-operative effort, then only we get work, we get wealth, we get happiness. In a socialistic pattern of society, an industry is not only an economic organisation but also a social organisation. It consists not merely of employees, but also their needs, their problems. Problems of education of their children, recreation, sickness insurance, medical attendance. The objective in a socialistic pattern of society is not merely to have good workers but good citizens too. When an employee feels that he is being looked after in and out of works, he gives his best—whether in war or in peace.

The study of mind of the people at work is called occupational or industrial psychology. With new methods of measuring and experiments, scientists are finding out more about the variety of man. The motivation and perceptual factors behind the behaviour of a man, are analysed and each problem is tackled in its own context.

An employer expects the best out of his employee. It is well worth, analysing why an employee works and how the best can be extracted out of him.

An employee works mainly for fear of unemployment—a fear which is fear of starvation. An employee works, not because he dislikes to be alone, or he enjoys the irksome factors of a day, which begins with a hooter and ends with a hooter, with all the undesirable things, in between. The urge to work usefully, is, however, implanted in every human being. If an employee is not working usefully, certainly there are some maladjustments, which have been described as symptoms of unremedied pathological conditions in organisations. The primary duty of the employer is to make a rational analysis of conditions and forces which give rise to such maladjustment, and evolve means to remove these maladjustments. Experience shows that some of the fundamental objectives of the employees are:

(i) A growing consciousness to be treated on equal footings. A rankle that he is not being paid fairly for his ability.

(ii) A higher standard of living and economic security. A decent condition of living—physical, mental and moral.

(iii) Opportunity to utilise his ability for further advancement. An appreciation of the environments and prospects. (Joint consultation.)

(iv) The desire to expect impartiality from the administration and recognition of his individuality from his friends, his community and his fellow-workers (Citizenship right).

(v) The growing need for sympathetic assistance in solving personal problems (Welfare).

Attempts should be made, to meet these points and some of the methods are enumerated below:

(i) Fair pay—not pay alone—must be ensured. It must be the rate of pay that recognises the plus factors of certain employees over the average, not only in one industry, but in comparable industries in the same area. It is, therefore, necessary for administration through its personnel department to be conversant with the market value of workers.

(ii) Economic security: Stability of employment, Provident Institution, Pension, Sick Benefits are factors which contribute towards economic security.

(iii) Opportunity: As life is drudgery without prospect, avenue of advancement, facilities to make oneself suitable (by training) for furthering his prospect, should be made well-known to employees.

(iv) Recognition: Merit awards, service awards, public praise are media through which the service of a meritorious worker is recognised. A slap on the back, for a good job, cannot however have any the less value, to goad an employee for better output. The employees should be made to feel that they belong

to the administration. Administration should take the employees into confidence and in return earn their confidence, their heart, their soul and not merely the body. The employees should be made to take pride in their job. The administration should act as trustee for all employees.

A worker, who is disgruntled, or who suffers from frustration never makes a good citizen, least of all, a good employee. So, for the sake of work, for the sake of society, adequate care should be taken by the Personnel department while recruiting staff. The background has to be considered in such a way that an employee does not become a misfit—in spite of qualification. The physical environment in which the worker will be operating, is liable to be different from that in which he has been accustomed so long. So also the social environments. How far a new recruit would be able to accommodate himself in the new surroundings, has to be envisaged by the Personnel department before recruitment. Human element needs more attention than mechanical element, if efficiency is to be ensured. "Recruitment is a positive function of which the negative counterpart or complement is selection." In other words, recruitment seeks to make available a supply of potential workers; selection taps that supply and chooses from it those who are likely to succeed on the job. In older days recruitment or induction to recruitment was in the hands of the in-charge of the gang. He used to recruit from his relations, from his village-men, over whom he had influence. This influence he could safely exert as much inside works, as outside. It was more or less clan rule. The advantage of the system was that there was no labour trouble, so long as the in-charge of the gang is satisfied. His own men could not go against him. With advancement of political outlook, people became conscious of equality of rights, equality of opportunities. So, the recruitment had to be thrown open to public, replacing the old system of clan-rule. In some countries, recruitment is done with the aid of trade union organisations. Only those who are registered with the affiliated trade union, are employed. The advantages of this system is that workers have one view, and one channel of representation. Heterogeneous views are obviated and there will not be any black sheep in the rank. Now-a-days, Employment Exchanges are also functioning to find employment for the unemployed. It would be more practical, if organised trade unions undertake this work and offer, to the respective organisation to which the trade union is affiliated, new recruits. The responsibility for making the workers fit in the groove, will then partly lie with the trade unions and there may be better discipline than now. Welfare activities win the heart of the people. Amongst workers the following may be reckoned, to constitute welfare work:

(1) *Housing*: Since we have passed nomadic stage long ago, everyone of us wants a home, and workers are no exception. A good house ushers happiness in the family, wards off disease. On the other hand, insanitary living in hovels and slums, always keeps the worker and his family in worries. That is more like death than life and the worker's mind is not at work, though his body is. So, whenever a factory is planned the question of housing for workers should not be missed and side by side with the factory the colony should grow with a house for every worker. Schools, hospitals, water-supply, electricity, community centres, temples, clubs, markets, transport, amusement centres, canteens, play-grounds, dairy, etc., should not be lost sight of. Capital investment, required for these is well paid for a better outturn from satisfied and happy workers. There is less absenteeism, less sickness and better labour turnover.

(ii) *Education-Training*: Workers, who show up signs of promise, should be given higher training either in night school or by sending on deputation for specialised training. For augmenting the overall knowledge of workers, films and visual aids may be taken recourse to.

(iii) *Publicity*: The Administration should have its own bulletin. The condition of business and the progress of outturn should feature in this bulletin, so that the workers know the outcome of their efforts. News of workers at home or society should also be published but putting promising workers in the picture redoubles his energy to show up more.

(iv) *Health*: The Administration should look after the health of workers. Industrial health, Industrial hygiene, Industrial catering, Industrial accident-prevention-safety (Safety First has become degraded inferring a negative policy), Colour's aid, etc., are issues which if tackled fully, and not superficially, contribute towards welfare of the men in industry.

(v) *Profit-sharing*: Profit-sharing and treating the workers as co-partners, obviously inspires the workers to give their best to the management.

In spite of all these efforts on the part of the management, unrest amongst workers exists and is manifested in various ways. While attempts by the management for welfare activities, for better human relations, are based on psychology and duty, morbid psychology works up the disgruntled elements to foment troubles. No amount of regimentation has succeeded to put down these troubles.

"Strikes are merely symptoms of more fundamental maladjustments, injustices and economic disturbances, treating symptoms rarely reaches the roots of the disease. Strikes will be necessary both as a direct defence against injustice and oppression and as the only way of compelling the public to



give its attention to hidden evils in industrial relations."

That there is another aspect, will be proved from the following illustrative instances, which occurred in practice.

(i) In one factory, unskilled labour were to be recruited. The officer notified the local employment exchange to send candidates for interview. He decided that fifty per cent of the vacancies would be filled up by candidates from employment exchange and fifty per cent from sons and relations of employees. The employees, on seeing the notification, demonstrated before the office that no candidate should be entertained from employment exchange. Such an attitude is against the constitution itself, which provides equal opportunities and equal rights for all citizens.

(ii) In one organisation, a worker was found guilty of some offence and he was transferred to another station on same pay and prospects but the staff stopped work on the ground that his transfer orders should be revoked and that the officer who has issued the orders, should be transferred instead.

(iii) In one factory, working of over-time was stopped, on financial grounds. The workers slowed down the outturn with the object of piling up arrear work and consequent sanction for overtime to clear the arrear.

(iv) In factories, where the workers clock their cards, apart from factories, where attendance is recorded by timekeepers, a worker takes half an hour in the morning to get ready for work. He stops work, half-an-hour before the buzz for washing hands. In between, he takes off for tea. In the afternoon period also he takes half-an-hour to start and finish, half-an-hour earlier. Thus on an average fifty per cent of his time is unproductive time.

(v) In an organisation, a theft of materials from

stores occurred. It was suspected that the men who handled the materials might be involved or at least they might give some clue. When the case was reported to police, they arrested the men who were handling the materials for interrogation. Other members of the staff demonstrated that they would not leave works unless the arrested men were released. The officers were not allowed to go out unless they arranged for the release of the man arrested by the police.

(vi) In one place, an officer while in his round noticed an employee, who is to wear uniform, that he has not put on the uniform. On being questioned he put up the excuse that full uniform has not been supplied. The officer asked him to put on whatever uniform has been supplied. Next day, the employee came, stark-naked—he has obeyed the officer in toto, he could not put on any uniform excepting the *pugree*, as no other uniform has been supplied. The officer suspended him, and all the employees of the station numbering a thousand went on a sympathetic strike for the stark-naked man. I do not know whether to call it a melodrama or maladjustment.

These instances show clearly that in spite of all attempts for industrial welfare and laying down of fundamental principles for guidance, the morbid psychology is at work and out-manoeuvres the administration. Any amount of tact on the part of the personnel officer will be of no avail when the other side is divested of discipline, when the other side is determined to create disturbance on some plea or other. So, the cult of discipline amongst employees is the *sine qua non* for any welfare activities or for that matter, for running the factory. To inculcate human relation, man should understand each other and adhere to self-discipline, whether an employer or an employee. Without discipline nothing can grow—human relations or industry.



# THE MILITARY SYSTEM OF ANCIENT INDIA

By LT. COL. B. N. MAJUMDAR, M.S.C.

## INTRODUCTION

It is surprising but true that India had a military system as old as its civilisation. War was not new to our history and as such its trace will be found even in our Vedic literature and Epics.

Even though most of our military institutions and systems are shrouded in mystery, yet we can glean some semblance of a connected chronicle from the Epics, and various other Vedic and Puranic literature. The discoveries made in North India reveal that there were proper organization and armaments to combat aggression. Thus the art of warfare and its connected problems were not unknown in Indian history and we have ample historical data to justify that it was a well-established science and well-practised too.

Generally speaking any connected and consistent history of warfare dates from the advent of the Magadhan Empire. Before this date most of the material is gleaned from the Indian Epics. In this article I will confine my study to the Vedic and Puranic periods only.

## THE VEDIC AGE

By consensus of opinion of historians the Vedic Age extends from 1500 to 600 BC and saw the arrival and expansion of the Aryan tribes in India. Initially the Aryans did not come with the intention to wage war but gradually, as they settled down, they were forced to fight so that the original inhabitants of India could not engulf them and also because of their will to survive in the alien land. Thus the necessity to wage war for survival gave impetus to this aspect of the growth and development of the art of warfare in ancient India.

Mr. Dikshitar says:

"They came into effective conflict with the people alien to their culture who would not suffer the intrusion of foreigners into their ancient and simple habitat. It was natural that they rose in revolt and the intruding tribes were forced to defend themselves against the armed attacks of the natives of the soil. Thus the defence complex fired their psychological impulses, and the result was the outbreak of hostilities."

In addition to the impetus that this gave to the art of warfare, there were other profound political effects on the country. Mr. Will Durant points out:

"It is war that makes the chiefs, the king and the State . . . it stimulated invention, made weapons that became useful tools and arts of war that became arts of peace . . . War dissolved primitive communism and anarchism . . . introduced organization and discipline . . . property was the mother, war was the father of a State."

It will be surprising to note how these remarks hold true even to this modern age.

As the Aryans gradually increased their sway over the country and consolidated their gains achieved by wars, there came into prominence a distinct class in society who specialised in the art of waging war and thus took upon themselves the responsibility for defending the country against the aggressors. Thus we find the birth of the Kshatriya caste.

"They were the defenders of society from external aggression and internal disorder. The military organization of the State was entrusted to them. They were in charge of political arrangements. It was not the intention of Hindu Dharma to make the entire body of the people act as a general militia," says one historian.

Generally speaking, the concept of state was civil and not military. Hence there was no standing army during the Vedic Age and in times of war local levies came out to help with their own arms under their own chiefs. The army consisted of infantry and chariot-warriors but cavalry and elephants came in at a much later period.

The principal weapon of the period was the bow and arrow, but other weapons such as lances, swords, axes and sling-stones were not in frequently used during war.

It seems that the Indian foot soldier did not materially contribute to the outcome of any battle as much as a car-warrior did, because they fell in thousands and the soldier mounted on chariot was much respected.

A battle in the Vedic Age was more or less fought in this way:

"When an enemy approaches the Aryan boundaries, earthworks were thrown up, a barricade of timbers created, impassable bulworks of bronze made and sacrifices offered to the gods to secure their help. Then the army advances with loud battle songs with the sound of drums and trumpets, with waving banners against the opposite force. The warrior stands at the left of the charioteer, and the foot soldiers fight in close lines,

village beside village, tribe beside tribe. The warrior is protected by a brazen coat of mail and helmet; with the bow he hurls against the enemy feathered arrows with poisoned tips of horn or metal or presses on with spear and axe, lance and sling. And when the enemy is conquered, loud rejoicing resounds with the beat of drums; the sacred fire is kindled to offer to the gods a song and sacrifice of thanksgiving, and then to divide the spoil."

With all this the art of war in the Vedic Age struck awe in the minds of the original inhabitants and the Aryans speedily expanded their hold in India.

#### THE EPIC AND THE PURANIC AGE

Most of the information on the military system of this age is gleaned from legends, epic poetry, myths, literature and songs. The origin of the Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, may be mystical but when critically studied against the background of that age, they give an insight into the various political, cultural and military systems of the period. It is on the foundations then laid in these Epics that we find the Hindu military system remodelling itself in the subsequent ages till the invasion of India by the Muslims.

During the Epic age the army consisted of chariots, horses, elephants, infantry, ships, spies, local guards and porters (burden-carriers). The emphasis was rather on the mounted soldier, i.e., the charioteer who seems to take decisive part in the battles.

The army was well-trained on a well-organized system. The many-sided training imparted to the army were these:

"They are experts in climbing, riding, quick march, beating, entering and coming (out of a fort), and their skill in fighting on elephants, in horsemanship and charioteering has been tested."

Soldiers were also well looked after and they were paid fixed and regular salaries without any delay or non-payment. Extra allowance like marching allowance and provisions for the family of the soldiers were also made.

Various types of defensive and offensive weapons were being used. These were more or less the same as were used in the Vedic Age with the addition of the shield, body-armour, shooting gloves, metal helmet and neck protector. Rockets were also in use against fortified places.

Tactics and strategy were combined with political methods and thus warfare in this age was waged in all the fields—political and military. Apart from

individual combats of the earlier era we find the advent of various types of battle formations like circular, compact, crooked and open formations which had their advantages and disadvantages.

Forts and fortifications were also constructed and these were ingeniously guarded by moats and provisioned to withstand long sieges. Large and important cities were also similarly guarded against the invaders. The Santiparva of the Mahabharata says:

"The king with his ministers and the army thoroughly loyal to him should reside in that city which is defended by a citadel, which contains an abundant stock of rice and weapons, which is protected with imperishable walls and a trench, which teems with elephants and steeds and cars, which is inhabited by men possessed of learning and versed in mechanical arts, where provisions of every kind have been stored."

Various morale-building factors as war-music, banners and other welfare activities were very much in use in this age. It was well realised that a soldier's fighting ability could be sustained if he was well looked after, well paid and arrangements made for his family in case of his death in the battle-field.

Laws of war were not unknown. Adequate code existed for the following:

"Abstention from striking down an unarmed, unequalled and fallen foe, on showing quarter, giving punishment for indiscipline and betrayal, and reward for meritorious service, on humane treatment of prisoners of war, on non-seizure of enemy property on certain conditions and distinction between combatants and non-combatants, etc., etc."

When compared with the ancient Greeks and Romans, Indian laws of war were much more humane and civilised.

#### CONCLUSION

It will be seen that India, the cradle of world's oldest civilisation, was never backward in the art of warfare. It may be that we were much more advanced in this science than many others of this age.

Like all systems, warfare also passed through various evolutionary processes starting from the Vedic age, and in the Epic and Puranic age it made distinct improvement over the past. Subsequent improvements were to be seen during the Magadhan age when India achieved its political, cultural and military unification.

History will no doubt reveal that we had a glorious past in the military field and history has an uncanny habit of repeating itself.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

THE WISDOM OF INDIA: By Lin Yutang.  
Jaico Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 591. Price  
Rs. 3.75.

In this work the author, who is an eminent and patriotic Chinese intellectual, has sought to emphasise the supreme worth of India's distinctive culture by means of well-selected quotations from some of the principal source-books. In his Introduction, the author, after complaining of the average reader's ignorance of India's possession "as rich a culture, as creative an imagination and wit and humour as any China has to offer" as well as India's role as "China's teacher in religion and imaginative literature and the world's teacher in trigonometry, quadratic equations, grammar, phonetics, Arabian Nights, animal fables, chess as well as in philosophy," and after lamenting the passing away in the middle of the last century of "the great age of Western appreciation of Indian literature and philosophy," concludes with his firm conviction of the necessity alike in India's own interest and in the interest of humanity, of educating the younger generation towards a correct view of her civilisation. The work consists of four sections with the captions *Indian Piety*, *Indian Imagination*, *Indian Humour* and *Buddhism*, selections in each case (as well as the versions from which they are quoted) being chosen with sound judgment. The first section consists of selections from the *Rig-vedic* hymns and the *Upanishads* in the versions of E.J. Thomas and Max Muller (the former including the well-known hymn to the Unknown God besides hymns to Indra, Varuna and Ushas, and the latter including the famous discourses of Uddalaka to his son Svetaketu and of Yama to Nachiketas in the *Chhandogya* and *Katha* Upanishads respectively), and the whole of the *Bhagavad-gita* and Patanjali's *Yogasutras* in the versions of Swami Paramananda and Swami Vivekananda respectively by the author's deliberate preference. The second section consists wholly of extracts from the *Ramayana* in the racy version of Romesh Dutt (the author apologising for the inevitable omission of selections from the *Mahabharata* as well as the great Sanskrit dramas of *Sakuntala* and *Mrichchhakatika*), while the third section comprises selections from the two famous books of fables, the *Panchatantra* and the *Suka-saptati* in the versions of Arthur W. Ryder and the Rev. B. Hale Wortham respectively. The fourth section has a more miscellaneous character as it comprises pieces not only from the *Hinayana* literature, but also what the author thinks to be the relatively neglected but really more valuable literature of *Mahayana* Buddhism. It comprises besides the whole of the *Dhammapada* (in Max Muller's version), three specimens of

Buddha's sermons and five Buddhist parables and legends (after translations of Chinese versions of the original Sanskrit texts as well as those of Pali texts by modern scholars). It also consists of what the author thinks to be "the best poetical and the best philosophical approaches to Mahayana Buddhism" respectively, viz., Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* (based upon Asvaghosha's *Buddhacharita*) and the *Surangama Sutra* (after the Chinese version of the original Sanskrit text by the Indian monk Paramartha). It concludes with a section on *Nirvana* from the last portion of the authoritative *Lankavatara Sutra*. The value of this work is greatly enhanced by the author's learned and suggestive Prefaces from which we quote below one specimen. Posing the question why the Hindus have rejected Buddhism as the Jews have rejected Christianity, the author finds the chief explanation in the fact that "Judaism in Judaea and Brahmanism in India had older, truer and deeper roots in their racial consciousness" and that "Buddhism and Christianity had those universal idealistic qualities which detracted from their national character." The above brief sketch will suffice to show how well the author, a highly educated and sympathetic foreigner, has succeeded in his attempt to present within his compass a true and fairly complete picture of India's rich and diversified culture for the benefit of the general reader.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SPEECHES OF MAULANA AZAD (1947-1955):  
*Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi-8. Pp. viii + 331. Price Rs. 6-8.*

This book contains fifty-four speeches, delivered by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as Minister of Education, Indian Union. The speeches indicate in a way the educational policy of the Union since the attainment of Independence. Education of the youth is the primary duty of a State, and it is but natural that the leaders will bestow much attention on this problem. Mahatma Gandhi, though engaged primarily in various political struggles, never failed to harp on this primary need. He propounded the principle of basic education, which, if adopted and carried out, would cure many ills of society inasmuch as it would satisfy the needs of the common man. The educational policy of the Government should be remodelled and re-oriented on this line. Their efforts in this behalf require to be tested from this point, too.

The speeches of the Union Minister for Education, couched in the book under review, provide an index on the endeavours of the Union Government with regard to various aspects of Indian education, primary, secondary, higher as also technical, technological and scientific. But the scheme of Gandhian

education has found the least expression in these endeavours. Basic education appears to be most neglected. Educated unemployment has become a serious problem even today. The system of education, as it obtains today, should be thoroughly revolutionised; and this is necessary not only for tackling the present problem of unemployment, but also for strengthening the foundation of the new-born Free State of India. The speeches deal with many matters, which come within the purview of education. Social education, art-education, art-exhibition, libraries, Unesco affairs, archaeology, historical records, academy of dance, drama and music, foundation of the Visva-Bharati University, etc., constitute the subject-matter of several speeches. The last speech—"1857: The Need for a New Evaluation," delivered on January 25, 1955, is very significant. The centenary of the "Sepoy Revolt" falls on 10th May, 1957. And the Government of India in the Ministry of Education are issuing an authentic volume on it in its different aspects on this date. This revolt has been called by some patriot-writers as the first national war of Indian Independence. Maulana Azad has discussed this view briefly in the speech above referred to. It is refreshing to find that he does not subscribe to the current view unreservedly and has left the matter for thorough discussion and conclusion, this way or that, in the hands of its historian.

After going through the speeches, however, the question lurks in the mind of the reader: "What is being done for the common man in Free India with regard to his true education?" The question demands immediate answer from the people at the helm of public affairs.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

**MOKSHAPRADIPAM** (The Light to Salvation): By Swami Brahmananda Sivayogi. Published by the Siddhashramam, P.O. Alatur, S. Malabar. Pp. 41. Price Rs. 5.

Swami Brahmananda Sivayogi was a very great scholar-saint of North Malabar. Born on the 26th of August, 1852, he attained Mahasamadhi on 10th September, 1929, at a ripe old age. He became well-versed in the Sanskrit scriptures with extraordinary rapidity and critical acumen and produced sixteen excellent religious works in the local vernacular of Malayalam. Some of them have already been translated into Hindi, Tamil and English and widely circulated. He is the founder of several hermitages where Rajayoga is studied and practised. His *Sivayogarahasya* appeared in 1893, *Brahmakirtam* in 1898, *Erividyaposhini* in 1899, *Siddhanubhuti* in 1903 and the book under review in 1905.

The present English version of *Mokshapradeepam* is rendered from the original eighth edition printed in 1930 in Malayalam. *Mokshapradeepam* or the Lamp of Liberation appears to be the *magnum opus* of this learned sage and has also been done into Hindi by his disciple Nishkalananda. This Malayalam masterpiece of religious literature, characterised by lucid style and clear exposition, has appealed immensely to the masses of Malabar and created a liberal movement. It points out the limitations of Sankhya and other systems and brings into bold relief the superiority of Rajayoga as the Supreme science of practical religion. Conventionalism and caste distinction and social superstitions are condemned and a sincere practice of true religion is commended.

The excellence of this work is its strong foundation on scriptural authority. It is a rare feature of religious works of our times. The author being a master of scriptural lore, his book is enriched with apt quotations from Yoga-Vasistha, Adhyatma Ramayana, Devi-Bhagavata and other popular scriptures. Out of thirty-eight chapters into which this book is divided, only the first twelve are devoted to the refutation of rituals and the like, whereas the remaining twenty-six to the exposition of Rajayoga. Sanskrit learning and spiritual illumination have jointly made the exposition so clear, convincing and original that it reads like a classic and impresses like a scripture.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**THE THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL WAR AND PEACE:** By G. C. Banerji, B.E., C.E. 62-C, Braunfield Row, Calcutta-27. Published by Prabartak Publishers, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 154. Price Rs. 4-8.

This is an exhaustive treatment of a difficult topic of which there has been no solution for the world so far as war and peace are concerned. The learned author has dealt with Science, Philosophy, Economics and History with reference to the laws of creation and the records of history and has marshalled relevant facts skilfully and convincingly. The valuable work does credit to the author's scholarship, because he tells his readers how war can be eliminated and peace on earth established. The last two chapters 'Theory of Involution' and 'The Hypothesis of Peace' are a fine exposition of a burning topic of the day. We recommend the book to the reading public.

NARENDRA DEV

**MODERN ESSAYS:** By Jyotishwarup Saxena. Published by the Chaitanya Publishing House, Allahabad. Pp. 459. Price Rs. 5-8.

The book under notice presents a number of essays on topics pertaining to Science, Literature, Education, History, Politics and Economics. They are meant for students sitting for competitive and University examinations. The book is divided into five sections. The essays, in general, reflect a sense of frustration and a consequent pessimism. The glimpses of men and matter presented in the essays are mostly obtained from a pessimist's wisdom and as such they lack robust optimism. The author has tried "to catch the style and the idiom of a generation which has no hopes but only fears." If the basic assumption of the author is granted, then certainly he deserves a word of praise for how and what he has said in his book under review. But we join issue with the author in pointing out that signs *prima facie* should not be put much premium upon and a discerning mind should have delved deeper. The note of frustration of being 'disinherited and disenchanted' should not have been struck when mammoth experiments in reconstruction are undertaken all the world over. The fear and frustration of the age is psychological and they bear the potency of self-transcendence in them. This great truth the author has overlooked.

Apart from this defect in the view-point, the essays are good. The author is well-informed and the reader will profit by the wealth of information in the essays. The style seems to be a bit affected. It does not flow with ease and grace all through. Moreover, the comparisons offered are not always very happy. They also lack the insight of a probing mind.

which makes evaluation balanced and rational. To quote an example: "An emotionally starved scientist is as dangerous to culture as an artist deficient in Reason" (p. 63). We do not see how the above remark could stand the test of logical scrutiny. Artists, worth the name, are certainly not deficient in Reason. Art is not something irrational and as such the artist has his own logic implicitly flowing through all his words and deeds. But we must remember that an artist is not a logician in the academic sense and as such we should not expect a Picasso talking like a Hobhouse or a Dewey. The author's preference for mouthful phrases has impaired much of his logical thinking. The essays, apart from such defects, are quite useful. They may be helpful to students for whom they are intended.

The publishers deserve a word of praise for bringing out such a handy and useful volume reasonably priced and nicely got-up.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

**AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATION IN INDIA,** Vol. I: *Regulation of Money Lending (Revised Edition)*, 1956. Issued by Economic and Statistical Adviser, Ministry of Food and Agriculture. Pp. 217. Price Rs. 5.

In the volume under review almost all the Central and Provincial or State Acts on Money Lending have been collected; and a very valuable introduction showing the social and economic background for which legislation was needed, the history and main provisions of the legislation and how the money-lending legislation has been administered and how far the object of the legislation has been achieved has been given. Not the least valuable portions of the introduction are the suggestions for improvement and the section on the future of money-lenders. We wish the introduction were more elaborate. The value of the volume has been enhanced by an index. Our only regret is that the Rules framed under the various Acts have not been given to make the volume a self-contained hand-book on the subject.

J. M. DATTA

**THE SUBSTANCE OF A DREAM:** *Translated from the original by F. W. Bain.* Jaico Publishing House, 35, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-12. Price Re. 1-3.

The book was first published by Messrs. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London in 1919. It now comes to the general reader in a new decent get-up at a cheap price.

"The real crime of a woman is not so much a crime as a defect; she is weak, as all sages know . . . ; it is her strength and half her charm that she cannot stand alone like a creeper." This impression is readily gathered from the character of Tarawali. The story, romantic and fanciful, reads more or less like an old Sanskrit legend.

**SOMADEVA'S VETALA-PANCHA-VIMSATI** (from *Katha-sarit-sagara*): *Translated by C. H. Tawney.* Jaico Publishing House, 35, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 2.

*Katha-sarit-sagara* (Ocean of the streams of tales) is a famous book of stories of ancient India. These 'Twenty-five tales of a vampire' forms a part of that book. In intellectual, ethical and narrative appeal these tales are of absorbing interest even today. The English rendering is quite satisfactory.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

**INQUILAB:** *By Khwaja Ahmad Abbas.* Jaico Publishing House, Bombay. 1955. Pp. 392. Price Rs. 3.

Mr. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas' canvas in this large, sprawling novel is as wide as the sky. He seeks his colours from the burning pages of the epic saga of India's struggle for freedom and he fills his palette with almost all the now legendary figures who have at one time or another strutted upon the country's political stage roughly between the period of the Jalianwalabag massacre and the rise of the canker of communalism in the Indian political scene. Mr. Abbas' enthusiasm is exuberant as he endeavours to capture something of the rarefied atmosphere of the stirring, inspiring days of the past. The main thread of the story is supported along the way by various characters, some strong, some nebulous or anaemic, and there is also a somewhat long-winded but fatuous romantic leaven. One detects, however, a certain quality of artificiality about Mr. Abbas' work: His characters seem unduly prefabricated and drawn to a set pattern with the result that few, if any, of them is retained in the mind after the book is read and laid down. It is in this context that the publisher's blurb (appearing on the fourth cover of the book) that Mr. Abbas' novel "will bring forth (sic) your eyes dozens of momentous incidents that have long been engulfed by history" can be said to have remained unrealised in a large measure. The book is well-produced and maintains the now well-known Jaico standards.

RA'MESH GHOSHAL

**HOW COMMON PEOPLE THINK:** *By Dr. D. N. Chatterjee.* Published from 3/2, College Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 150. Price Re. 1-8.

The publication contains 92 letters addressed by the writer during 1948 to 1952 to the Prime Minister of India and other officials and to the press on burning topics of the day—most important of which are the refugee problem and the administration's corruption and inefficiency.

A. B. DUTTA

## SANSKRIT

**RAGATATTVAVIBODHA OF SRINIVASA:** *Edited by Vibhukumar S. Desai, B.A.* Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXXVI. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 4.

We have here a critical edition of a 17th-century Sanskrit work on music dealing with *Ragas* and allied matters, e.g., *sruti*, *Jati*, *svara*, *grama*, *murchhana*, *gamaka* and *mela*. The edition is based on a single manuscript of the Oriental Institute of Baroda, which was copied about forty years back from a manuscript belonging to the Palace Library of Bikaner. It seems the copy was not a strictly faithful one and occasional variations noticed here and there have been recorded in the edition. The learned editor has given in the Introduction a critical summary of the contents of the work, specially in the context of more or less contemporary literature of which a brief account is given. We are told that this is the first of six works on music to be published in the Series with the financial help of the Sangeet Natak Akadami, New Delhi. The Akadami deserves to be congratulated on



its project of bringing to light in collaboration with the Oriental Institute, specimens of our heritage of the rich literature of music. We hope important manuscripts preserved in different parts of the country will receive its attention.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

### BENGALI

**CAPTAIN NARENDRANATH JIBAN-KATTA:** *By Dr. Amulyaratan Chakrabarti. Published from 123, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta. Pp. 121. Price Rs. 4.*

Born in 1884 in the district of Tipperah, Capt. Dutta (died 1949) was a unique person in more than one sense. Poverty could not damp his spirit and he prosecuted his studies up to M.B. and graduated in medicine, throughout the entire period struggling—earning while learning. After serving the Government during the First World War, he returned to Calcutta and took up the work of reorganisation of the Bengal Immunity, Ltd., then in moribund condition. Afterwards he organised half a dozen other concerns which at present employ a good number of persons. He was a man of charity and his munificence in founding a college and a school at Srikail, his native village (now in Pakistan), will ever be remembered by his countrymen with gratitude. A bachelor he lived a life of service dedicated to the cause of his country and countrymen, particularly, in the domain of education, scientific research, industry and commerce and village uplift. A study of the life will encourage our youngmen to emulate his noble example.

A. B. DUTTA

### HINDI

**EUROPA:** *By Devesh Chandra Das. Atmaram and Sons, Delhi-6. Pp. 167. Price Rs. 3.*

Some years back the author visited Europe. But unlike most of the travellers abroad, he kept his "heart's-eye" always open, as he went round, with the result that he was able to see something of the soul of that great continent. In doing this he rediscovered also his own soul, incidentally. On his return home he published a book in Bengali, recording his observations and appreciation of the best and most beautiful facets of the spirit and culture of Europe, as these were made manifest to him in the individuals he met and incidents and institutions he "witnessed." The present is a Hindi translation by himself of the Bengali original. Though his Hindi style has left not a little to be desired, his cultured insight has not been impaired in the rendering in the least. Books like *Europa* are, indeed, true peace emissaries between the nations.

**SIDEHARTH:** *By Radhakrishna Chaudhuri. Abhinav Pranthagar, Patna-4. Pp. 243. Price Rs. 3.*

This is a commendable biography of Buddha, based on results of research on his life and faith and order, made by competent scholars at home and abroad. As such, it is more scientific and less sentimental. The Hindi rendering of the *Dhammapada*, referred to in the author's Preface, however, was not found among the Appendices (at least in the review-copy).

G. M.

### GUJARATI

**LOKAMANYA TILAK:** *By Pandurang Ganesh Deshpandey. Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad. July, 1956. Price Rs. 3.*

This is the first biography in Gujarati of Lokamanya. The writer is an alumnus of Gujarat Vidyapith and it has been prepared with great care, and the writer had carefully gone through all the existing literature on the subject. He had given up his studies in response to the Non-co-operation Movement in 1920 and is still a worker in the cause of freedom.

The author has divided the whole story of Tilak's life into nine parts. The first part has taken up the story of his birth and his schooling and also life at Deccan College and friendship with Agarkar; in the second, we find him busy with the *Kesari* and the *Maratha*, the establishment of Fergusson College and his first experience in jail in connection with the Kolhapur episode; in the third, we find his excursion into social field, while in the fourth the beginning of the part he played in the Indian National Congress and so on through the first charge of sedition against him, the new age, the partition of Bengal, the Calcutta Congress, the Home Rule, War Council, the law-suit brought by Chitrol, etc. The divisions have been very good in emphasising rightly several upsets which make up the life of this great man. The book gives in a very practical way the contents of the different treatises which he had written, *Orion* and the *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, and the important books he had written in addition to *Geetarahasya*. The publisher has rightly selected a saying from Tilak in 1908 while on his trial, and has joined to it a saying from Mahatma Gandhi in 1922 where he requested his trying Magistrate to award him the punishment which had been meted out to Tilak with whom Gandhiji had been compared by the trying Judge. This biography of Tilak has the merit of being concise and comprehensive at the same time.

P. R. SEN

**RANG DEVTANE CHARANE:** *By Ratilal Shyamji Trivedi, Published by Gandvi Sahitya Mandir (Bombay Branch). Printed at the Gandvi Printing Press, Surat. 1951. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 189. Price Rs. 3.*

Shri Deshi Natak Samaj, through its theatre, Princess Theatre, Bhangwadi, Bombay, has been staging for the last sixty years, nearly one hundred dramas, and a large number of them have been written by the subject of this biography, a poet and a dramatist, Prabhulal Dayaram Dwivedi. For thirty-five years he has ploughed this field and is now almost sightless but his work continues. As to how he developed this genius, from being an apprentice at the Dooks Workshop at Karachi, gradually but surely, is narrated in this biography, step by step. Surely he is a self-made man and the proof of it is in this book.

**SARASWATI SANGIT SANGRAHA:** *By Shrimati Khorshed T. Mullan. Printed at the Frasho Gard Press, Bombay. 1951. Thick card-board. Pp. 171. Price Rs. 6.*

As a community Parsis are lovers of music, Indian and foreign. Mrs. Mullan is one of them and conducts music classes successfully, her students being girls of her own community. A magnificent coloured picture of

Saraswati, with *vina* and peacock, adorns the opening part of the book and under her inspiration the writer has tried in 20 chapters to facilitate the study, though technical it is, of the different *ragas* and their *tanas*. It is sure to prove useful.

K. M. J.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

*Second Five-Year Plan—Summary, 1956* (in English, Hindi and Bengali): Government of India Planning Commission. Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of I and B, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Pp. 188, 210 and 162 respectively. Price Re. 1 each.

The Report sets out in a summary form the proposals of the Planning Commission of the Government of India for the Second Five-Year Plan. In 32 chapters it has set forth the objectives and methods and techniques of all that the Second Five-Year Plan proposes to achieve during the next five years.

*Five-Year Plan—Progress Report for 1954-55, May 1955*: Compiled by V. T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Government of India. Published by the Manager of Publications, Civil Lines, Delhi. Pp. 235 + lxiii.

*Change in Asia—The Colombo Plan, 1956*: Published by the Colombo Plan Information Unit, Bureau for Technical Co-operation, Colombo. Printed at the Government Press, Ceylon.

This is a continuation of *The Colombo Plan in Pictures, 1955*. Every page is illustrated by photos with brief descriptions of the subjects of the illustrations, printed on art paper and is an attempt to record in concrete terms the new awakening that has taken place and the progress made in the countries of South and South-East Asia, including India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Nepal, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Pp. 71.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Translations of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature in Chinese Previous to the 5th Century C.E.

A. A. G. Bennett writes in *The Maha Bodhi*:

In the present days of comparatively easy access to the literature of one's choice, one is inclined to overlook the fact that, if the Chinese wanted Sanskrit Buddhist texts, either Indians had to take them to China or the Chinese had to go to India to fetch them. The first event was unlikely to occur for a considerable time after the Parinirvana of the Buddha if only for the reason that the texts had to be assembled and written down; the second event depended on the arousing and growth of Chinese interest in Buddhism. Remembering that the Indians were not interested in chronology, further that they were not over-inclined to transmit their scriptures to writing, it is not surprising that, over many troublous centuries, the Chinese translations constitute the only evidence we have at the present day that many of the Sanskrit works ever existed at all.

The region of early Indian contact with China lay in Chinese Turkestan. It is not by any obscure chance that Kucha, Khotan, Karashahr and Kashgar figure as establishments of Chinese military governorships, or that they and Turfan, Tun-huang or Yarkand were names prominent in the discoveries of Sven Hedin, Stein and other noted archaeologists of our own day, for they were situated on the main traffic routes from the borders of China to the Asia Minor coast. At An-si-chow on the north-west boundary of the Kansu province of China, the road to the west divided into two branches, the northern passing through Turfan and Kucha, the southern through Tunhuang, Khotan and Yarkand; they came together again at Kashgar some 1200 miles almost due west of An-si-chow, though the actual routes were, of course, considerably longer. They had borne the trade caravans from time immemorial through a comparatively thriving countryside, in later centuries they brought a succession of Buddhist teachers and pilgrims, after which came from the west into Kashgar a series of invading armies. At last traffic died away as Chinese Turkestan became the almost waterless desert it is today.

Conditions were easier, however, in 217 B.C. when some Indian Sramanas arrived in China. They were thrown into prison for expounding their doctrine and were miraculously liberated by a "Golden Man." It is not claimed that they had any texts with them, but Hsu Kuan, a writer of the Sung dynasty (960-1279 C.E.) quotes in his *Tung Chai Chi* passages to support the fact that Buddhism was known in China before 65 C.E.; there is also this supporting quotation, amongst others, from the *Sui Shu Ching Chi Chih*: "These Buddhist writings had long been circulated far and wide, but disappeared with the advent of the Ch'in dynasty."

This is the dynasty (221-206 B.C.) under which occurred the Burning of the Books referred to in an earlier article.

In 2 B.C. a Buddhist text was brought to China by a Chinese ambassador returning from a mission to Kucha in Chinese Turkestan. There seems to be no suggestion as to what this text might have been or who translated it, but it must have been of considerable interest for when, in 65 C.E., the Emperor Ming Ti dreamed of a "Golden Man," interpreted as the Indian Gautama Buddha, another Chinese mission returning from Khotan brought back two Indian Sramanas, Kasyapa Matanga and Chu Falan, the latter called frequently by his Tibetan name Gobharana, or Bharana. His Indian name is difficult to restore but might be "Dharmaraksha"; the "Chu" prefixed in his Chinese name signifies his Indian origin. The party arrived with a white horse bearing books and images, and the Emperor built for the Sramanas the "White Horse" Monastery in Lo-yang, then the capital of China. Two years later, in 67 C.E., there resulted the compendium *Sutra of Forty-Two Sections* (Nan, 678) the earliest known translation of a Buddhist Sutra into Chinese. It is still extant. Matanga died at Lo-yang shortly after the production, but Chu Falan translated five other works before he, too, died at Lo-yang. They included a *Budhacharita-sutra*, which is sometimes taken to be the *Lalitavistara*, the *Dasabhummiklesaccedika-Sutra*, and many Jatakas. All were lost some time before 730 C.E.

Between 147 and 200 C.E., eight non-Chinese Sramanas worked at Lo-yang, some over a period of many years. They included four from the countries round and about Russian Turkestan and Afghanistan, two from India, two from Tibet. Their works are mentioned in *Nei-tien-lu* and often again in *Khai-uen-lu*, but by 730 the Scripts as well as the Titles of some of them had been lost. A few are still extant and mentioned in Nanjio. The following are the best known of the translators and their works:

Chih Leu-chia-ch'an: 23 works mentioned in *Khai-yuen-lu*, 11 then surviving. Nanjio gives 12, amongst which are: *Dasasahasrika-prajnaparamita* (Non. 5) and the *Longer Sukha-vati-vyuha* (Nan. 25).

An Shi-kao. A prince of the country of An-si who, on the death of his father, gave up his kingdom to his uncle and became a Sramana. *Nei-tien-lu* gives him 176 translations, *Khai-yuen-lu* 95 with only 54 extant, and Nanjio 55. Of the last, 9 are Mahayana sutras, 40 Hinayana sutras, many of the Agama class, and including the *Dharmacakra-pravartana-Sutra* which is not included in the Agamas.

An Huen (Upasaka): Two translations including the *Dvada-sanidana-Sutra* (Non. 1339).

Khan Man-sian: Translated 6 works, of which four, including the *Brahmajala-Sutra*, are lost.

Chu Ta-li: With the preceding translator, rendered *Sutra on the origin of Practice* [of the Bodhi-sattva, (Nan. 664)] This is a life of Sakyamuni in seven chapters. Chapter I deals with "manifesting a strange (phenomenon)." Chapter 2 is on "Bodhi-



sattva's causing his spirit to descend," i.e., coming down from the Tushita heaven to be born in this world. Chap. 7 concerns "subduing the Mara."

At the turn of the century there arrived at Lo-yang an Indian Sramana, possibly Dharmapala but called by the Chinese Shih Than-kwo. He brought with him a Sanskrit text, *Madhyamaityukta-sutra* (Non. 556), from Kapilavastu. With Khan Mansian he translated it in 207 C.E. The work is a life of Sakyamuni, the subject of the first chapter being the turning of the wheel of the Law, and that of the fifteenth the last, the eating of the horse-barley. It is said to be an extract from a full text of the *Dirghagama*.

In the foregoing names of translators, the prefixes Chu, An, Khan, denote that the place of origin of the Sramana was India, Eastern Persia or Parthia, "beyond Tibet," respectively. The prefix "Shih" is used with some names of Indian priests living in China and with Chinese priests. Of the translations of the period 67-220 C.E. *Nei-tien-lu* mentions 359, *Khai-yuen-lu* 292 with only 97 then in existence. Now only 96 remain.

The rest of the third century and the early fourth passed with much the same pattern. There is, as yet, no systematic examination of the Buddhist texts, translators being dependent entirely on whichever of them might turn up. Sramanas from India, Tibet and the Afghanistan region of the western countries continued to arrive in China but of their translators over 160 have been lost including one of the *Mahaparinirvana-Sutra* by An Fa-hein and the oldest translation of the *Lalitavistara*. However, many have survived. Upasaka Kun-min (otherwise Chih Ch'en) came to China from a bordering country and was appointed a professor-tutor to the heir-apparent. Amongst his 49 translations still surviving are: *Rasasahasrika-Prajnaparamita*, *Longer Sakhavati-vyuha*, *Vimalakirtinirdesa*, and the *Brahmajala-Sutra*.

There were also three Sramanas from Central India. Of these Dharmakala, arriving in 222 C.E., perceiving that the priests of China were ignorant in the Vinaya Rules, translated the Pratimoksha of the Mahasangikas; this was the first Vinaya text to be rendered into Chinese and was lost by 730 C.E. In 244 came Vighna and Chu Luh-yen (Sanskrit name unknown) with a text of the Dharmapada. According to *Kao-san-Chuan* (Memoirs of Eminent Priests, compiled, 518 C.E.), the Chinese invited them to translate it, but since their knowledge of the language was not profound the rendering was made in very simple terms and is difficult to follow. The main aim was to retain the meaning of the text. This is the first translation of the *Dharmapada* into Chinese and is called in the Preface: *Dharmapada-gatha*. The version is also known as *Dharma-sangraha sutra*. (Nan. 1365). It is missing in Tibetan.

A very impressive list of translations is due to Chu Fa-hu, one of the many writers who bear the name of "Dharmaraksha." His family was continuously resident in Tun-huang and he was skilled in 36 languages and dialects. He arrived at Lo-yang in 266 where he was the first to translate several sutras of the Vaipulya class. *Nei-tien-lu* gives him 210 works, and *Khai-yuen-lu* 175 with 91 in existence in 730 C.E. Ninety works still survive; they include the *Dasabhumika Sutra*, *Saddharmapundarika*, *Lalitavistara*, and the *Chatur-daraka-samadhi* (a Nirvana

Sutra, Nan. 116). The turn of the century saw a translation of the Dirghagama *Mahaparinirvana-Sutra* by a Chinese Sramana, Po Fa-tsu, and another translation of the *Dharmapada* (Non. 1358) by two Sramanas of unknown origin. About the same time came the *Nagasena-bhikshu-sutra* (Nan. 1358) also by an unknown translator, which seems to be a translation of a text similar to the *Milinda-panha* though the introduction does not correspond exactly to that of the Pali text. A third translation of the *Dharmapada* (Non. 1321), by Chu Fo-nien, a Sramana who had often helped other translators with their work, followed shortly. It is listed under the title "*Avadana-Sutra*."

With the advent of the latter half of the fourth century the type of text translated changes. In the beginning of this century imperial permission had been granted to the Chinese to become monks, and in the course of a few decades there resulted a search for systematised knowledge of the Buddhist Teaching. Another "Dharmaraksha" (Chu Fa-chang) achieved a long list of translations between 381 and 395 many of them still surviving, though they are lesser works, but in 383 there arrived at Ch'ang-an (province of Shen-si, N.-E. China, and at various times the capital in preference to Lo-yang) Gautama Sangha-deva from Kabul who translated the entire *Madhyamagama* (corresponding to the Pali Majjhima Nikaya), with 333 sutras collected, as well as the *Jnanaprasthana-sastra* (Nan. 1273). Dharmarandin Sramana of Tukhara, came to Ch'ang-an in 384, translated the *Ekottaragama* (corresponding to the Pali *Anguttara-Nikaya*) and many other works, and returned to the west seven years later.

In the meantime the Chinese had begun their journeys to India in search of texts. A work by one Shih To-an, who died in 385, told of his travels but the account is now lost. The last year of the century saw the departure for India of Fa-hsien, the first of the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to leave his records.

### Some Trends in Our Parliamentary Democracy

The concluding portion of the article under the above caption by K. V. Rao in *Triveni* is given below:

There is enough evidence to discern the evolution of two broad tendencies: that individual ministers enjoy a great latitude to take decisions over a large field without consulting the full Cabinet, or even the Prime Minister; and that some important decisions are taken by sub-committees of the Cabinet, or groups of ministers, and these decisions may not be brought before the full Cabinet, depending upon the wish of the Prime Minister.

One of the important causes behind them is the dominating personality of Pandit Nehru. Panditji seems to believe in the ancient dictum of administration: 'Choose the most capable lieutenants, and then trust them.' But that is a dictum suitable for the monarchical type of Government, successfully put into practice by Akbar in India. To-day, Governments should not only be 'capable' but also 'responsible.' While the capacity of the Central ministers

is a moot point and a matter of opinion, it can certainly be said that 'responsibility' has been blurred, and many a minister has taken shelter under the protecting wings of the Prime Minister, who had only to get up and say, "I take the full responsibility" to silence all criticism and opposition.

There has been one sharp exception—in the case of Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri. But it is a sad case setting a wrong example. To hold a minister responsible for a conspiracy of Nature and neglect of three minor officials on the spot in a remote part of the country, is neither good administration, nor setting up good tradition. Ministers execute policy, but do not adjust nuts and bolts to railway coaches. Imagine a Railway Minister resigning every time an engine derails, or a Home Minister resigning every time there is an armed dacoity, or a Health Minister resigning every time there is a small-pox epidemic! And if responsibility is accepted at all, then the whole ministry should have resigned but not a mere individual, as our Constitution speaks of collective but not of individual responsibility (Art. 75).

Whatever it might be, there were other cases, where individual resignation or at least severe criticism and censure were indicated, but the ministers escaped lightly and remained in their posts. Broadly, there are two agencies to check these fads and faults of individual ministers in a system such as ours, where collective thinking has gone into thin air. One is the Prime Minister, and the other is the House of the People. The real difficulty with our Prime Minister is that he has got too many irons in the fire to spare time. One lesson that the working of our Constitution has so far given us is that a Prime Minister should not have any portfolio for himself so that he may be available and free both for advising other ministers and scrutinising their work.

The House could have done something, especially because our Constitution gives it full powers to make its own Rules of Procedure. But several factors again have contributed to convert it into an ineffective body. In the first place, everywhere in the world, legislative bodies are becoming mere 'Talkie Houses,' and registering rubber stamps; and our Founding Fathers constitutionalised this defect when they modelled our House on the pattern of the British House of Commons. In the second place, the Congress Party, which has got such an overwhelming majority in the House, is a strong monolithic party working under great discipline. Pandit Nehru has only to look around in the House to silence all opposition from his own followers; and at times, one opposition member confessed to me, even the opposition members are afraid to talk freely when Pandit Nehru puts on a wry face!

A third factor, however, has contributed largely to reduce the efficacy of the House. Innocuous beginnings, which were made in the middle of the thirties in the Provinces, of holding informal meetings of the Legislature Parties for mutual consultations, have now developed them into parallel legislatures which are overshadowing the real Houses. In these meetings, ministers come and explain policies, answer questions, and even the budget is discussed and 'passed.' It is here only, if any, that real discussion can take place, but even here Pandit Nehru's presence has a great silencing effect.

Thus if the over-powering personality of Pandit Nehru and the solidarity of the Congress Party have prevented the establishment of the presidential type of executive, the same factors have also prevented the establishment of a true type of parliamentary system; the strength of the present system is also the cause of its weakness. While we can declare emphatically that the working of the Constitution has not established the presidential type, we cannot say with equal emphasis that it has laid the foundations for a parliamentary type of executive. In fact, we cannot say to which type our executive leans; it is a unique type, where Pandit Nehru holds a unique position—we can call it a 'Panditmentary system of executive.'

Not that it is undesirable by itself. For the last five years and odd, India has been enjoying a stable form of democracy, while the other new-born democracies of the East have not yet recovered from their birth-pangs; and this is largely due to the unique position of Pandit Nehru in Indian politics. In fact, Pandit Nehru is the darling of the Nation—the uncrowned King of India. And if the crown is not yet placed on his head, it is not because the people would be unwilling, but Pandit Nehru himself spurns it. No democratic leader in any free country enjoys as much popular esteem as our Prime Minister in India; and even dictators might envy his magic spell over the masses. A democrat with the drive of a dictator, and a dictator with a love of democracy, there is no rival to Pandit Nehru either in his own party or in the country—but that is the crux of our problem. In the parliamentary system of England, a Gladstone had always a Disraeli, and an Eden a Macmillan, but in our own country now, in the 'Panditmentary Government of India,' Nehru is the Sun of his solar system.

There is no doubt that Pandit Nehru will be our Prime Minister for the next five years, and probably, for many more years to come. The Nation that adores him for winning independence for them and giving them a democratic Constitution and the socialistic pattern of society, would adore him more if in the next five years Pandit Nehru would help establishment of sound traditions of parliamentary Government for the guidance of the less fortunate of his successors.

### The New Order in India

Rev. Ralph Richard Keithan writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Modern India is in a revolution. This remarkable growth goes back to the days of Ram Mohan Roy. Its roots are with the Buddha and even before. It has been touched by the Camelher of Mecca and the Carpenter of Nazareth. Modern civilization in many forms, and many other upsetting forces, have been at work for centuries.

This programme for the New Society was definitely initiated and put into concrete form by Gandhiji. It is my conviction that he is the man of the century. History has yet to assess his place in this world of the Common Man and great upheaval. It was his to carry through to a successful conclusion the struggle for national freedom. For the first time in the history of mankind, and in a time when warfare had come to its climax, he secured this freedom in love. This is an application of the law of love

that is far more significant for man than the harnessing of atomic energy in a bomb.

But Gandhiji took us much farther on this old road of human peace. He gave us a nation-building programme that touches all of life. He declared and worked for a "casteless, classless society." When I look back upon these thirty years in India, when I think of the slow process of the integration of the Negro with the White in America, then I know what a revolution has come to our people at the point of brotherly relationships. But Gandhiji did not stop there. He saw the poverty of the people. He had no great instruments, such as a modern government, with which to work. He had to deal with nearly naked and hungry people. So he started where they were: with a *takli*, with the wastes of the village. Here again I consider that he worked a miracle. And yesterday, when I saw almost a whole village at spinning which had not spun for generations, when I saw functioning a store of homespun and homewoven cloth in a comparatively small and remote village, and a modern Government promoting this advance, I again wondered.

All this was to be carried to the people by means of a new education, Basic Education, which I consider, as an educationist of some experience, the most advanced type of education in the world today. It has but begun to realize its potentialities. But perhaps the most telling "atom-bomb-of-love" was his insistence that all this was impossible unless we had "a living faith in God (Truth)." That meant that society could no longer be secular in the sense that the modern West had defined "secular". The Pilgrim of Truth and Love must work in the shop, field, office and market place!

The Experimenter with Truth hinted at the importance of land reform. The world is in the throes of such a revolution. A large proportion of mankind today has carried through such reform with compulsion and much violence. This violence had come even to our own land of traditional non-violence. Vinoba, the most disciplined disciple of Gandhiji, walked into such an area of violence in Telangana. To the amazement of all, people began to give land for the landless. The Bhoodan Movement was born. It grew into *Sampatti-dan*, *Shramadan*, *Buddhi-dan*, *Jeevan-dan* and *Grama-dan*!

When Vinobaji entered Tamilnad about a year ago, he constantly suggested that he had entered a part of India that had a very rich culture, a temple at the heart of almost every village, which was a region of high learning, and that he expected his movement to take another step forward. For months his prophecy did not take form. About three months ago when he entered the Madurai District, he again challenged us to be the full channels of the spirit of the people. We went to our work with scepticism. But on January 9th, when Vinobaji was on the point of entering the next district, Tiruchirapalli, 127 villages had offered their lands for redistribution that there might be no more landless within their boundaries. Another significant step forward had been taken. The people had spoken! This fact touched Vinobaji and his workers so deeply as they met and meditated in a beautiful grove in the countryside that they decided to go back for *taluk-dan*, that is, the gift of villages throughout a whole *taluk*. They decided on the Tirumangalam Taluk; they went back to work. Over a hundred workers are in the field and more are coming. Already over eighty

villages have given their lands for redistribution in this area. Thousands are seriously contemplating their duty.

### The Cultural Glory of Kanchi in the Seventh Century A.D.

K. V. Raman observes in *The Indian Review*:

THE City of Kanchi holds a unique and honoured place in the cultural history of South India. Considered as a holy place by the Hindus and the Buddhists alike it was also one of the oldest cities of our country. Even though Kanchi played a conspicuous part as a key city of South India throughout its long and chequered history, it was in the seventh century, when it was the capital of the Pallavas, that its glory attained the fullest bloom. It not only outshone other cities in importance but virtually presided over the destinies of South India.

Kanchi was singularly fortunate in the seventh century in having been ruled by a glittering array of eminent kings like Mahendravarman I, Narasimha Varman or Mamalla, Parameswaran and Rajasimhan who were at once the most powerful and the most cultured of kings. Inevitably, under their spell, Kanchi witnessed a spectacular outburst of cultural and artistic activity, rarely equalled by any other period in history. Personally accomplished as these kings were, they brought to bear on their many-faceted activity the wealth of their learning and creative thinking with the result that Kanchi became a veritable treasure-trove of cultural greatness. Architecture, music, painting, literature religion—all these strongly felt the impact of these kings. If Mahendravarman I could write full treatises on subjects like painting, and music, one can easily imagine how advanced the knowledge about these arts must have been at that time. As if to confirm this impression we have the beautiful paintings in the Pudukkottai State which bear ample evidence to his generous patronage of music and dancing.

Adorned by great literary luminaries Kanchi at this time was the very nerve-centre of literary efflorescence. If Madura was the seat of Tamil learning under the Pandyas, and Nalanda of Sanskrit learning under Harsha, Kanchi under the Pallavas represented a harmonious blending of both. Sanskrit poets like Bharavi and Dandin as well as the Tamil poets like Appar and Sundarar found in Kanchi a convenient home and in the Pallava Kings lovable patrons. The king Mahendravarman was himself the author of the famous farce, *Mattavilasaprahasana*. Added to these was the celebrated metaphysician Dharmapala who was also the Vice-Chancellor of the Nalanda University for some time. According to Hiuen-Tsang (who visited Kanchi at this time) Dharmapala lived and studied at Kanchi for a considerable time. Some scholars are also of the view that Bhasa's Sanskrit plays were adapted to the stage and enacted at the Pallava Court.

The main promoters of the Tamil language at this time were the Alvars and the Naimmars who were also the promoters of Hinduism. Hinduism at this time, as Dr. S. K. Iyengar points out (in his *The Contribution of South India to Indian Culture*) underwent a revolution thanks to the Bhakti-cult which was so ardently fostered by the Vaishnavite Alvars and the Saivite Nayanmars. Emotional outpourings



of devotional songs expressed through chaste and mellifluous language roused the spirit of Bhakti among the people and brought about so successfully a reaction against Buddhism and Jainism. The decline of these two religions definitely began to set in and could be easily gauged from the fact that Mahendravarmam himself forsook Jainism and embraced Saivism thanks to the missionary zeal of Appar. Thus the Thervaram, Tiruvagasam and Nalayiraprabandam are not only the embodiments of the Tamil language at its purest and loftiest but also they represent a revolutionary stage in the growth of Hinduism.

The innumerable temples with which Kanchi is studded give special beauty to the city. Many of these temples including the famous Kailasanathar temple were built in this century. Furthermore, the

very style of architecture underwent a through-going change inasmuch as new techniques or methods were introduced. For the first time temples were carved out of single pieces of stone thus eliminating the use of brick and mortar. In exhibiting this peculiar style of architecture, Kanchi together with Mahabalipuram took a leading part. Well do the scholars like Vincent Smith and Jonvean Dubreuil consider the architecture of Kanchi and Mahabalipuram as an important landmark in the evolution of South Indian architecture.

In short, such a glorious cultural burgeoning that Kanchi witnessed in the seventh century that one is tempted to rank it with bright Periclean Athens and the Elizabethan England.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The Promise of the Atom

The following is what Dr. Homi Jehangir Bhabha says on the *Voice of America* on the subject of "The Promise of the Atom":

In a broad view of human history, it is possible to discern three great epochs. The first is marked by the emergence of the early civilizations in the valleys of the Euphrates, the Indus, and the Nile; the second by the industrial revolution, leading to the civilization in which we live; and the third by the discovery of atomic energy and the dawn of the Atomic Age, which we are just entering.

In a practical sense, energy is the great prime mover, which makes possible the multitude of actions on which our life depends. Indeed, it makes possible life itself.

Now, as to the first epoch . . . Man has existed on this earth for well over 250,000 years. And yet the earliest civilization of which we have record only date back some 8,000 years. It took man several hundred thousand years to acquire those skills and techniques on which the early civilizations were based—agriculture, animal husbandry, weaving, pottery, brick-making, and metallurgy. The acquisition of these techniques and the emergence of the early civilizations must be regarded as the first great epoch in human history.

Despite many differences in habit, culture, and social pattern, all these early civilizations were built essentially on the same foundation. All the energy for doing mechanical work, for tilling the ground, for drawing water, for carrying loads, for locomotion, was supplied by human or animal muscle. Chemical energy—as, for example, that obtained by burning wood—was used only for cooking and heating and, to a limited extent, in metallurgy.

It is important to note the severe limitations that this restricted supply of energy puts on the development of civilization. A man in the course of heavy physical labour in an eight-hour day can turn out about half a kilowatt-hour of useful work. This is not much more than is necessary to maintain him at a bare subsistence level. It is to be compared with the rough figure of 20 kilowatt-hours or more of energy per person which is daily utilized in the industrially advanced countries today.

It follows that a high level of physical comfort and culture could only be enjoyed by the small fraction of the population by making use of the collected surplus labour of the rest. It is sometimes forgotten that all the ancient civilizations were carried on the muscle power of slaves or of a particular class of society. Through the very limitations of the available energy, the fruits of civilization could only be enjoyed by a few.

A departure from this basic pattern began only with the scientific and technical developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The widespread use of chemical energy—especially that obtained by burning the fossil fuels, coal, and oil—marks the second great epoch of human history. It led to the industrial-

ized pattern of society which is typical of this age. In one highly industrialized country today 23 kilowatt-hours of energy are utilized daily per person, corresponding to the muscular effort of 45 slaves. In another advanced country the figure is about twice this.

The total consumption of energy in the world has gone up in a staggering manner. To illustrate, let us use the letter "Q" to stand for the energy derived from burning some 33,000 million tons of coal. In the eighteen and a half centuries after Christ, the total energy consumed averaged less than 1Q per century. But by 1856, the rate had risen to one Q per century. Today, the rate is about ten Q per century.

One reason for the staggering increase in the consumption of energy, of course, is that the population of the world has been increasing rapidly. It is estimated to have been a few hundred million in one A.D., to have reached 1,500 million in 1900, 2,000 million in 1930, and about 2,300 million in 1950. Experts estimate that it will be between 3,500 and 5,000 million by the end of this century—in under 50 years.

But the per capita consumption of energy has also been increasing at about 2 or 3 per cent per annum. And it can be expected to increase still more rapidly as the underdeveloped areas of the world, with their large populations, become industrialized.

Now, of the enormous consumption of energy in the world today, about 80 per cent is provided by the combustion of coal, oil, and gas. Hydro-electric power provides less than one and one-half per cent and is never likely to contribute more than a small fraction of the total energy consumed in the world. Hence, as the total demand increases, a larger and larger fraction will have to be provided by the fossil fuels, coal and oil—unless some entirely new source of energy is found. But it is probable that, at the rate at which the world consumption of energy is increasing, these reserves will be exhausted in under a century. We are exhausting these reserves, which have been built up by nature over some 250,000,000 years, in a few centuries—in a flash of geological time.

All these facts point to the absolute necessity of finding some new source of energy, if the light of our civilization is not to be extinguished because we have burnt out our fuel reserves.

And so we turn to atomic energy for a solution. For the full industrialization of the underdeveloped countries, for the continuation of our civilization and its further development, atomic energy is not merely an aid; it is an absolute necessity. The acquisition by Man of the knowledge of how to release and use atomic energy must be recognized as the third great epoch in human history.

There is little doubt that many atomic power stations will be established in different parts of the world during the next ten years. But the historical period we are just entering, in which atomic energy released by the fission process will supply some of the power requirements of the world, may well be regarded one day as the primitive period of the Atomic Age. It is well known that atomic energy can also be obtained by a fusion process, as in the hydrogen bomb.

I venture to predict that a method will be found for liberating fusion energy in a controlled manner within the next two decades. When that happens the energy problems of the world will truly have been solved for ever—for the fuel will be as plentiful as the heavy hydrogen in the oceans.

All the basic discoveries upon which atomic energy is based were made before the Second World War by scientists of many nations working in free and full collaboration. The war put an end to this free exchange of knowledge and most of the technical developments concerning atomic energy were made subsequently by a few nations, each working in isolation behind a wall of secrecy.

The International Atoms for Peace Conference held in Geneva in August 1955, as the result of the bold initiative of President Eisenhower, has already broken down many of these barriers. The exchange of knowledge in the field of atomic energy has been maintained. And recently a leading Russian scientist described at Harwell the remarkable work that has been done in the Soviet Union to harness atomic energy from fusion, thus breaking down another barrier of secrecy. We can hope with some justification that the barriers which remain will gradually disappear altogether.

Speeded on its way by international co-operation and the free exchange of knowledge, the ever-widening dawn of the Atomic Age promises for people everywhere in the world a life fuller and happier than anything we can visualize today.—*American Reporter*, April 10, 1957.

### Books on India

We testired ourselves the other evening and dropped in at the exhibition, "Books on India from an American Bookshop," now on display at the "fair grounds" in New Delhi, and at the "Family of Man" photo show, which is hard by.

We have no intention of over-exerting our typing machine in an effort to dig out words adequate for the "Family of Man." People have tried it all around the world and have only demonstrated that the proper thing to do in a situation like this is to let the pictures speak for themselves.

One of the obvious facts about the exhibition of books is its incompleteness. This, manifestly, is a purposeful arrangement, for the exhibition is designed as a sampling, as but a taste, to demonstrate the depth of interest and real affection that exists between India and the United States.

This interest and affection began, let us say, when the first "American" came to India. This was some time ago. We have no idea who that first American was. But it is a matter of record that Elihu Yale, who was born near Boston, Massachusetts, was posted to Fort St. George, Madras, in 1672. And when, years later, the Connecticut Collegiate School at Saybrook, Connecticut, appealed through Cotton Mather for a donation toward a new building, Elihu Yale sent along three bales of Indian goods, including textiles and books. At this the Collegiate School did the only gentlemanly thing. It changed its name to Yale.

This may or may not have been the beginning. It is difficult to imagine that it was not. In any event, for more than 150 years books and articles, in a trickle and then a tide, have been doing their part in the United States to describe the people and cus-

toms of India. Many years after Yale the American Oriental Society, founded by American scholars in 1842, was established with the particular task of becoming the connecting thread between the cultures of the East and the West.

In later years American universities founded chairs of Sanskrit and departments for the study of Oriental philosophy and religions. In 1895, appeared the earliest volume of the great Harvard Oriental Series, a skein now extended to 41 volumes.

The result has been a steady flow of American literature on India, ranging from scholarly philosophic tomes to light novels and travelogues. And as we have said, the current exhibition of books on India published in the United States is representative rather than all-inclusive.

"It would be valuable at another time," as the foreword to the exhibition catalogue observes, "to round out the picture with an exhibit of books on the United States published by Indian authors, for in recent years the number of Indians making their personal discovery of the United States has increased tremendously, and their published impressions are beginning to reach significant proportions.

"It is through this type of intellectual exchange that the world gets smaller and is bound more closely together. It is thus that knowledge grows 'from more to more' and our common life is enriched." —*American Reporter*, November 21, 1956.

### Taming of the Rihand

K. K. Duggal makes the following contribution in the *American Reporter*, April 10, 1957:

Pipri (Mirzapur district, Uttar Pradesh).—Lights burn late into the night here in the wilderness of the Kimoor foothills, at the crossroads of U.P., Bihar-Madhya Pradesh. In these Vindhya fastnesses where once roared tigers and wild beasts, now is heard the roar of tractors, jeeps and earth-moving steel, punctuated with the ripple of muscles and the patter of children. For here more than 5,000 men are investing their sweat and strength to tame the Rihand, a river as wild as the animals that once prowled about its wayward path.

At Pipri, a little-known village 150 miles south of Banaras, the Rihand, a tributary of the Sone, flows into a gorge. On this narrow passage between two

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hills will rise the 300-foot-high, 3,000-foot-long Rihand Dam, a major multipurpose river valley project under the Second Five-Year Plan.

Over the brink of the 1,100-foot precipitous hill that will flank the dam, a party of New Delhi newsmen (who flew in a chartered plane up to Banaras and travelled from there in a de luxe bus of the U.P. Government) one moonless night gazed at the panorama of rows of electric lights and listened to the enchanting melody of men at work. The twinkling bulbs in the midst of towering mountains enveloped in gloom lent a poetic charm to the view.

The scene gave a glimpse of the future when waters of the Rihand will be harnessed to bring light to the village homes, power to run tubewells and cottage industries, and a dependable supply of irrigation water the year round.

A foretaste of the new prosperity was highlighted by Superintending Engineer B. S. Mathur when he told the newsmen: "The first fruits of the Rihand will be reaped in 1960, when we shall have the initial 150,000 k.w. of power to run the 5,000 tubewells being installed in the area. The extra irrigation water available from these tubewells will yield some 1,500,000 additional tons of foodgrains."

The Rihand project's first stage, scheduled to be complete by June 1961, involves construction of the concrete gravity dam and reservoir (180 square miles, longest in the East), power installation of 150,000 k.w. generating capacity, switchyard and the bulk of the transmission system. Pouring of concrete began early this month. About 2½ million cubic yards of concrete, equivalent to that placed on the Hoover Dam in the U.S.A., will be poured into the Rihand Dam.

The second stage will cover completion of the transmission system and installation of additional turbines to reach final generating capacity of 300,000 k.w. The total cost of the project is estimated at Rs. 45.88 crores (\$95 million); the U.S. Technical Co-operation Mission (TCM) is contributing \$21 million to this total.

The United States' association with the Rihand project goes back to 1947, when a survey was made by Dr. J. L. Savage, American authority on high dams, and some other engineering concerns of the United States. Dr. Savage has described the project as "one of the soundest and most important in India."

Today, another U.S. engineer procured by TCM, H. A. Taylor, is assisting in the project. Two more American engineers will be made available by TCM. Mr. Taylor is impressed with the project. He believes that the Rihand site is the best granite rock, without fissures or faults or cracks, he has seen in the 30 years of his working life as a dam engineer.

The Rihand reservoir will assist in flood control by taking the top off flood flows and will help assure a steady supply of irrigation water for the Sone River canal system in Bihar (of 5,000 acres capacity and irrigating about 450,000 acres). Among the subsidiary benefits that will follow are the mitigation of flood ravages of the Rihand and the navigability of the Sone. Fish culture, afforestation, wild-life preservation and aquatic recreation on Pipri's reservoir of 180 square miles, the longest lake in the East, encouraging point to tourist attractions.

With the availability of power and the natural abundance of industrial raw materials in the area, new industries like cement, fertilizers, aluminium and paper-making are likely to come up.

A prelude to the Rihand picture is seen in the new

township that has sprung up near the dam site. Complete with new roads, hospital, school, post office, marketing centre, club, cinema house and a field hostel (the press people were the first residents), the township has opened new vistas of employment and trade for 10,000 people.

Creating a town in the heart of the jungle called for vision and sure-footed planning. To connect Pipri with Robertsganj, the nearest town in Mirzapur district, a 50-mile pucca road was carved out of rocks and a new 3,300-foot-long prestressed bridge (longest in Asia) costing Rs. 50 lakhs built over the Sone to reach the Rihand. (Ferryboats were the only means of transport hitherto to reach Rihand). The Pipri-Robertsganj road snaking its way through mountains and jungles and the concrete, Sone bridge, recently completed, are an essay in human initiative and determination to conquer stubborn nature to man's will.

The engineers guiding the project are confident of accomplishing the job by the target date—June 1961. "Our work progress is going ahead according to schedule and we are hopeful of achieving our targets on time," said S. S. Godbole, deputy general manager of the Hindustan Construction Company, a private firm of contractors. "We shall enter the peak phase next year," he added, "when one bucket a minute will start travelling the cableway to deposit concrete at the dam site." Mr. Godbole's optimism is shared by Mr. Mathur and other governmental engineers who are supervising the work. Said Mr. Mathur: "We have completed the excavation work at the dam site and we are all set to enter the active phase of our programme."

The Rihand project began as a mere idea with a British district magistrate of Mirzapur 28 years ago when the official strayed into the wild abode on a tiger shoot. The magistrate did not have much luck in his shooting. Instead he bagged a much bigger prize—the idea of building a dam on the Rihand.

It remained just a suggestion until 1944, when the then U.P. Chief Engineer, A. P. Wattal, took it up and gave it concrete shape in a blueprint. The proposal was shelved for lack of funds, to be resurrected after five years. Work on the project began in April, 1954.

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স্কোট উইলিয়ম কলেজ হইতে প্রকাশিত। ষাটতীয় প্রসিদ্ধ অংশবদ্ধিত। মূলগ্রন্থ অল্পসংখ্যক ৫৮৩ পৃষ্ঠায় সুসম্পূর্ণ ইহাতে বিশ্ববিখ্যাত। ভারতীয় চিত্রকরদিগের আঁকা রঙীন যৌলধারি এবং এক বর্ণের তেজস্বিনী শ্রেষ্ঠ ছবি আছে। রঙীন ছবিগুলির ভিতর কয়েকটি প্রাচীন যুগের চিত্রশালা হইতে সংগৃহীত ছবির অঙ্কন। অত্যন্ত বহুবর্ণ ও একবর্ণের ছবিগুলি শিল্পীসম্রাট অবনীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, রাজা রবি বর্মা, নন্দলাল বসু, সারদাচরণ উকীল, উপেন্দ্রকিশোর রায়চৌধুরী, মহাদেব বিখ্যাত ধরমর, অমিতকুমার হালদার, স্বরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শৈলেন্দ্র দে প্রভৃতির হনিপুণ তুলিকায় চিত্রিত।

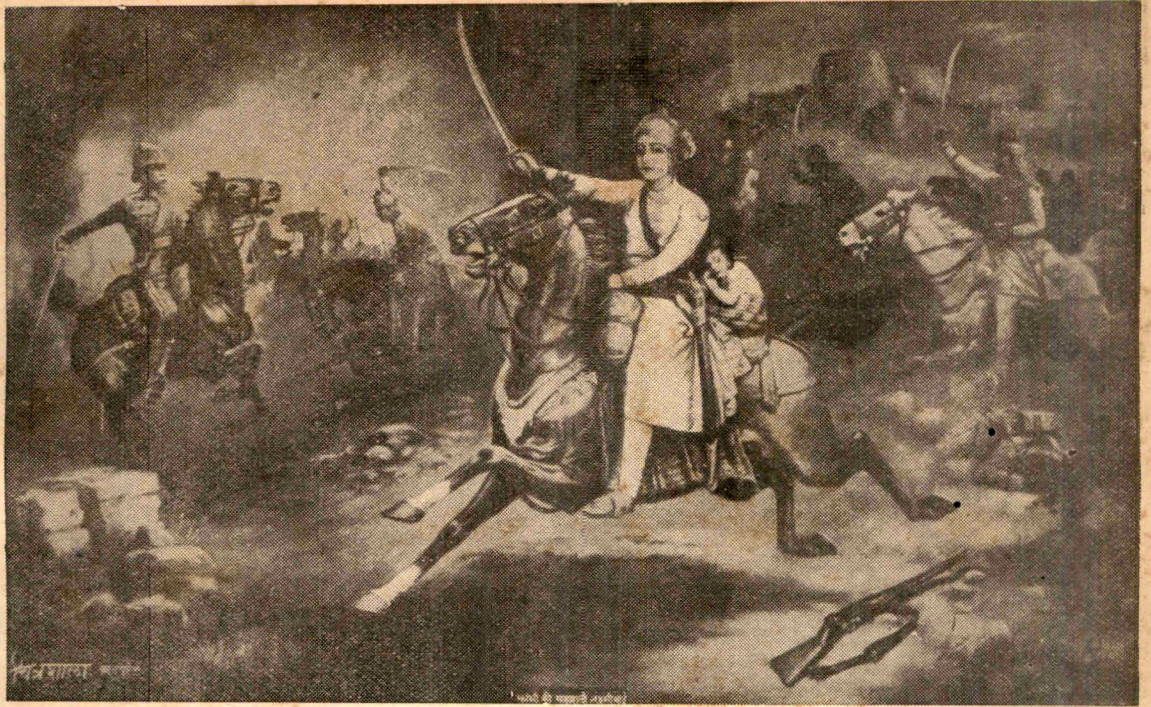
জ্যাকটযুক্ত উত্তম পুরু বোর্ড বাইণ্ডিং মূল্য ১০।০, প্যাকিং ও ডাকব্যয় ১।৫০।

প্রবাসীর গ্রাহকগণঃ অগ্রিম মূল্য পাঠাইলে সাড়ে নয় টাকাতো এবং অফিস হইতে হাতে লইলে আট টাকাতো পাইবেন। ইহা ছাড়া আর কোন প্রকার কমিশন দেওয়া হইবে না। গ্রাহক নিম্নস্বাক্ষরিত স্থানে আবেদন করুন। এই স্বযোগ সর্বপ্রকার ছফ্টলোর দিনে যেই দিন স্থায়ী থাকিবে না।

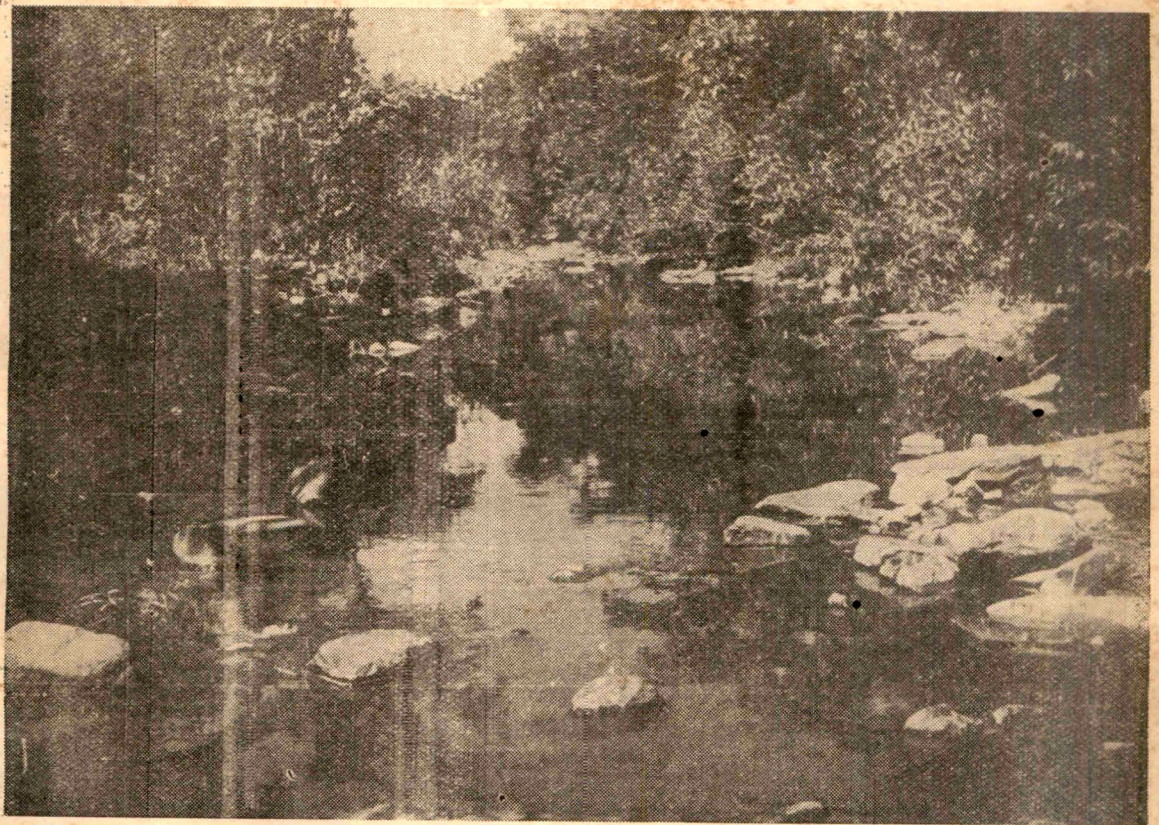
প্রবাসী প্রেস প্রাইভেট লিঃ—১২০।২, আপার সারকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা

ফোন : ৩৫—৩২৮১





Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi



Virgin Forest

Photo: Alope De





WORSHIP  
By Shrimuni Singh

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

# THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE



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## NOTES

### *Twilight of the Congress*

Elsewhere in these notes we have given extracts from the comments made by two of the elder statesmen of the Congress, Sri C. Rajagopalachari and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, on the wonderful Budget presented by the Finance Minister Sri T. T. Krishnamachari. Our own comments are given in another note.

But the main issue is not this Budget or any other Budget. The issue is whether the Plan is for the people or the people are for the precious Plan, mere grist for the mill that provides kudos for Jawaharlal Nehru, illicit gain to the myrmidons of the Indian financial underground, and misery for the common man, who is already on the border of the subsistence level.

It is clear to all, excepting those who are drunk with power and are befuddled with the rosy dreams of world acclaim, that whether these series of plans materialise into concrete reality or not, the nationals of the Indian Union will degenerate into a race of C<sub>3</sub> individuals, physically, mentally and morally, unless a halt is called to this Rake's Progress.

A prominent leftist leader of Calcutta is quoted in an opposition paper as having stated that a Government that is unable to curb corruption, governmental waste in expenses, black-marketing and food shortages, had no business to go in for grandiose Plans.

We are in complete agreement. At present the process is like filling a leaky reservoir, in this matter of provision for the plans. The people are down to the lowest level, and yet they are being bled in the name of a unholy project. We call it unholy because during the

First Five-Year Plan the poor have become poorer and the new-rich richer. And we see nothing in the Second Plan to stop this downgrade progression, despite all the eyewash of Wealth and Expenditure taxes.

The Congress Government and its satellites of the A.-I.C.C., are either oblivious or indifferent to the suffering of the people. We have been fooled again, we regret to have to say, in this last election, and we have to pay the price for our folly.

The Congress seems to have been corrupted and benumbed beyond all hopes of redemption. The only way that it may be revitalized would be by a drastic purge at the top levels. And that is a forlorn hope at the best, unless the nationals of the Union realise the cataclysm we are facing.

We deeply regret to have to write in this vein, but it is evident now, beyond all doubt, that this present Congress, like its predecessors of old, has outlived its usefulness. It is no longer a national institution, a source of hope and inspiration. Indeed, on the contrary.

We have to put on record the maddening frustration of decent men and women in the face of debased political and moral values. They are particularly up against the frustration of trying to persuade the intelligentsia to combine and make a supreme effort to challenge a menace they are too tired and hopeless to face. And the heartless, cynical and corrupt crowd, that is pulling the strings in the Congress party factions now, can destroy all that Mahatma Gandhi's Congress stood for, in order to gain their own particular ends, be it filthy lucre, be it political power for evil.



### \* "Save The Plan" Budget

The Union Finance Minister has termed the budget for the year 1957-58 as "Save the Plan" budget. Properly speaking, he should have termed it as "kill the people" budget. The new year's budget is so very astounding in taxation proposals that it takes us back to the famous observation made by Burke in the British Parliament during the American War of Independence. He said: "Taxation is very easy. Any projector can contrive new imposts, any bungler can add to the old ones; but it is altogether wise not to exhaust the patience of those who pay." The Union Finance Minister has cast the net wide, much too wide so much so that he will be unable to draw out the catch safely to the shore without damaging the net. The taxation proposals will hit the common man and he will be hit below the belt. The formidable array of levies have not spared the essential commodities of daily use like sugar, tobacco, matches, edible oils, etc. About 90 categories of imported goods will also be dearer as a result of enhanced import duties. There will be an increase in all classes of rail fares, ranging from 5 to 15 per cent, according to distance. Postal rates on packets, parcels and inland telegrams will also go up. The new budget has introduced two new taxes in the tax system of India and these are: the wealth tax and the expenditure tax. (The great merit of the budget is that it has evoked resentment of of the entire country and even the rank and file of his party men are accusing the Finance Minister for proposing measures that would be fleecing the common man.) The budget is indicative of the fact that the leader of the exchequer do not always have a chequered career simply because the finance is so intricate a matter that it eludes the grasp of even a strong realistic mind.

The main objections are directed against the indirect taxes on essential goods that would increase the cost of living index. The Finance Minister was adamant in getting his taxation proposals carried through. His main justification for such a sweeping spate of levies is to raise finance for the Second Five-Year Plan. But does the end always justify the means? Certainly not. Where the means are unjustified, the end is undesirable. For whom the Second Five-Year Plan? Of course for the people of India and

for their economic well-being. But the very measures to raise finance will ruin the common man and the aim of the Plan will not only be frustrated, it would jeopardise the economic life of the people by adding to the cost of living and the cost of production. In the coming year, a sum of Rs. 900 crores will be required for the Second Plan and to meet a deficit of only Rs. 33.12 crores, taxation measures were originally proposed for raising Rs. 93 crores. One of the main aims of the economic planning in India is to raise the standard of living of the people and the per capita annual income. How far the plans have been successful in this direction? The national income of India at 1948-49 prices was Rs. 10,420 crores in 1955-56 and Rs. 10,280 crores in 1954-55 as compared with Rs. 10,030 crores in 1953-54. The per capita income at 1948-49 prices correspondingly rose from Rs. 268.7 in 1953-54 to Rs. 271.9 in 1954-55 and Rs. 272.1 in 1955-56. But expressed at current purchasing power, the national income stood at Rs. 9,650 crores in 1955-56 and Rs. 9,626 crores in 1954-55 or Rs. 830 crores and Rs. 860 crores lower than the 1953-54 level. The per capita income at current prices correspondingly declined from Rs. 280.7 in 1953-54 to Rs. 254.4 in 1954-55 and Rs. 252.0 in 1955-56. The figures reveal that although the money income of the community has gone up, the real income has come down and that is on account of rising price level and the cost of living. In recent years, there has been a progressively declining per capita annual income.

The budget has given relief to the higher income level at the cost of the common man and to that extent the budget is socialism upturned. It is capitalistic outlook in a socialistic garb. The total of income tax, super-tax and surcharge payable for the highest slab will come down from the existing level of 91.8 per cent to 84 per cent for unearned and 77 per cent for earned incomes. Rates for the lower slabs have been adjusted proportionately. There will be no surcharge on unearned income for assesses whose total incomes do not exceed Rs. 7,500. The present income-tax base has been widened by reducing the taxable minimum from Rs. 4,200 to Rs. 3,000. The minimum limit has been lowered with the expectation that those with an income of over Rs. 3,000 should also make their contribution, however small, to the Exchequer

\* S. T. P. means not Save the Plan.  
but Soak the People }



and should come within the range of direct taxation.

The Finance Minister puts forward the plea in lowering the income-tax exemption limit that as development proceeds, there will be a large and progressive increase in the number of incomes within this range and it is essential that the Exchequer should benefit proportionately from the expansion of incomes consequent on development. But as shown above the large number of indirect levies is already a great burden on the low-income groups. Further, the rising price level is another form of indirect taxation and the low-income groups with fixed income suffer most from the rising cost of living. The real income of the lower and middle-income groups is steadily declining and the Finance Minister's expectation that per capita income will be rising is totally unrealistic. Instead of taxing the essential commodities of daily use, the Finance Minister could have taxed luxury materials that are generally consumed by the higher-income groups. The Finance Minister said that he was making his tax policy broad-based and indicated that besides 4 lakh additional assesseees which he would rope in during the current year, their number would go on increasing by about a lakh every year. He stated that in Britain and other countries of the West, the income-tax exemption limit is lower than that of India. But he forgets that in those countries there are many measures of social security which are entirely lacking in India.

The budget is said to be an attempt to rationalise the Indian tax structure by introducing two new features, namely, the Wealth Tax and the Expenditure Tax. The Wealth Tax is not likely to be effective and the Expenditure Tax merely a nuisance. There are so many exemptions under the Wealth Tax, that it will be perplexing for the assessment officer to find out what actually will be wealth for the purpose of taxation. Among the properties which are exempted from the definition of wealth for the purpose of taxation are included: (1) agricultural lands and growing crops and trees, live-stock, etc; (2) furniture, utensils, jewellery, wearing apparel, provisions or other articles for personal use (subject to a maximum of Rs. 25,000); (3) properties held under trust for religious or charitable purposes; (4) interest of a co-parcener in joint family properties; (5)

certain specified Central Government securities (10 year Treasury Savings Certificates, etc.); and (6) any other securities of Government or local authority which may be specially notified for exemption. The Wealth Tax will not cover the margin given by the concessions to the higher-income group in direct taxes.

The Wealth and Expenditure taxes have been introduced on the recommendations of Professor Kaldor, the noted British economist. Kaldor states that an annual tax on wealth, though it is levied on the value of the principal, is really a tax on accrual and not a tax on the principal itself—as for example, 'estate' duties or a capital levy. If all property yielded the same percentage of income, an income-tax and a Wealth Tax would amount to the same thing. The two differ precisely because some property yields a large money income, other property a small income (or no money income at all) in relation to its current market value. The tax on wealth, similarly to income-tax, is conceived as a progressive one. According to Kaldor, it should be levied at rates (i) which are well within the total accrual from property—whether in the form of money income, expected appreciation or psychic income; and (ii) which take into account the other taxes on accruals, in particular, the income tax. For the sake of equity, as well as administrative efficiency, it is essential that the tax should be comprehensive, that is, extending to all forms of property. Kaldor has suggested the inclusion of agricultural property in the definition of wealth. The inclusion of agricultural property in this connection may require a constitutional amendment, unless the procedure adopted in the case of estate duties of the States delegating the powers to the Centre could be adopted.

It is observed by Kaldor that the present system of direct taxation in India is both inefficient and inequitable. It is inequitable because the present base of taxation, "income" as statutorily defined is defective and biased as a measure of taxable capacity and is capable of being manipulated by certain classes of taxpayers. It is inefficient because the limited character of the information furnished by taxpayers, and the absence of any comprehensive reporting system on property transactions and property income makes large-scale evasion through concealment or under-statement of

profits and property income relatively easy. The income-tax, the capital gains tax, the annual wealth tax and personal expenditure tax—if all are assessed simultaneously on the basis of a single comprehensive return, then they will be self-checking in character, both in the sense that concealment or under-statement of items in order to minimise liability to some of the taxes may involve an added liability with regard to others.

Tax evasion and wastage in expenditure are the two main drains that dry up the flow of resources. Tax evasion in the country will be not less than Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores a year. The Government machinery for the purpose of tax collection is defective and if collections are made properly, then most of the indirect taxes would have been unnecessary. In order to control the evasion of business income, there should be a compulsory auditing of accounts of incomes in excess of Rs. 50,000 in the case of business income and Rs. 1,00,000 in the case of other personal income. The auditors should be under a statutory obligation to certify that accounts submitted for tax purposes were drawn up in a manner to show the true income assessable to tax.

Waste in expenditure is a canker in our national economy. Nearly 40 per cent of Government revenue income is absorbed by the civil administration and that is too high a percentage share. Another great source of expenditure is the building of skyscrapers and palatial buildings. In New Delhi crores of rupees are being drained away by building skyscrapers and other palatial buildings. This is sheer waste of expenditure. Ordinary simple buildings would have done the job. The Central Government's outstanding loans to the States stand in the neighbourhood of Rs. 1,000 crores and most of these loans are spent on unproductive projects. In the Punjab, Chandigarh is being built on a lavishly grandiose scheme. The famous artificial lake there has cost Rs. 92 lakhs; the Raj Bhavan will cost more than Rs. 50 lakhs; the legislative chamber will cost Rs. 65 lakhs and the Secretariat has been air-conditioned at a cost of Rs. 32 lakhs. When people are dying of starvation and unemployment and others are groaning under the heavy burden of taxations, the building of a lake at so huge a cost smacks of feudal aristocracy. In West Bengal, the large quarters built at

Gangulibagan as tenements for refugees are lying unoccupied for several years. Why these quarters were built if they were not used? The authorities concerned are criminally responsible for such acts of thoughtlessness. Only the contractors concerned have benefited.

The squandering away of public money is a criminal offence and for that not a single word was spoken either by the Prime Minister who defended the tax proposals so adamantly or by the Finance Minister who showed intransigence against public consternation over the budget proposals. Prohibition has been another costly experiment which the country can hardly afford to indulge. Prohibition has been a failure and at the cost of the State, the bootleggers are reaping the benefit. The Finance Minister has at last to yield to the pressure from inside and outside the Parliament and has to declare tax concessions on a number of essential commodities, including tea, kerosene, coffee, etc. The best thing for the Government is to curtail expenditure on civil administration and chalk out all unproductive projects.

### *The Railway Budget*

The Railway budget estimates for the year 1957-58 place gross traffic receipts at Rs. 377.90 crores and the working expenses at Rs. 244.16 crores. The net railway revenues stand at Rs. 74.62 crores and the dividend to general revenues will be Rs. 43.79 crores. The net surplus remains at Rs. 30.83 crores. From July 1, 1957, the supplementary charge on goods and parcels traffic will rise from 6½ per cent to 12½ per cent, certain commodities being exempted as at present. As regards the expansion programmes under the Second Five-Year Plan, the Railway Minister regretted the reduction in amount from the original estimates of Rs. 1,480 crores to Rs. 1,125 crores. The original estimate for the outlay was considered as the minimum required for the creation of the necessary extra rail transport capacity for goods and passengers traffic. An increase of 30 per cent in passenger services, and an additional 60.8 million tons in goods traffic over that generated by the end of the First Five-Year Plan, making a total of 180.8 million tons was thought necessary in keeping with the targets fixed for other developmental projects and schemes in the general Plan.

The Railway Plan also provides for the construction of 3,000 miles of new lines. Due

to the limited financial resources of Government, however, the railways have been allotted only Rs. 1,125 crores of which Rs. 375 crores are to be found by them over the Plan period from their own resources. To conform to the reduced allotment the scope of the railway plan has necessarily to be cut down and, after eliminating most of the new lines except those essentially required for the projected expansion in steel and coal production, it is found possible to cater with in the funds allotted for an increase of only 15 per cent in passenger transport and a total of 162 million tons in goods transport. The Railway Minister states that while the prospect of the continuance of the present state of over-crowding is undesirable, the enforced reduction of the provision for extra goods transport from 180.8 million tons to 162 million tons is much more serious from the point of view of the country's developing economy. After reserving capacity for 25 million tons on account of coal and other raw materials required for the new steel plants and expansion of the existing ones, 6 million tons more coal for other consumers and 4 million tons more for cement, a very meagre margin is left for the increase in the general merchandise traffic, including increase in trade and the output of all other industries and agriculture.

The Railway Minister points out that the experience of the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan has made it abundantly clear that the demands on rail transport during the plan period are likely to exceed even the original estimate of 180.8 million tons. It is, therefore, manifest, says the Railway Minister, that the allotment of Rs. 1,125 crores, which includes financial provision for carrying only an additional 42 million tons of traffic, will be quite inadequate.

This year there has been a departure from the 1924 railway convention under which levies on railways were hitherto made under the railway budget, and not under the general budget. This year the increase in railway passenger fares has been effected by the general finance bill and this procedure marks a new convention ignoring the existing one. The increase in fares should have been proposed under the railway budget and the proceeds from the increased fares should go to the appropriation of the railways to augment its resources. Another thing that strikes in this connection is the contribution by the railways

every year to the general revenues and this contribution is in addition to the statutory contribution by way of dividend payment. Under the budget estimates this year, the railways will pay a sum of Rs. 43.79 crores as dividend to the general revenues in accordance with the 1949 railway convention as affirmed again in 1955. Apart from this sum, the railways will contribute to the general revenues a sum of Rs. 6.57 crores. This practice has been in vogue for the last decade or more. Under which provision the railways are compelled to make this extra contribution in addition to their statutory contribution is not clear. Properly speaking, this is an unauthorised levy on the railways. This contribution, if appropriated by the railways, would have augmented their funds for expansion and development.

The railways are running short of locomotives and coaches. It is a pity why another locomotive works is not being set up to meet the increasing demands for the locomotives for the railways. Similarly, more coach building factories should have been set up. Instead, the authorities are importing locomotives and coaches from abroad at higher costs. It is quite evident that to feed a railway system with about 35,000 miles of track, only one locomotive factory and one coach building factory are totally inadequate and the indifference of the authorities in this respect is all the more regrettable. The planning of the railways also are not well considered. Just to give one example. The districts of Malda and West Dinajpore are not provided with through broad gauge railway connection and as a result these two districts of West Bengal are almost cut off from the rest of West Bengal. The increase in recent years of metre gauge lines is a great step backward.

### *The Baghdad Pact Developments*

The six-nation Baghdad Pact Economic Committee which began its session in Karachi on May 16, revealed the acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine by Pakistan. The USA attended the meeting at Karachi for the first time as a full member of the Economic Committee. The leader of the British delegation, Mr. Birch, announced in his speech his Government's decision to allocate £1 million spread over a period of five years as its contribution



for technical assistance to the Baghdad Pact countries. Member countries of the Pact are Pakistan, Britain, Iran, Iraq and Turkey. Earlier on June 3, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, presiding over the Ministerial Council meeting of the Baghdad Pact which opened in Karachi on that day, welcomed the Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East. He expressed the hope that the USA would soon join the Baghdad Pact as a full member. The USA has decided to join the Military Committee of the Baghdad Pact. The Eisenhower doctrine has been forced upon Pakistan as a sequel to her being a member of the Baghdad Pact. On May 27, the Prime Minister of India said in the Lok Sabha that Pakistan had accepted the Eisenhower doctrine. A Press report stated earlier that Pakistan had been officially informed that the Eisenhower Plan covered that country and as a consequence, Pakistan was entitled to ask for and obtain more military assistance apart from economic assistance. Pakistan is reported to have endorsed the Eisenhower doctrine. In effect, the Eisenhower doctrine has been brought to the border of India and attack or aggression against Pakistan will be covered by the military action clause of the Eisenhower doctrine. The lacuna in NATO and SEATO has been filled up by the Eisenhower doctrine. That means, the USA and UK will come to the assistance of Pakistan in the event of war between that country and any other country.

The Eisenhower doctrine is now a part of the law of the United States. On March 9, 1957, the President of the USA signed the joint resolution of both Houses of Congress empowering him to use the armed forces of the United States at his discretion in the Middle East. The resolution authorizes him to despatch U.S. forces into action against any country of the Arab East which Washington claims as "controlled by international communism." Two implications (or complications) arise out of the Eisenhower doctrine. Firstly, the Eisenhower doctrine, along with NATO and the SEATO, may be regarded as another step in bypassing the United Nations Organisation and its Charter. The regional pacts by themselves amount to thwarting the authority and machinery of the UNO. The authority of the UNO. The USA, although a member of the UNO, thus ignores her respon-

sibility and liability to that world body. Secondly, the law of the US Congress is elevated to the status of international law. Is it not a violation of the international law for a country to authorise its Government to use armed forces at its discretion in so-called communistic aggression without the concurrence and authority of the UNO? The impudence of the US Congress and the executive there is astounding in legalising the Eisenhower doctrine. Why a country should have authority to use armed forces when there is the UNO to "save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war"?

The Middle East is a great strategic region where three continents meet, Europe, Asia and Africa. The area of the Middle East has not been defined in the said resolution of the US Congress and it is left to the discretion of the US Executive to define the area of the Middle East as and when it will suit her interest to do so. Now we find that Pakistan, never before regarded as a country of the Middle East, is now covered by the Eisenhower doctrine and that means she is also part of the Middle East for the purposes of the Eisenhower doctrine. The doctrine is a measure designed to oppose the international communism. It is directed against penetration in the Middle East of Soviet communism. But is the USA free from the guilt of penetration in that region? The penetration by the USA in the Middle East is much greater than that by the Soviet Union. The USA has bases, and other rights in many countries of the region.

So long the USA tended to defer to British initiative in forging an anti-communist alliance in the Middle East, since the British had longer experience of diplomatic dealings with the Arab countries. But that expectation did not materialise and the Suez war frustrated any such hope. The USA intended to make Egypt the cornerstone of a regional defence structure against Soviet Russia. But that plan fell through, Egypt refusing to join in any such military alliance with the Anglo-American block. The USA is creating a new type of colonies by preferring the round-about methods of economic and financial domination, military blocks and bases. Various kinds of economic and technological aid, credit arrangements, security treaties, etc., are the new techniques of colonial expansion. The USA has decided to commit \$12,570,000 for

services and capital development phases of the Baghdad Pact countries. The amount is from the Eisenhower Doctrine Fund for the Middle East. The USA realises that the loss of Western bases in North America and the Middle East will render the defence of Western Europe, and ultimately the defence of Atlantic community, impossible. Turkey today forms the main Anglo-American base in the Middle East against any communistic aggression. Turkey has received \$3,000 million from the USA under the "aid" programme.

### *French Cabinet Falls*

France is now in the last ditch in her fight for the maintenance of imperialism. The price she is paying has brought about an instability that has again come to the fore in the collapse of the Mollet Cabinet. We give the report from the *New York Times*:

"Paris, May 21—A political crisis arose in France tonight following a major defeat for Premier Guy Mollet and his Cabinet in the National Assembly.

"Post-war France's twenty-second Government was defeated by a vote of 250 to 213. The Government had been in office nearly sixteen months, a post-war record. It met defeat on its thirty-fourth vote of confidence.

"The immediate issue was a bill to increase taxes, but it was the Cabinet's entire program, particularly relating to Algeria, that was under fire from a discordant combination of Communists, Radicals, Conservative Independents and Extreme Right-wingers.

"After the Assembly vote, Premier Mollet, a Socialist, went to the Elysee Palace to hand in the resignation of his Government to President Rene Coty. But the President delayed his acceptance until he had consulted with the Assembly's political groups.

"After seeing M. Coty, M. Mollet confirmed his 'absolute will' to stick to his resignation. A Socialist communique spoke in bitter terms of the 'fall of the Government.' The two statements suggested that the Government considered itself out of power and awaiting a successor.

"Constitutionally the Premier could stay in power, for his opponents had failed to obtain an absolute majority against him. This would be a minimum of 298 out of 594 votes.

"But as a matter of practical politics, it was considered impossible for him to continue after a defeat on such a fundamental issue as Government finances. The Premier had filled a difficult term of office with constantly uncertain support from Parliament.

"The Cabinet will remain in office in a caretaker capacity until a new one is formed. Reduced to treating with what are called 'current affairs,' it cannot take any major decision or make any major pronouncement. Above all, it can do nothing that would commit any future government to a particular course of action."

### *Cuban Unrest*

It is a troubled world. Even in the "happy isles" of the West Indies there is unrest as the following editorial from the *New York Times* indicates:

"A new phase in Cuba's tormented history appears to be opening. We have no means of knowing where it will lead or how serious it is, but the dynamism that has animated the Cuban scene for months is proof that the situation cannot remain as it is today.

"The new feature of the Cuban conflict has come with the increased violence and sabotage and above all the fact that the Batista Government has been forced to admit that the rebel leader, Fidel Castro, is very much alive and still fighting in the Sierra Maestra at the eastern end of the island. In fact, there was a clash between his forces and Government troops. For three months President Batista and his supporters tried to fool the Cuban people with false statements denying Castro's presence and claiming that the interview with him and the photographs published in this newspaper in February were fakes. This smokescreen was blown away by the C. B. S. television and radio shows of May 19 and by the renewed activity of Castro's troops. There was even another rebel landing last Thursday.

"It seems obvious that General Batista cannot allow the continued existence of rebel forces in the island and the continued acts of sabotage. Yet it is hard to see how he can stop them. The efforts to work out a peaceful political solution do not seem to have much hope. Every sensible Cuban would want to see a pacific solution, but it would only be acceptable

to the opposition if accompanied by an amnesty for the hundreds of political prisoners, by a cessation of the arbitrary arrests, tortures and killings, by a complete freedom from censorship (the radio and television are now under strict censorship, mail is tampered with and the press appears to be exercising some self-censorship for understandable reasons) and, finally, the guarantee of free and fair elections. Cuba is passing through a time of stress whose end is not in sight."

### *Storm Over Formosa*

On May 24 Formosa was rocked by the fiercest anti-American demonstration in the history of the island. The Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek stood practically helpless against the expression of anger and wrath by the people against the United States of America.

The temper of the people of Taiwan (the proper Chinese name for Formosa) found expression not only in the acts of the crowd in looting the American Embassy and the office of the United States Information Service, but also in the refusal of the Chinese police and the army to interfere. Chiang Kai-shek has dismissed three top army commanders for "mis-handling" the anti-American riots. The dismissed commanders are Lieutenant-General Huang Chen-hu, Commanding General of the Taipeh Garrison Command, Lt.-General Liu Wei, Commanding the General Military Police and Major-General Lo Kan, Chief of the Provincial Police. Much effort is not needed to realize the helplessness of a Government when it has to dismiss such top-ranking officers for "mis-handling" what is part of their normal duty.

Hereunder is the news report:

"Taipeh, May 25.—President Chiang Kai-shek's Cabinet met today to consider possible grave consequences of yesterday's anti-American riots in Taipeh which threatened to weaken the key K.M.T.-U.S. alliance in the Far East.

"The Communist Press and radio in Peking lost no time in pledging support for any further anti-American action in Formosa. They claimed that the sacking of the American Embassy showed

that Formosans 'would not tolerate a life of slavery,' under the Americans.

"While Nationalist troops patrolled the city's streets the K.M.T. Cabinet sat for several hours discussing its future relations with the U.S.A.

"Eight people were reported killed in the riots, which went on until late last night when the Municipal Police Station opposite the U.S. Information Service was besieged by between 30,000 to 40,000 demonstrators. A police report said that one rioter was killed and 13 injured in this incident. Two policemen were also injured.

"Virtually everything in the two-storeyed American Embassy building had been destroyed. The U.S.I.S. building was equally badly damaged in the five hours of siege last night. Both buildings and other American installations were under heavy Nationalist guard today. Though there was calm again, American and British citizens were advised to stay at home.

"In a statement today the National Prime Minister, Mr. O. K. Yui, deplored the 'unlawful acts' which he said were caused by 'unlawful elements.' He added: 'It is earnestly hoped that all our citizens will remain calm and law abiding so as not to cause distress to our friends and give comfort to the enemy.' He assured foreigners of the Government's protection.

"The U.S. State Department announced that Mr. Rankin, the U.S. Ambassador in Taipeh, had protested strongly to Mr. Yeh, the Nationalist Chinese Foreign Minister, against the rioting in the city. He had asked for adequate apologies and had stated that the U.S.A. expected full compensation.

"There are about 9,000 Americans, including women and children, now living in Formosa, most of them in or near Taipeh.

"The Nationalist Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Yui, said in a statement that the Government strongly deplored demonstrations against Americans, which were 'inimical to our national interest and detrimental to the long and friendly relations between the U.S.A. and China.' The statement reiterated the Government's determination to fulfil its responsibility for the protection of foreign nationals living in the country.

"The Nationalist Chinese Ambassador to the U.S.A., Mr. Tong, called on the Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East, Mr. Robertson today and expressed the 'profoundest regrets' of



his Government. Mr. Tong told reporters afterwards that there was no 'deep anti-American sentiment' involved in the rioting in his opinion. He called it 'an outbreak of emotion.'

"Yesterday's riot was sparked off by Mrs. Lui's attempt to enter the U.S. Embassy with a placard reading: 'Killer Reynolds is not innocent. Protest against U.S. Court Martial's unfair unjust decision.' A crowd which soon grew around her started stoning the Embassy.

"Reynolds, a U.S. Master-Sergeant, had earlier been found not guilty of the voluntary manslaughter of the woman's husband Mr. Lui."

We quote below, from the *New York Times* of May 26, the report on the actual occurrence:

"Last week's violence on Taiwan against U.S. personnel grew out of an incident at the home of M/Sgt. Robert R. Reynolds, eight miles outside Taipei, the capital of Formosa. Sergeant Reynolds, a U.S. soldier stationed at Taipei, and his wife are the only living witnesses of the incident. This is their story:

"Just before midnight on March 20 last Mrs. Reynolds was taking a shower. She saw a Chinese peering at her through a window. She called her husband. The Sergeant told her to remain calm, loaded a .22 caliber pistol with nine rounds and went outside to investigate. He planned to hold the intruder at bay until police arrived. The man then came toward him in a threatening manner brandishing either a metal rod or stick—he could not tell in the gloom. Reynolds fired, the man stumbled and turned away. Reynolds returned to the house and told his wife to summon the Chinese and American military police. He said the man approached again. Fearing that he was armed, the Sergeant ordered him to halt. The man refused to do so and Reynolds fired a second shot which killed the intruder.

"Last Monday the Sergeant was tried by a court-martial composed of five colonels and three master sergeants. The prosecution, conducted by a U.S. officer, charged the Sergeant with voluntary man-slaughter. The soldier pleaded self-defence. On Thursday the court-martial returned a verdict of not guilty.

"Chinese resentment of the verdict was intense. The Chinese local press reported the prosecution was half-hearted and called the acquittal a miscarriage of justice. Rumours

spread in Taipei that there had been black market dealings between Reynolds and the deceased and that Chinese and American authorities were in collusion to cover up evidence which might embarrass either Government.

"On Friday U.S. authorities flew Sergeant Reynolds, his wife and 7-year-old daughter to Manila. At noon that day the slain man's widow picketed the U.S. Embassy compound. She carried a poster which branded Reynolds a murderer. A large crowd gathered, many of them local-born Taiwanese. Then someone threw a stone at the Embassy building and shattered a window pane. The crowd cheered. More stones flew. By now the crowd had swelled into an angry mob of 3,000. The mob broke into the compound, ripped the American flag from a flagpole, swirled into the Embassy, smashed furniture and tossed classified documents out the windows. Most of the Embassy personnel were out to lunch at the time. A handful of Americans trapped inside the compound fled to the Embassy air raid shelter.

"By mid-afternoon the disorders spread to other parts of the capital. A mob wrecked the offices of the U.S. Information Service. Another crowd tried to invade the U.S. Military Communications Center. A throng of more than 10,000 besieged the Taipei Police Headquarters to demand the release of students arrested in the disorders.

"Then the Taipei authorities clapped martial law on the capital. Three divisions of Chinese Nationalist troops moved into the city. The mobs scattered and order was gradually restored."

### *Government and Food Policy* •

Almost the whole of the country was passing through an acute food crisis. The seriousness of the situation was such that the Union Food Minister, Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, had to make a statement in the Parliament announcing the Government's decision to set up a high-powered committee to investigate into the causes of rise in food prices and to suggest immediate and long-term remedial measures. At the same time, however, Shri Jain added that the overall supply position of food-grains in the country did not warrant any undue apprehension. The production of rice was 28.1 million tons this year—an all-time record. There was

also a rise in the production of wheat, compared with the previous year. Thus the overall supply position which was also re-inforced by the substantial import of wheat was presented by the Minister as quite reassuring.

Exposing the fallacies in the argument of the Government, the weekly *Vigil* in a lengthy and thought-provoking editorial article on May 18 writes: "We do not know how to reconcile this assurance with Shri Jain's admission, in the same statement before Parliament, of 'scarcity' conditions and distress in various parts of as many as eight States. Ordinary people would think that 'serious difficulties' need not only be apprehended but they already existed when thousands and lakhs of people were affected and were, in fact, suffering from shortage of food. Trotting out a series of highly optimistic production statistics, the Minister denied that there was any 'justifiable cause for alarm.' The existence of widespread suffering proves either that the official statistics and estimates are wrong or the Government has failed to take necessary measure in time; or—perhaps this would be the more correct appraisal of the position—it is a combination of the two; that is, both the statistics and the Government's handling of the situation have been seriously faulty. In any case alarm in the sense of notice of danger would be justifiable."

Shri Jain explained that the food prices "were not generally higher" than in 1952-53, which was regarded as the base year, though they were higher than in 1954 and 1955 which were, however, years of unusually low prices. "Yet an increase of 24 per cent in rice prices during a period of record production could not be passed off as an expected thing," the *Vigil* points out.

Referring to the Minister's explanation that the rise in food prices arose from "higher incomes" of the people and hoarding by traders and producers the magazine writes: "Whether this explanation is good or not in other respects, it certainly fails to account for the discrepancies in price fluctuations between rice and wheat. If the explanation were a correct one it would have affected the rice and wheat prices more or less in the same manner. Increased consumption arising from higher incomes and hoarding should have affected the producers and consumers of rice and wheat more or less in the

same manner. Is there any reason to suppose that the pressure of increased consumption arising from higher incomes has been more operative among the rice-eaters or that factors favouring hoarding have had a freer field in the case of traders and producers of rice? If the Food Ministry is so cocksure about the causes of the rise in food prices what does it want an investigation by a high-powered committee for?"

As a matter of fact, however, none of the arguments of the Food Minister did bear any close examination. One could not have much faith in the statistics put forward by the Minister on the face of the fact of its contradiction by other equally forceful facts. The record production figures did not square up with scarcity conditions in a large part of the country. An investigation into the village areas again did not disclose any appreciable hoarding by the producers. As for the argument of "higher incomes" being responsible for higher prices it was belied by the fact that the food prices were beyond the means of a greater majority of the people. As the *Vigil* says, "If it is true that some people have now higher incomes than before, then it must be also true that as many people or perhaps more have now lower real incomes."

### *Dr. Roy and the Food Problem*

Of all the official statements that have recently been made about the recent food crisis in West Bengal the most astounding has been the one made by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, on May 28. While on the face of hard facts the Chief Minister had no alternative but to admit the seriousness of the situation (which his Food Minister had refused to do a few weeks earlier) he put forward a novel argument in explanation of the current food shortage in the State. In effect he told the Pressmen that gathered round him to hear his views on the problem that the shortage was largely due to the voraciousness of the Bengalis. He has advised the people to eat less and has even threatened them with the prospect of diabetes if they should ignore his valuable advice.

It is really an irony of fate that the proverbially ill-fed and undernourished people of West Bengal should be charged by their own

Chief Minister of gluttony. It is also an indication of the almost unbridgable chasm that now separates the rulers from the people. One would like to know wherefrom Dr. Roy, himself a distinguished medical man, could deduce his theory that the people ate too much.

Dr. Roy has advised the people to eat more of vegetables. But where are the vegetables? Even when they are available, are they cheaper or more nutritious in the majority of cases? If the nation has to maintain its efficiency it must be assured the minimum nutritional level. Any suggestion to lower the already dangerously low nutritional level of the people is the counsel of a mad man and should be treated as such.

### *Enquiry Commissions*

When during the latter part of 1956 the whole of the country was aroused over a series of railway accidents in the South of India which resulted in the disablement and the loss of many lives, and of property, thereby bringing ruin and disaster to scores of families, the Government of India could no longer remain indifferent to the feelings of the public, especially as the General Elections were near at hand. Therefore, the Government announced the appointment of a one-man commission consisting of Justice Shri S. L. T. Desai of Bombay High Court to investigate into the causes of such recurring railway accidents involving bridges and embankments. The commission was particularly to examine the causes of the Mahabubnagar train disaster which had just occurred.

Recently the Government published the findings of the Desai Commission with their observations on them. The Desai Commission virtually laid the blame for the bridge collapses onto the shoulder of the engineers who, the commission said, had failed to provide for sufficient water outlet through the bridges. The commission also rejected the suggestion that the particular accident at Mahabubnagar might have occurred due to any negligence on the part of the watchman on the bridge. On all vital points, however, the Government disagreed with the commission and upheld the report made by the Departmental Inspector before the appointment of the Enquiry Commission.

The Government's rejection of the findings of the Desai Commission has almost universally been greeted with disapprobation by the Indian press and public. Many have wondered why the Government took the trouble of appointing a commission if it had no desire to pay any heed to its findings.

Indeed, India is, perhaps, the only State where the Government shows such scant regard for independent judgements. The Government of West Bengal had appointed a commission to enquire into the firings during the food riots in Coochbehar. The enquiry was duly held but the public is as yet unaware about the findings or about the action taken on them by the Government. The Report of the commission appointed into the allegations of police oppression during the anti-tram fare rise movement in Calcutta was even printed but for some unaccountable reasons was burnt up on the day before it was due to be released to the public. This time the Government of India has somehow been persuaded to publish the report of the Desai Commission but has refused to act according to the recommendations.

The Enquiry Commissions are appointed by the Government with persons of its own choice yet it refuses to abide by the findings of such commissions. The public is unable to see the reasonings behind such an attitude. Moreover, in the particular case of the train accident at Mahabubnagar it is not clear to many how the Government could place greater reliance upon the report of the Departmental Inspector than the findings of an independent body constituted with a High Court Judge who is by training accustomed to view things dispassionately and objectively. Several hundreds of lives have been lost through train accidents over these past years, it is not easy to console oneself with the suggestion that nobody was responsible for these losses.

The Central Government's rejection of the findings of the Desai Commission in the case of the Mahabubnagar train disaster touches off a broader question whether such rejection does not reflect adversely upon the prestige of the High Court Judges—a point that has been examined in some details by the *Hitavada* in an editorial article in its issue of May 23, 1957.

The newspaper refers to a similar action by the Madhya Pradesh Government in reject-



ing the findings of the commission headed by Mr. Justice Chowdhury about the Chhui-khadan firings a few years back (commented upon in *The M.R.*) and writes that the action taken by both the Governments, the Union Government in the recent case and the M.P. Government in the earlier case "have raised a fundamental question: whether High Court Judges should be asked to conduct enquiries of this character and regarded such enquiries as a part of their legitimate work."

The newspaper recalls that under Article 143(1) the President might refer any question to the Supreme Court for advisory opinion while the Constitution of India laid down their duty for the Supreme Court: "In other countries—particularly the USA, Australia and the United Kingdom—the courts all along refused to give such advisory opinions on speculative questions because, as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council put it, "it would be extremely unwise for any judicial tribunal to attempt beforehand to exhaust all possible cases and facts which may occur to qualify, cut down and override the operation of the particular words when the concrete case is not before it (the court) . . . It is undesirable that the court should be called upon to express opinions which may affect the rights of persons not represented before it or touch matters of such a nature that its answers must be wholly ineffectual . . ."

"In the instant case of the Mahabubnagar tragedy," the *Hitavada* points out, "the families of those who have lost their dear and loved ones in the disaster have claim on the State for compensation. Mr. Justice Desai, therefore, expressed opinion on matters affecting the rights of persons to sue the Government for negligence and it was therefore inappropriate that a tribunal should have been set up to adjudicate on matters involving individual rights. In this particular case, the Government was one of the interested parties and, if we may say so, was one of the condemned parties and the condemned party chose the right of exercising the veto and setting aside the solemn findings of a Judge of the High Court."

The newspaper expresses the view that the Government should be informed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court that in future it would not be possible to spare High Court Judges to sit on such enquiries unless the

Government would undertake in the event of its disagreement with the findings of such enquiry, to refer the matter to the Supreme Court under Art. 143(1) of the Constitution for advisory opinion. "If any body or persons is to set aside the findings of a High Court Judge," the *Hitavada* writes, "that body or persons must have a judicial qualification to sit in appellate judgment over a High Court Judge's findings." In India, only the Supreme Court was in a position to sit over judgment over the findings of the High Court Judge.

### *The Japanese Premier in India*

Mr. Nobosuke Kishi, the Japanese Prime Minister, was on a visit to New Delhi from May 23 to May 25. During his stay in the Indian capital the Japanese Prime Minister had talks with the Indian Prime Minister and his colleagues after which a joint statement was issued by the two Premiers.

In the joint statement the Prime Ministers of India and Japan made an earnest and urgent appeal to the Big Powers for the immediate suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear test explosions and expressed the hope that the Big Powers would reach an agreement on the eventual abandonment of these tests and the prohibition of all kinds of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

Mr. Kishi was the first Japanese Prime Minister to visit India. His visit would naturally increase Indo-Japanese understanding. The Indian people had all along viewed with admiration the Japanese people's efforts to industrialise their country and, in post-war years, to regain their country's deflated independence. The differences in the international outlook of the two nations again did not deter the Indian people from an appreciation of the capacity for hard labour exhibited by the Japanese people during recent years which contributed so much to her quick economic recovery.

Referring to Mr. Kishi's visit to India, the *Hindu* in an editorial article on May 26 welcomes the Japanese Premier's offer of economic assistance to the success of India's Five-Year Plan. "We certainly will need all the assistance that Japan can give especially in the sphere of know-how and technique," the *Hindu* writes.

The newspaper adds: "In another respect also Japan's example and experience will be valuable. India and China (unlike other countries in South-East Asia) face the problem of industrialisation while their population is both under-employed and expanding at a high rate. This is a problem with which Japan is familiar—the problem of decentralisation of industry so that men will not be thrown out of work by the more efficient machine. We may note also, that Japan leads Asia in the control of population. The Japanese are fully aware of the fact that no matter how efficient their industry may become, a limit must be fixed to the expansion of population."

Referring to the joint appeals of the Indian and Japanese Premiers for an end of the nuclear test explosions the newspaper recalls that Japan was the worst sufferer in this respect and writes: "Japan has been extremely diplomatic in making her protests but her unwillingness to offend her allies should not be misinterpreted as weakness. Atomic weapons must be outlawed and the scandal of the tests must not be allowed to develop in a major international crisis."

### *Vatican and Portuguese Imperialism*

Shri T. D. Cunha, Chairman of the Goa Action Committee, refers to the nefarious role played by the Vatican in the continued Portuguese occupation of Goa, in an article in the weekly *People*, May 19, 1957.

Shri Cunha writes: "People in India are reluctant to criticise the Vatican fearing to hurt the religious feelings of the Catholics. Being themselves religious but tolerant, most Indians respect the susceptibilities of people of a faith different from theirs."

In the case of the Vatican, this happens because they wrongly consider this institution more as a centre of Roman Catholicism than a political power exercising its influence as it really is, in world affairs. This makes them shy to find fault with the Holy See even when their disapproval is fully justified."

Recounting how under the garb of neutrality in politics the Vatican was actively helping the Portuguese in Goa, Shri Cunha writes: "While the Catholic hierarchy is allowed to fully mobilise in Portugal as well as in Goa the forces of the church in a religious crusade

against the Goan liberation movement, the Catholic hierarchy in India is ordered by the Vatican to keep aloof from the Indian national activity aiming at the legitimate union with India of the Portuguese dominated territory."

Citing a concrete example of the Vatican's partiality in the matter he recalls the fact that while all Portuguese Cardinals, Patriarchs, Bishops and even some priests were actively working for keeping Goa, Daman and Diu under the continued occupation by the Portuguese imperialists, the Indian Cardinal Gracias had got a rebuke from the Pope for having once declared himself in favour of Goa's integration with India.

"During his visit to Rome," Shri Cunha writes, "the Indian Cardinal was ordered to absent himself from India on long foreign tours and not to be entangled in the Goan affair, although he is himself a son of Goa. Since then, the Cardinal has not uttered a single word on the subject of Goa, nor has he shown in any manner his solidarity with his suffering countrymen. On the contrary, under his command foreign missionaries and foreign money freely work for the disruption of the Goan nationalist forces thus helping the Portuguese cause."

What was even more, the Vatican definitely instructed all Indian Bishops not to side with India on the question of Goa.

Shri Cunha writes that there was close co-ordination between the Roman Catholic hierarchy in India, the Vatican and the Portuguese Government and some of the Roman Catholics were also involved in espionage activities. In this context he refers to a Jesuit priest in the service of the Government of India passing political information to Portugal. Besides, the international agencies of the Roman Catholic church was also carrying a campaign of propaganda in favour of Portuguese imperialism. Shri Cunha quotes a passage from an article in the semi-official Catholic bulletin entitled *Informations Catholiques Internationales* of February 15, 1957, in which high praise was bestowed upon Portugal for her refusal to part with her colonies. The Vatican Radio and other Vatican agencies likewise preached anti-Indian and anti-Goan Portuguese propaganda as the whole truth.

Shri Cunha quotes many other facts ex-

posing the dubious role of the Vatican. But the facts referred to above are enough to convince one about the authenticity of his allegations. It is to be hoped that the Government of India would consider this aspect of this functioning of Roman Catholic church in India. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, have also a duty to see that their devotion to their religion could not be used by unscrupulous foreigners to convert them into the tools of imperialism.

### *Family Planning in India and China*

A policy of controlled population growth is of recent origin. There is now a remarkable unanimity among observers that for the raising of the standard of the people of the deeply populated under-developed countries some degree of control of the growth of the population is an inescapable necessity. Even the Communists who, chiefly under Soviet inspiration (one of the founders of Marxism, Frederick Engels had as early as 1844 envisaged the need for population planning at some time), were until recently loudly decrying the Indian Government's efforts to encourage birth control, have by now come round to a reconsideration of their views following China's open enunciation of a policy of population planning for the country.

In India, the Government has adopted the policy of encouraging birth control since 1950. Substantial financial allocations were made for this purpose both in the First and Second Five-Year Plans. The Government's policy of encouraging a planned growth of population was reiterated on May 25, 1957, by no less a person than Premier Nehru himself who, while inaugurating the second meeting of the Family Planning Board in New Delhi, said that both from the social and economic points of view it was necessary to take up the question of family planning and press it forward with vigour and intelligence.

Yet what has been the outcome of the efforts made thus far, and how far again do the efforts go? Evidently the Government's policy has almost completely been ineffective in moulding the attitude of even the smallest section of city-dwellers—not to mention the villagers who provide by far the largest number of annual births. This is no wonder inasmuch as no sincere efforts were evident to make the

knowledge and material facilities of birth control available to the common man, apart from the holding of one or two closed-door conferences attended by the brass hats and a number of fashionable ladies. There is not a single public clinic even in a city like Calcutta where the people could get advice and material help on family planning. On the contrary, the Government hospitals have even closed down the services they had previously been rendering in the matter of birth control, so that people have been made to become a prey to greedy medical men who are extorting unusually large sums for relatively simple advice and operations, taking advantage of the Government's failure, on the policy level, to remove the legal restrictions. There is not also any effort visible in the direction of enforcing the legal provisions regarding the minimum age of the brides and bridegrooms though delayed marriage is one of the most effective means of controlling population growth.

Just compare with this the Chinese efforts in this direction. The Chinese Government was at first opposed to the idea of family planning. But when they were once convinced of the desirability of a need for family planning they took it up with a characteristic thoroughness which would be envied by any other Government in the world. They launched a campaign of mass education on the need and benefits of planned parenthood and organised lectures and demonstrations in cities, towns and villages, opened pilot clinics even in some of the remotest parts of the country, arranged for the cheap manufacture of contraceptives, removed the legal restriction on abortion under certain circumstances, arranged symposiums on the scope and need for changing the marriage laws. Certainly the Chinese have not by and large been convinced of the benefits of birth control. It would be a wonder if they would. In backward countries like India and China where the great majority of the people suffer from economic and social handicaps it is not so easy to inculcate new habits—especially if they conflict with their traditional outlook and make a call upon their not-too-heavy purse. Yet taken all things together, the Chinese Government, in a shorter time and perhaps at less cost as well, has been able to draw in a larger number of people in the campaign for planned parenthood.



While the India Government may not possess all the means at the disposal of the Government of China they can study the Chinese efforts in this direction with much profit to them and the nation as well.

### ■ *Congress and Prohibition*

The Congress is committed to a policy of prohibition. In several States prohibition is already an official policy. From the very beginning, however, an influential section of the people, including leading Congressmen, has been sceptical about the effectiveness of prohibition as a policy for social progress and emancipation. The Press has frequently published reports of increasing corruption and illicit distilling. In several States—particularly in the South—prohibition has hit the toddy makers, a section of the poorer people, by depriving them of their living without offering them any alternative means. An official commission in Andhra advised the scrapping of the prohibition policy in that State. But the Congress has remained adamant and has stuck to its policy of prohibition. The recent criticism of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur also does not appear to have had any impact upon the framers of Congress policy.

Apart from the broader question of the sociological implications of prohibition there is the question whether the Congress itself has any sincere belief in its efficacy and desirability. Such a question becomes all the more pertinent against the reported nomination of a number of people holding liquor-permits for election to the Nagpur Corporation. The Congress High Command is reportedly sending Shri Shriman Narayan to resolve the deadlock now facing the Nagpur Municipal Congress organisation following the division among its members on the issue of nomination of persons for the municipal body, and it would be resolved some way or other. There would still be the question how a section of the Congress could nominate a number of persons holding liquor permits to represent it in the municipal council directly violating the Central directive on policy. The people would watch with interest what step the Congress High Command cares to take against the persons who openly violated a policy on which the Congress placed such great importance throughout India

that even the sufferings of a great number of people also failed to impress upon them the necessity for a change of policy.

### *Amrit Kaur on the Budget*

We append below the news-report of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's criticisms and suggestions *re* the Budget. We congratulate her on speaking out her mind as befits a true follower of Gandhi which she is.

Her remarks on the dismal results of prohibition are borne out by facts as any truthful observer can confirm, and she is quite right about Salt-Tax.

"New Delhi, May 20.—If today's Rajya Sabha debate on the Budget proposals is an index of Parliamentary opinion, Mr. Krishnamachari will not find it easy to get them accepted unaltered.

"What must have disturbed the Government was not the expected condemnation from the Opposition benches, but the strong, if polite, criticism from Congress speakers as well.

"The most effective attack came from the former Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. She prefaced her speech with the remark that for the first time since independence she was able to offer some criticism.

"Her speech contained two suggestions which, unusual enough from a Congress member, were particularly remarkable from a well-known follower of Mahatma Gandhi: She asked the Government to scrap prohibition and impose a salt tax.

"As in other countries which had tried the experiment, she said prohibition had been a 'dismal failure' in India, too, and would continue to be so.

"A very small percentage of Indians were addicts, she argued and the money that should go to the Government was being taken by bootleggers who, she believed, were the biggest protagonists of prohibition. In addition, the administration was being corrupted.

"Gandhi's greatness, the Rajkumari said, lay in acknowledging an error and retracing a wrong step. If he had known the facts, she was sure he would have said that prohibition should be abolished and temperance achieved in other ways.

"She also felt that it was incorrect to follow Mahatma Gandhi literally by refusing to tax salt when circumstances had changed. His action

was symbolic, she said, but the tax could now earn large revenues without hitting the poor as hard as the new excises.

"The new Budget proposals might, she feared, make life impossible for the poor. While it should be the Government's objective to make the poor less poor, the proposals seemed to go the other way.

"Among the other changes she suggested were an increase in air fares instead of railway fares, and in the price of postal envelopes instead of postcards. She criticized the proposed tax on personal effects on the ground that it was impractical and would lead to harassment. She advised the Government to concentrate on reducing corruption and minimizing administrative expenditures.

"Each of the four succeeding speakers, from the Congress as well as the Opposition, took the line that the new proposals imposed an unfair burden on the poorer classes.

"Quoting figures, Mr. Chandulal Parikh (C) said taxation had increased by Rs. 190 crores in the last 14 months. It would have been all right if the new taxes had been gradually imposed, but they were too much for the country when imposed in such a short period.

"He was sure that the new taxes would be followed by a greater rise in prices and consequently in wages. This would further increase the cost of the second Plan. He pointed out that the income-tax exemption level, raised from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,200 only two years ago, was now being reversed.

"Speaking as an experienced businessman, he made the point that if the Government wished to industrialize the country rapidly, it should not tax undistributed profits. He did not object to individual taxes being raised and supported the levies on wealth and expenditure."

### *Rajaji on the Budget*

We append below the extracts from the speech made by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. The extract is from the *Hindusthan Times*. It shows that the "keenest analytical intellect in the Congress" still remains unimpaired.

Madras, May 16.—Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said today that the net result of the "experiment in national socialism" being tried by the Union Finance Minister by way of taxations

on wealth and expenditure would be "a great oppression, utter misery and general demoralization." He thought that the soul of the people at all significant levels would be enslaved to officialdom.

In a statement, criticizing the budget proposals, particularly the proposals to tax wealth and expenditure, Mr. Rajagopalachari said the tax on wealth and the tax on expenditure had been taken straight from academical thought to actual imposition in India.

Dwelling on the implications of the proposed taxes, he said: "Both the taxes are percentage taxes and not lump-sum taxes on slabs above the prescribed minimum of wealth held or of annual income, every rupee is to be taxed at the prescribed rate, and assessment and collection both fall into the operative field of bureaucracy. The immediate first step will be the constitution of new large departments of survey and valuation of wealth, and the second step will be the organization of a strict collection department which will scrutinize all the expenditure of the families involved. Survey and evaluation of all wealth, except agricultural land, means and includes an inventory and appraisal of house property, motor cars, furniture, typewriters, jewellery of the womenfolk and the title to them and the current market price of all the trinkets of gold and silverware, in fact all the sacred secrets of family life. The accounts must be verified and effective sanctions attached to untrue or inaccurate list and evaluations."

As for the tax on expenditure, he said, every man and woman above the income line prescribed would have to maintain a strict and accurate account throughout the days of his or her life, not merely of special items of expenditure but of every routine item also and vouch for accuracy and completeness on penalty of prosecution and heavy financial penalties.

He said: "An oppressive atmosphere and a condition will be universally created to which a straightforward communist State may well be preferred."

He added: "There are some seemingly innocent steps that will bring in so much corruption in their train in this our land that we must refrain from the experiment altogether. For once we launch a public policy of taxation, it will be impossible thereafter to withdraw. The commitments of public expenditure will not per-

mit any retreat whatever may be the obvious justification for withdrawal."

Mr. Rajagopalachari concluded: "If the gap between planned expenditure and resources is too great to be bridged otherwise than by such disastrous proposals, the better alternative is obviously to cut the plans down. Otherwise between commitments to foreign countries and widespread and intolerable corruption and oppression at home our democracy will be morally so enfeebled that we shall be inviting calamity and what I do not wish more specifically to describe."

*The Hindu* for May 23, gives another long statement by Sri Rajagopalachari from which we append extracts below:

Mr. Rajagopalachari next referred to the condemnation of the Food Ministry for the rise in prices of foodgrains and said that he did not agree that the Food Minister was responsible for this. "The Union Food Minister is a very able Minister and I know that," he said and added that if the Food Minister was not responsible there were a number of other causes for it. "There are fundamental causes that are operating and are raising the food prices, viz., agrarian laws and the population. The only way to lower the prices would be by force, by control which was another form of force, rigid regulation, by starving the farmer and a number of other unpleasant things. This was not welcome and it was not possible. Even if they got some food by this method it was not worthwhile."

Mr. Rajagopalachari dealt with the criticism that the taxes in this country were not advancing in relation to the national income as taxes had advanced in other countries. The agricultural income that could be taxed was different from the agricultural income which went to constitute the national income. The main body who made up the national income were merely cultivators, tenants and labourers without land. That was the reason for the low percentage of national income. It was impossible to make any advance in taxation with that kind of national income. It was no use comparing the advance made in taxation in relation to the national income in other countries with that of this country. "It is," Rajaji said, "a question of examining the human element that is involved in any proposition. It is quite easy to talk of stagnation, national income and taxation. If you go into the human element concerned in these various phases you

will find you are dealing with various types of people who make up the national income."

The national income has risen because of the rise in prices rather than due to increase in actual income.

Referring to the finance for the Second Plan, he said, the question they had to examine was whether the Plan was right and whether it had to be altered. "This Plan is really the great mischief-maker and not the Food Ministry," Rajaji remarked amidst laughter.

Rajaji said the Plan had given to use a modern word, a monolithic cast to our public affairs. Our public affairs had been imprisoned within the stone walls of the Plan and had been robbed of necessary flexibility. "If they were going to spread misery all over the land by high prices, it was impossible to spend money on the Plan. The Government had themselves admitted that inflation had been one of the results of the Plan. The taxation measures would raise the prices still further. If these were the essential parts of the Plan, it was better to look into it."

Referring to plans in Russia and China, he said that whatever derogatory views they might entertain about what was being done in Communist countries, they had done well. Even the Government of India agreed that they had done very well. The secret of their success lay not in better administration or spreadover of taxation measures—in fact, not taxation at all—but in forced labour of the people. That was the only thing that could make a backward people, carry out Plans for development rapidly. If labour was not voluntarily forthcoming, it was obtained by force. But, it was not possible to do such things in India.

With all their appreciation of the Plan, they should remember that the Plan consisted of certain projects in certain areas of the country. They were taxed in order that the projects might be carried out. But it was wrong to impose indirect tax on everybody in the country, without reference to the advantages attained in any particular area by such projects. It was not a suggestion for disintegration but they wanted fairness in the distribution of the burden. It was better to levy cesses in territories where development works had directly benefited the people. Instead of this, was it right to increase the prices of a post-card or journey by rail? It was not fair.

Looking into the Plan more carefully,



Rajaji said, they would find that they should cut their coat according to the cloth. The cloth was their capacity to pay and capacity to offer labour. If they had capacity to contribute labour, they could cut down the payment part of it. But, they wanted to get foreign aid and foreign loan. "All that will come back with compound interest," he said and added that it was not possible to live for any length of time on foreign aid. They had to take all these factors into account if they were to prepare a proper, scientific Plan which would be an instrument of happiness and not misery.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said that criticism of the budget proposals had been widespread. He had received telegrams congratulating him on his "bold" step in criticising the budget. He considered this attribution of "boldness" to him revealed the fear of the people to criticise the Government. No doubt, they should not be irrelevant or impolite in their utterances, but they should be bold to voice their feelings. The people who had congratulated him also wanted him to go about from place to place to campaign against the taxation measures. This was nothing but "fantastic nonsense." How could he go about criticising his old colleagues; nor was he in a fit condition to do it. It was for those who had been hit by the measures, to take up the matter and agitate. Personally, he was not affected by anything contained in the budget.

He said, criticism from commercial and industrial circles seemed to be characterised by a "silent satisfaction" that the tax burden had fallen on the poor also. But, he would analyse the figures. The total estimated receipts from the proposals would be about Rs. 99 crores, out of which about Rs. 25 crores only would be contributed by the rich. The rest would be borne by the poor.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said there were two ways of getting popularity and approval of the proposals. One was by doing what was right; the other was by approaching the organs of public opinion. Important newspapers were directly dealt with. First of all Government pretended to inflict enhancement of duty on newsprint but then withdrew it. Human psychology was peculiar and they felt flattered when the tax was withdrawn on the pretext that it was an "error." But newspaper people seemed to understand that it was not accidental but a

real imposition which was withdrawn later. From a perusal of the leading articles on the budget published in the various papers in the country, he was able to find a certain mildness prevailing in their criticism of the budget. There was not the original verve in the attack, which was found before the withdrawal of the impost. He felt that that was not the way in which criticism in the organs of public opinion was to be conducted. Of course, everybody had a right to take care of his own interest, but the Press had a definite responsibility. It was not right for them to turn a blind eye on the lowering of the minimum taxable income while congratulating the Finance Minister on lowering the rates in the higher incomes. In this process, the Finance Minister had not lost any revenue; he had gained the goodwill of those above and ill-will of those below.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said people should not be afraid of criticising the Government, on account of their high regard for the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister, whatever was said and done, belonged to the Government; the Finance Minister had to be defended by him. Therefore his commendation of the budget should not deter them from criticising it. Nor were they justified in seeking the opinion of diplomatic representatives such as the Ambassador of the United States on the soundness of the proposals. America was interested in keeping the Communists off and would therefore approve of taxation in order to find the resources for the Plan.

Rajaji expressed the fear that the taxation measures would only increase as they proceeded implementing the Plan, year after year. He cited imposition by him, 20 years ago, of the sales-tax of one pie per rupee. It had increased since and very much with the introduction of "naya paisa." Indirect taxes, once put in, would never be withdrawn and would go on adding to the burden of the poor, unless there was a safety valve. A situation would arise when the taxpayer could not pay. Friends of the Finance Minister, he hoped, would advise him to keep far away from that climate and not indulge in "financial brinkmanship."

Rajaji referred to the criticism of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur of the Budget and said that everybody was pleased that an ex-Minister made the criticism. Rajaji said that she made a great mistake in asking for the imposition of the salt

tax and the drink tax. "Look at the idea of making the inefficiency of the Government an excuse for putting a tax," he said. Broadly considered it was ridiculous to scrap Prohibition because the Government had failed. If the administration was inefficient, they must improve it. If they had the tax then it would only add to the burden of the poor. It will add to their misery, not only financial but also psychological.

Coming back to the taxation proposals, Rajaji said that they were sugar-coated for the Legislature to say: "Very good, the rich as well as the poor have been taxed." Since Mr. Krishnamachari was his friend he knew his mind and his intellectual level was very high. His mind had run in the direction of new scientific kinds of taxation that could be imposed on the rich. He had taken up the wealth-tax and the expenditure-tax and tried to make it as scientific as possible. Kerosene went up in price as soon as the taxation proposals were announced. The poor man had also been called upon to pay more by way of increased railway fare and tax on tea, coffee, etc.

A new invention of jurisprudence had been introduced in the Budget, he said. What was the tax on expenditure, he asked, and answered that because they bought something they had to pay the tax. "This measure of tax on expenditure," he said, "is really an encroachment on the State's sphere of taxation on sales and purchases." They might, he said, read the constitutional position and they would find no provision made for a tax on expenditure. He hoped the legal implications of the taxation on expenditure and railway rate would in due course be examined. Again, an agricultural article had been treated as a manufactured article and this was an encroachment on the rights of the States. He thought that the States which got doles from the Central Government were not going to contest the position. If duty could be levied on extraction of oil then excise duty could be levied on rice also.

### *Indian Editors Abroad*

K. Balaraman, the U.N. correspondent of the *Hindu* at New York, sends the following news to his paper.

The five top Indian editors who have come here under the auspices of the International Press Institute headed for Boston and the Niagara Falls

to-day after four days in this metropolis of concrete sky-scrapers and asphalt canyons. During their stay here, they were wined and dined by Indians, official and non-official, and smiled upon by the pleasant spring weather. However—and this must have come as an unpleasant surprise to them; that they who have thrown open the hospitable columns of their respective newspapers to every Tom, Dick and Harry delegation from abroad which has visited India—they have so far been completely ignored by the American Press. Neither the American Committee for I.P.I. which is supposed to be in charge of the arrangements for their visit here, nor the large-numbered Public Relations Staff of the Government of India located here, who could have utilised this opportunity of the editors' visit to get some favourable publicity for India seem to have devoted any thought to the public relations side of the editors' delegation, with the result, not a single line has appeared about them in the newspapers. Some Deputy Minister from India has only to come and the entire Government of India's Public Relations team here goes around the Press hawking news of the visit. Evidently, India's top editors are not important enough people.

The Foreign Policy Association gave a dinner for the visiting editors last night and Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* made a speech, which doubtless the Press Trust had dutifully cabled to India and has been splashed in the Indian Press, but both the function and speeches have gone completely unnoticed here. The editors met the U.N. Secretary-General yesterday, for which they have to thank India's live-wire permanent delegate, Mr. Arthur Lall, who at my request, arranged the meeting at short notice.

### *The Defence of India*

The news reports from the *Statesman*, given *infra* would indicate that there is at least one Elder Statesman left who is not befogged and bewildered by shibboleths and fetishes, like our myopic and hag-ridden tin-gods.

New Delhi, May 22.—"A few hours before the Lok Sabha was due to discuss the official resolution criticizing the production of nuclear weapons, Dr. H. N. Kunzru, who has been associated with more than one military committee, created a

stir in the Rajya Sabha by demanding that the Indian Army be equipped with atomic weapons.

"Much as he regretted the use of such weapons, he said it was necessary to face facts. India could not afford to have weapons inferior to those possessed by her neighbours.

"He also suggested better amenities for officers and men and the purchase of submarines to protect the air-craft-carrier India would soon acquire."

### *Working Committee News*

We append below a report from the *Statesman* on the latest deliberations of that effete body, which has been completely emasculated since the Congress came into power, the Congress Working Committee.

Time was when the Working Committee—and through it the Congress—was the last court of appeal of a helpless people against the bloodless, soulless and ruthless workings of the administration. Today the administration has swallowed the Congress, its sole function being to approve and applaud.

New Delhi, May 27.—"Devoting the best part of its seven-hour meeting to the problem of revitalizing the party organization, the Congress Working Committee today took two important decisions.

"One was to make the Congress more 'functional' by 'collectively affiliating' organizations such as Women's Councils, trade unions, Kisan Sabhas and co-operative societies. The other was to make the elections within the party—except those to the basic units, the mandal committees—indirect.

"The committee felt that indirect elections would eliminate much of the rancour and rift inherent in the present system of direct elections and that new elements brought in by 'functional affiliation' would make the party more broad-based.

"A special sub-committee, headed by Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, was formed to prepare, in the light of today's decision, a detailed scheme for the consideration of the All-India Congress Committee, meeting here on June 1 and 2.

"It was also decided that apart from this

sub-committee's report, which will be presented to it in the form of a resolution, the A.I.C.C. should consider two other official resolutions relating to the food problem and the country's general economic situation.

"These resolutions will be drafted at an informal meeting of the Working Committee on the eve of the two-day A.I.C.C. session.

"While explaining today's decisions of the Committee to reporters, Mr. Shriman Narayan, Congress General Secretary, categorically denied a Press report that a proposal to ask Mr. Nehru to step down from the office of Prime Minister had been 'discussed at the highest level.'

"He said that one of the non-official resolutions tabled for the A.I.C.C. did contain this proposal and the Working Committee had generally examined its admissibility along with other resolutions. But he could not say immediately if the resolution would be admitted for discussion at the A.I.C.C.

"Informed sources, however, said subsequently that the resolution in its present form was bound to be ruled out of order. It is learnt that when the resolution was read out at the Committee's meeting today, along with other non-official resolutions, the only reaction it evoked was general laughter.

"Once again Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari was present at the Committee's meeting which continued for a short while the overnight discussion on the taxation proposals.

"While agreeing that it was 'absolutely necessary' to raise resources for the Second Five-Year Plan, the Committee laid stress on the imperative need for economy in governmental expenditure and for creating an atmosphere of austerity and simplicity in the country.

"It was specifically suggested that expenditure on huge buildings should be avoided and that Ministers and Congress leaders should use smaller cars.

"Mr. Nehru's review of foreign affairs is understood to have been exceedingly brief. Two subjects referred to were the Middle East and Indo-Pakistan relations. He is reported to have said that the overall international situation continued to be 'bad.'"



# THE ROLE OF OPPOSITION IN THE HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE (1952—1956)

BY PROF. C. P. BHAMBHRI, M.A.

PARLIAMENT is the centre and focus of a Parliamentary democracy, and the real basis of the latter lies in the toleration of the opposition, which keeps the Government and the civil servants on toes. The Indian-Constitution-makers also accepted the principle of Parliamentary democracy for their country. The Indian Parliament consists of two Houses. The Upper House is known as the Council of States; and the Lower House is known as the House of the People. The members of the Lower House are to be elected directly on the basis of adult suffrage. The first election to the House was held in 1951-52. The first House under the republican constitution met on Tuesday, 13th May, 1952. As party Government is the vital principle of representative Government, many parties took active part in the elections. The Congress Party, which was able to capture the majority of the seats of the House of the People, formed the Government, and many other groups and independent members, who were in minority, formed the opposition. The percentage of votes polled in favour of the Congress party in the general election of 1951-52 of the House of the People was 45.01, and it was able to capture 364 seats out of 499 seats. The rest of the seats were occupied by the opposition groups and independent members.

Before we discuss the actual role of the opposition in the House of the People, it is essential to know, what the opposition is actually expected to do. The attack and criticism of the Government and individual Ministers is the function of the opposition. The duty of the opposition is to oppose. It adopts Sir Toby's advice, "So soon as ever thou seest him, draw; and as thou drawest, swear horrible." (quoted from W. I. Jennings' *Cabinet Government*).

If Parliament's main function is to criticise the Government, the opposition is its most important part. Its members are, so to speak, critics by profession. The Government has its majority and so can govern; but it must do so under a constant fire of criticism from the opposition. Opinion outside is assumed to be divided; therefore it is desirable that inside the House Ministers may be reminded of Cromwell's

injunction, "I beseech you, by the bowels of Christ, think it possible that you may be mistaken."—Jennings: *The British Constitution*, p. 81.

Moreover, the opposition of one day will be the government of the next, but the condition is that it shall maintain its identity and appear always with an alternative programme, which will be regarded by the electorate as a pledge.

"Opposition parties play a necessary role in a democracy by providing a training ground for politicians who may at any moment be called upon to discharge the functions of Government."—A. B. Lal: *The Indian Parliament*, p. 270.

Thus opposition provides an alternative Government also.

The immense public benefit of an organized opposition has been fully recognized. It is a great check upon corruption and defective administration. It is, too, the means by which individual injustice is prevented. It is the public duty of the opposition to raise questions of corruption and mal-administration. It is a duty hardly less important than that of Government. It is due to this fact that in England, "His Majesty's Opposition" is regarded second in importance to "His Majesty's Government." It is known as "His Majesty's Loyal Opposition" in England. The leader of the opposition is paid £2,000 a year. In Canada, the salary of the leader of the opposition has been provided since 1906. In a Community where no opposition parties are permitted, the alternative Government is one of 'courtiers, policemen, soldiers and gangsters' and it is only by violent methods that the Government may be ousted. An effective opposition renders a government a going concern. It prevents the formation of monopolies in politics. It ensures a neutral and non-political civil service and armed forces.

To find out whether a people is free it is necessary only to ask if there is an opposition and if there is, to ask where it is. The existence of a strong opposition is the greatest guarantee that there shall be no tyranny of the ruling party. Due to the non-existence of the opposi-

tion parties in Soviet Russia, she is very rightly described as a totalitarian State. Wherever only one party is allowed to exist, civil service, army and judiciary, all become party affairs fully controlled by the party in power as in Soviet Russia. Thus liberty of the individual for which he has been struggling through all the ages, is sacrificed at the altar of a monolithic party.

Thus an effective opposition is very necessary for the right functioning of a Parliamentary democracy. But it is not the business of the opposition to obstruct the Government. Its purpose is to criticise not to hinder. Obstruction brings Parliamentary Government into contempt. The Government must govern and the opposition must oppose. The Government has the power to obstruct the opposition, and the opposition has the power to obstruct the government, but neither kind of obstruction is desirable because it leads to confusion and results in inefficiency.

#### TYPES OF OPPOSITION IN THE HOUSE

Inside the House there are many opposition groups and also many independent and unattached members. Sri Nehru has said that they can be represented in colours from scarlet, various hues of red, pink and yellow, to deep blue. Traditional classification of right, left and centre is inapplicable to the various groups as represented in the Lok Sabha. We can divide them into extreme left, extreme right and moderate left. The ruling party is attacked from the extreme right by Jan Sangh and the Mahasabha. It accuses the rulers of resorting to radical social and economic reforms in the society and advocates an aggressive policy towards Pakistan. The second type of attack is made from the extreme left that is the Communists, who form the largest single group in the Lok Sabha. They advocate radical social reforms and economic changes. "It criticises the ruling party from the angle of the toiling people." The third group is represented by the Democratic Socialists and the Praja Socialist party. They are moderate leftists. They also believe in social and economic changes, but they are not as aggressive and violent as the Communists. Then there are many unattached and independent members who are mainly guided by the principle of 'opinion shall be expressed as

the occasion arises.' Thus the opposition consists of various divided, even antagonistic, groups which are fundamentally and ideologically opposed to each other. Sri Nehru observed about the nature of the opposition that

"They hold together, I suppose because of the stress of circumstances and sometimes there are marriages of convenience, sometimes followed by rapid divorces, and on the whole we find these strange bed-fellows consorting together because of a certain spirit of opposition to the majority group."

The opposition benches were graced by great personalities like the late Dr. S. P. Mukherji, Sri N. C. Chatterji, Prof. Hiren Mukherji, Sri Ashoka Mehta, Dr. N. B. Khare, Sri H. V. Kamath, Acharya Kripalani, Dr. Lanka Sundaram, etc. The opposition has great speakers. Dr. Lanka Sundaram speaks with an average of 200-220 words a minute in English:

"There is the perennial word-spinning of Hiren Mukherji, the logistics of N. C. Chatterji, the crisp uncouth aphorisms of N. B. Khare and the skilled machine-gunning of Renu Chakravarty."

Had Dr. S. P. Mukherjee lived longer, he would have contributed greatly to make the opposition more effective than it is today. Mr. S. S. More once said regarding the opposition members:

"We do command, on our side, though so small, some ex-Presidents of the Congress, some ex-General Secretaries of the Congress, some doughty fighters in the cause of freedom who still carry on their faces the scars of the freedom's battle. We have some ex-Judges of High Court."

Thus opposition benches were occupied by some great brains of the country.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE OPPOSITION

Before we discuss the actual role of the opposition we should know what was the attitude of the government towards the opposition. The attitude of the government can best be described in the words of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru who was the leader of the ruling party. He said:

"We welcome the coming to this House of the members of the opposition whoever they may be, and however much we might

differ from them in many matters we welcome them, because undoubtedly they represent a certain section of Indian opinion, because it is good in a House of this kind to have a vigorous opposition so that whether it is government or the majority party, they do not become complacent. If I may strike a personal note, regardless of the present differences, when I see many faces of old comrades who belong to the opposition now, some memories of the past come to me. I do not wish to forget them, and I cannot imagine that ways may not be found for a measure of co-operation with those with whom we have co-operated in the past." —Sri Nehru, 22nd May, 1953, *Parliamentary Debates*.

He once again said:

"I invite members of the opposition, not only members of the House, but others outside this House to come and confer with us in regard to planning in general or in regard to our Five-Year Plan. . . . As a matter of fact, our attitude here in regard to the opposition ought to be appreciated not only with respect to organizations which openly have the policy of conducting activities which can only be called subversive activities but with every kind of opposition. I should like to know in what country in Asia, America or Europe or Africa opposition of this type has greater freedom? . . . The House will remember that on a previous occasion I said that I would welcome as much co-operation as possible from members opposite, in fact, from the whole House. It is very difficult to find out a method or to organise a method for that co-operation. . . . And I mentioned to the Members of the opposition that I would like to confer with them on any important matter that arises and a few days ago we had such affairs. . . . I am not talking of co-operation in this House but actual consultations, etc., in regard to important matters. . . . In administration there are many things in common which any political party would have to do anyhow."

Whatever has been said above about the freedom of the opposition parties and the consultations of the Government with the oppo-

sition, was it a fact or a lip-service only? As far as freedom of the opposition parties was concerned they were really free. As far as consultation of the Government with the opposition was concerned, whether it was a fact or not, is to be known by the election of the Speaker and other important Parliamentary affairs.

#### OPPOSITION AND THE ELECTION OF THE SPEAKER

The new House of the People was to elect its chairman (Speaker). There is a very hoary and exemplary convention which is followed in the British House of Commons, that is, the Speaker is elected unanimously. The convention has a great practical advantage. The office of the Speaker is of great responsibility and it demands impartiality from the holder of the office. If you want to guarantee his impartiality, he should be elected unopposed. An elected Speaker on a party basis cannot be as impartial as a non-party Speaker.

The new Parliamentarians did not take advantage from the experience of the Mother of Parliaments. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru proposed the name of the late Sri G. V. Mavlankar, and A. K. Gopalan the name of Sri Shata Ram More. The House was divided. Ayes were 394. Noes were 55. The Congress candidate was elected as Speaker.

This even is of great significance. It shows clearly that in the future Parliaments when the opposition groups shall be stronger as it should be in the interest of true Parliamentary democracy, the office of the Speaker shall be a greatly contested office. Though he will behave in an impartial way in the House, psychologically he cannot forget that he was opposed by many honourable members of the House, and many members also cannot forget that they had opposed the Speaker, and if such a member's motion for adjournment is disallowed or he is not allowed to speak on any occasion when he likes to speak, though perfectly according to the rules of procedure, the member should think that the Speaker is taking revenge. Thus the *bonafides* of the Speaker should always be in doubt. Impartiality of the Speaker is not only desirable but nonetheless essential. Opposition today has to fight the steam-roller of the Congress. There are so many victorious leaders of the victorious party in the House and it is not



unusual that the wine of victory goes to their heads and the minorities suffer. Protection of the interests of the minorities is in the hands of the Speaker.

Opposition had a grievance that it was not consulted by the majority party in the election of the Speaker. The late Dr. S. P. Mukherjee said:

"We would have been happier if you had stood for re-election as an independent candidate and not as a candidate on behalf of any particular party. That is a convention which is accepted throughout the world and no one opposes such a re-election of the Speaker. Again, Sir, in your selection it would have been better if the leader of the House had consulted the opposition at least informally before your name was selected."

There would have been a practical difficulty with the majority party, how to consult various opposition groups and many independent members. This difficulty does not absolve them of the responsibility of starting a bad tradition. The conventions and traditions laid down by this Parliament shall be followed by later Parliaments and also by many State legislatures. Moreover, a non-party Speaker was very essential because Parliamentary life has only recently begun in our land and it is yet a tender plant that requires delicate and careful handling and careful nursing. The late Mavlankar rightly observed:

"To expect the Speaker to be out of politics altogether without the corresponding convention (unopposed election) is, perhaps, entertaining contradictory expectations."—13th May, 1952, *Parliamentary Debates*.

His partisan election aroused suspicion and a vote of censure was moved later on. This we shall discuss afterwards.

The vote of censure moved against the late Mavlankar did not change the ideas of the majority party. They refused to learn anything either from the experience of the British House of Commons or from their own experience, and on 8th March, 1956, Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyanger was elected Speaker on party basis and Sri H. N. Mukherji said:

"I feel, for example, that your election to this office could have been, perhaps, more felicitously pursued if different parties and

groups were really and truly consulted before the Government Party made its decision and announced it in the Press. The Minister of Parliamentary affairs (Sri S. N. Sinha) is a very pleasant man. No wonder, like the *kasturi* deer who exudes his own perfume, he exudes a sense of strength and self-confidence because of the serried ranks of his party; and of course, he told us about the fact of your having been chosen by the Congress party. But that was merely an intimation of a decision and not the intimation of an intention that the Congress party wanted to discuss it with other Members of this House . . . that a convention should be created whereby election to the chair is preceded by consultation not merely in an informal sense but in a formally substantial sense between the different parties and groups in this House."

#### OPPOSITION AND MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT

An adjournment motion is a device to bring something before the House, which is not included in the agenda or the order paper. It is something like taking up a new matter which was not intended to be taken up. There must be extreme urgency or emergency regarding the matter included in the adjournment motion. An adjournment motion should be a matter of exception and not a general rule.

In the House of the People it had become a fashion or a matter of habit with the opposition to place before the chair the motion for adjournment. From 13th May, 1952, the first day of the session of the newly elected Lok Sabha up to 12th August, 1952, a duration of three months, the following adjournment motions were put forward:

1. May 16th, 1952—Three motions for adjournment on food subsidies.
2. May 20th, 1952—Motion for adjournment: Train accident near Bikaner. Three notices of adjournment motions.
3. May 22, 1952—Motion for adjournment: Firing on railway employees.
4. May 27, 1952—Motions for adjournment: (i) Rioting near Civil Court, (ii) Tension in the City of Delhi.

5. May 28, 1952—Motion for adjournment:  
Fast by Swami Sita Ram, residence, Andhra State.
6. May 30, 1952—Motion for adjournment:  
Tension in Agartala or Tripura.
7. June 2, 1952—Motion for adjournment:  
Closure of Mills in Indore.
8. June 25, 1952—Motion for adjournment:  
Bombing of Yalu River Electric Plants by American planes.
9. June 30, 1952—Motion for adjournment.
10. July 15, 1952—Motion for adjournment.
11. July 16, 1952—Motion for adjournment:  
Use of force by police in Calcutta.  
Food policy re: West Bengal.
12. August 2, 1952—Motion for adjournment:  
Anti-Hindi agitation in the South.
13. August 4, 1952—Motion for adjournment:  
Accident in Champion Reefs Mine on March 9, 1953.

The following motions for adjournment were moved:

- (i) Firing on refugees at Yole Camp;
- (ii) Arrest of three members;
- (iii) Ban on procession in Delhi;
- (iv) Interference with rights of three members;
- (v) Lathi charge and tear gas on a public meeting in Bara Tuti.

From 13th May, 1952, up to 18th December, 1954, about 89 motions for adjournment were moved.

Opposition did not use its sense of discretion while moving a motion for adjournment. Some motions for adjournment were disallowed by the Speaker because they pertained to States over which the Central Government had no say. Thus the principle of division of powers on which the whole structure of federalism is based was not properly understood in certain cases and a motion for adjournment was moved *e.g.*, lathi charge by police in Calcutta. Certain motions for adjournment related to trivial matters; for that the work of the whole House could not be suspended, *e.g.*, on 28th May, 1952, fast by Swami Sita Ram *re.* Andhra State. Now in a country with a population of over 350 million people, one sane or insane man goes to

a fast for a right or wrong purpose. How can you adjourn the work of the whole House? There was also a great deal of duplication in the adjournment motions. Here is a concrete example of a divided opposition. One adjournment motion which was allowed was by Dr. Lanka Sundaram, on February 18th, 1954. All other adjournment motions up to that date were disallowed by the Speaker. There was a great grievance in the hearts of the opposition members against the Speaker on the issue of adjournment motions. As we shall see later on this was one of the grounds of censuring the Speaker in the motion of censure.

But, did they serve any purpose? Yes, by moving adjournment motions sufficient information was obtained from the Government. It could also bring to the notice of the general public, the blunders of the Government. Though adjournment motions were disallowed, it shows that opposition was very vigilant and it wanted to bring to the notice of the House and the Government any and every matter of public importance beginning from the fast of any man, firing, accidents, Sec. 144, etc.

#### OPPOSITION AND THE COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE

Every Legislative Assembly takes the help of a large number of Committees in the business of law-making. In a House of 499 members (as our House of the People is) it is very difficult that every member may get an opportunity to express his opinion on every bill. The real scrutiny of the bill takes place in the committee. As far as membership of these committees is concerned it is not the privilege of only the majority party to have all the members of the various committees of the House from its own party. Members of the Opposition are also duly represented in the committee of the House. There they play a very important role. In the committees the members can make greater contribution, and it is here that the barricades of party or group, which are put in open debates under the procedure, fall, and each member can go ahead with full steam, and even completely dominate the committee with special knowledge.

Thus in each and every committee of the House members of the Opposition had their representatives, *e.g.*, opposition had its representatives in the panel of chairman, *e.g.*, in 1952-

53, Sri N. C. Chatterjee, Srimati Renu Chakravarty, etc., were there. Renu Chakravarty was also found in the committee on petitions of 1952-53, on committee of privileges. Sri A. K. Gopalan, the late Dr. S. P. Mukherjee, Sucheta Kripalani, etc., were representing Opposition.

The following case will be interesting to note. A point of privilege was raised by Sri A. K. Gopalan on 23rd June, 1952. He wanted that certain papers laid on the table by Dr. S. Sinha should be referred to the Committee of Privileges. Gopalan himself was a member of the Privileges Committee. A member wanted to know whether A. K. Gopalan will take part in the discussions and also vote in the committee when the matter is discussed and the Speaker said all these questions shall be decided by the Privileges Committee itself.

The opposition members played an important role in the deliberations and discussions of the committee though this is an aspect of their role which is least publicised and is more or less completely hidden from the gaze of the public.

#### TIME FACILITY TO THE OPPOSITION IN THE HOUSE

Sufficient time was allotted to the opposition to take part in Parliamentary debates and discussions. There was the difficulty regarding the apportioning of time among the various groups, parties, and individuals of the Opposition Benches, in addition to ensuring that the party in power is allotted its due share. The result was that the debating time of each sitting which was four hours after the question hour, was divided *pro-rata* on the basis of the actual strength of the Congress party on the one hand, and the opposition parties, groups and individuals on the other hand. The following, for example, was the division of the debating time (excluding the question hour) as fixed on February 20th, 1953:

Parties and individuals	Strength	Out of four hours daily
Congress party	364	2 hrs. 24 mins.
Communist group	35	25 minutes
National Democrats	31	22 minutes
Independents		
(Tulsidas'-ed)	26	18 minutes
Praja-Socialists	23	16 minutes
Unattached Members	16	15 minutes

Since this allotment was made by the Speaker, there have been many changes in the composition of these groups of the opposition and the time was re-allotted.

The implication of this allotment of time is that there was reasonable facility regarding the time available each day for each of the organised parties, groups and individuals, and it was for the parties and groups to allot the time among its members. Time was also allotted on a block basis for each bill or resolution, with the result that recognised parties and groups knew in advance the total time available to them in a particular debate. It enables them to select their own speakers and notify their names to the chair for being called in the appropriate order to maintain a proper balance in debates. Thus opposition got ample time in the debates to express its opinion and ideas. There were occasions when leaders of the parties and groups consumed all the time available to their section in the House, and sometimes these leaders completely prevented any other member of their party or group from intervening. The late Dr. S. P. Mukherjee used to do this quite often and the latest example is that of Acharya Kripalani, who took nearly an hour and a half on the Preventive Detention Bill Debate (Autumn Session, 1953), with the result that he almost blocked every other speaker from his group.

#### OPPOSITION AND QUESTION HOUR

The most interesting and the most important hour in the House is the question hour. This, also, provides the best opportunity to the members of the opposition to perform their duty of a critic. They put many questions, either to the individual Ministers or to the Cabinet as a collective body, regarding various departmental matters or national problems. A Minister has to be very alert while answering various questions. Government may give oral answers to the questions or written answers to the questions put by the opposition. The opposition could get much information by these questions and supplementary questions. In the answers to the questions, Government gave many assurances and they were later on placed on the table.

"The essence of democracy is the answerability of Ministers to Parliament. It is a privilege of members to ask questions and



demand information otherwise on matters of public importance. Some of the questions cannot be answered fully even at reasonable notice. Some of the information demanded cannot be furnished immediately. On such occasions, Ministers have naturally to promise the House to furnish information in due course. Responsible government implies that Ministers' promises should be fulfilled."

On May 5, 1954, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. S. N. Sinha, said: "I beg to lay on the table the following statements showing the action taken by the Government on various assurances, promises and undertakings given by Ministers during the various sessions as shown against each:

1. Consolidated statement, sixth session, 1954, of the House of People.
2. Supplementary statement No. V, fifth session, 1953, of the House of People.
3. Supplementary statement, No. X, fourth session, 1953, of the House of People.
4. Supplementary statement, No. XV, third session, 1953, of the House of People.
5. Supplementary statement, No. XV, second session, 1952.
6. Supplementary statement, No. XVI, first session, 1952.
7. Supplementary statement, No. VII, fifth session, 1951, Prov. Parl.
8. Supplementary statement, No. XI, fourth session, 1951, Prov. Parl."

#### OPPOSITION AND DEBATES AND DISCUSSIONS ON BILLS

The Opposition participated in debates of the House and moved its amendments to various matters which were meant for discussion on the President's speech to the first Lok Sabha; the opposition moved about two hundred amendments, on ninety different subjects. In the end, 27 amendments remained, opposition withdrew 25 amendments, only two were left for voting. One amendment was put to vote and was lost. The other was withdrawn. Thus the motion of thanks was passed. Thus the opposition could not succeed where voting took place because it was numerically weak as every Parliamentary opposition is. So we cannot measure the success of the opposition in this way. We can

measure its success in a qualitative way. Whether it was able to change or influence any plan or policy of the Government? Whether any amendment against the Government bill was accepted by the Government? Could the opposition take any promises from the Government for any future question?

Yes, in these fields the Opposition was successful up to some extent. All the cut motions moved by the opposition members against the Railway Budget of 1952 were defeated. But it does not mean that the defeat of the cut motions was the total annihilation of the opposition. Many informative points were put forward by the opposition which influenced the policies of the Government. The Hon'ble Lal Bahadur Shastri said:

"About ten cut motions have been moved by various members of the House. I shall deal with the subject-matter of those cut motions which have been discussed on the floor of this House. I need not assure the other members of this House that the suggestions made by them either from this side or that side will be looked into, and I propose to ask the Railway Board to take special care in sifting the various suggestions made here and put up a note to me as to how and when the suggestions made would be translated into action."—*Railway Budget, 1952.*

Sri C. D. Deshmukh said on Indian Companies Amendment Bills (July 17, 1952):

"I have made a note, I may say of the various observations, which have been on the whole very helpful, and we shall certainly bear them in mind, particularly the point about location, I am sorry to say, and that point is very much in our mind that the location should be diversified."

In Indian Companies Amendments Act, Sri C. D. Deshmukh himself accepted an amendment moved by Sri N. C. Chatterji. In Delimitation Commission Bill, 1952 an amendment was accepted by the Hon. Minister himself. The resolution regarding President's Proclamation on P.E.P.S.U., 1953, was passed as amended. Many Government bills were passed as amended in which the Government itself accepted the amendments.

Sometimes the opposition members carried

the House and even the Government with themselves. Though such occasions were very rare. The most famous example is that relating to the motion first debated in May, 1953, on the suggested association of members of the Rajya Sabha with the Public Accounts Committee of the House of the People. The Congress party had decided upon this course. The Prime Minister as leader of the House, had submitted in his name the appropriate motion. He also spoke on it. A three-line whip of the Congress party was issued. Dr. Lanka Sundaram opened the debate from the opposition side. Even before he had concluded his speech, there were hurried consultations between the Prime Minister on the Front Treasury Bench and the Government agreed to the postponement of a decision on the motion till the next session—it was a great success for the opposition when moneys were voted for various departments, the whole departments' activities are scrutinised and the opposition gets ample opportunity.

#### OPPOSITION AND THE PREVENTIVE DETENTION

When Preventive Detention (Second Amendment) Bill was moved in 1952, and Preventive Detention Bill debate took place (Autumn Session) 1953, the members of the opposition were very much excited and they very vehemently opposed the bill. They were fearing that it might be used against them. Dr. K. N. Katju replied from the Government side:

"This Preventive Detention measure is directed against persons, not parties who may be interested in causing harm to our Defence, to the conduct of the External Affairs and to the security of India."

He again said pointing out towards the opposition parties:

"If we talk of democracy, if we talk of the horrors of detention without trial and the ultimate right of every individual to go and defend himself, the condition precedent is that there must be obedience to law. If you defy the law and say 'I am going underground. I will not leave my address. I will run away to Vienna'—we are all accepting democratic principles, we talk very glibly about totalitarian tendencies and authori-

tarian rule and the Congress being bent to crush the liberties of the people. But, if they had done it in the slightest manner you would not have been here and the speeches that you are delivering would not have been heard."

So the opposition members feared that they may be harassed by the Executive officials. They feared that the Preventive Detention may be used against them. No doubt, assurances of the Government were there, no doubt, opposition was not crushed with the help of this weapon, but what is the guarantee that in the future Preventive Detention will not be used against the opposition parties? The majority party with the wine of victory in its head, may crush all the opposition with the help of Preventive Detention where there is no *Habeas Corpus*.

"A man can never go to his bed without fearing a knock on his door in the middle of the night, the sudden irruption of guards or police, his being dragged from his bed and hauled away for trial before a biased court for a crime known to no existing code of law, then being consigned after the mockery of a trial to prison or concentration camp, whence all too often, the next and last that is heard of him as a summons to his wife bidding her attend to receive the unrecognisable remains of his body, or to carry away a box or casket containing what are alleged to be his ashes."

—A. B. Lal: *The Indian Parliament*.

#### OPPOSITION AND THE WALK-OUTS

The method of a walk-out was adopted by the members of the opposition as a protest against the rulings of the Speaker. Opposition members characterized it as perfectly democratic. Others defined it as perfectly undignified and unparliamentary. This practice was also followed by the Congress during the rule of the Britishers. The past action of the Congress can be justified on the ground that they wanted to break the machinery of the administration. They were fighting against the foreign rulers and then it could be said that everything is fair in love and war. But now the conditions are fundamentally changed. Members of the republican Parliament should not copy the devices of the members of the slave day's Parliament. The Speaker very rightly

observed that the members should say, "I protest against your ruling, could you reconsider your ruling?" Thus it is below the dignity of the members of Parliament to adopt such methods while other very dignified remedies are available.

#### OPPOSITION AND THE VOTE OF CENSURE AGAINST THE SPEAKER

On 18th December, 1954, the Opposition moved a resolution regarding the removal of the Speaker. The resolution read as follows:

"That this House, having taken into consideration the conduct of the Speaker of the House as regards giving his consent to adjournment motions, disallowing questions, etc., feels that he has ceased to maintain an impartial attitude necessary to command the confidence of all sections of the House.

"That in his partisan attitude he disregards the rights of members of the House and makes pronouncements and gives rulings calculated to affect and undermine such rights, that he openly espouses the version of the official spokesmen on all controversial matters as against information by other members of Parliament.

"That all these constitute a serious danger to the proper functioning of the House and ventilating effectively the felt grievances of the people . . ."

Why the *bonafides* of the Speaker were doubted? Firstly, because he was elected by the help of the majority party without the consultation of the minority parties. Minority parties, whenever the Speaker gave any ruling against them, psychologically felt that the Speaker was taking revenge and also he was acting as a spokesman of the majority party with whose support he was elected. Thus the responsibility for this vote of censure also lies on the shoulders of the members of the majority party, who under the intoxicating influence of power had disregarded the opposition at the time of the election of the Speaker.

Secondly, the late Speaker was himself responsible for it. He, just after his election, remarked, "I do not cease to be a Congressman." No doubt, he acted impartially, but how could you convince the members of the opposition who knew that he was a party man and continues to be so.

Leaving aside these reasons, one can only feel sorry for the hasty action on the part of the members of the opposition and Pandit Nehru very rightly observed:

"It is one thing not to like a ruling or to disagree with it or even to feel, if I may say so, slightly irritated about something that has happened. But it is completely a different thing to challenge the *bonafides* of the very person in whose keeping is the honour of this House; when we challenge his *bonafides* we betray before our countrymen and, indeed, before the world that we are little men and that is the seriousness of the situation. It is for you to decide because we are displaying to the world and to our country that we are little quarrelsome men who indulge in frivolity, who indulge in accusation without thinking what the consequences of it might be."

Though the motion was negatived, it has left a far-reaching effect. Posterity shall laugh at the wisdom of their forefathers who indulged in such undignified and irresponsible things.

#### OPINION OF CERTAIN OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Sri N. C. Chatterji observes:

"The most distressing symptom in the working of the Indian Parliament, specially after the lamentable death of Dr. S. P. Mukherji, who was undoubtedly the ablest Parliamentarian in the House, is that the opposition is weak and somewhat ineffective. It is the result of the co-existence of too many parties or groups. Possibly it is the inevitable consequence of the emergence of a new democratic set-up in the country."

He further says that

"There have been Parliamentarians of eminence, both on the Treasury Bench and also on the Opposition Benches, who have maintained a high tone of debate, and very often the level of Parliamentary eloquence has been quite high. Yet there is a certain amount of unreality as the Government has a 'Sledge-hammer' majority behind it and seldom condescends to treat political opponents seriously, on the other hand, multiplicity of groups in the opposition tends to develop individualism and makes corporate expression of political opposition difficult or unreal. A monolithic party in office with practical monopoly of political power tends to



become a clog on democracy and may develop totalitarianism which eliminates effective opposition and means the setting up of an authoritarian Government with unbridled power and resources, influence, mass opinion and behaviours."

The Communist party's attitude towards Parliament is best described by Prof. H. N. Mukherji, a Communist M.P. He says:

"My mind goes back, as I write, to May, 1952, when we, of the Communist party, entered Parliament as the leading group in the opposition. I am not sure what exactly was Government's expectation of us and our conduct in the two Houses. May be, there were some who feared that brickbats thrown from our benches would not always be wordy. Even they must have soon discovered, however, that we meant business and were not interested in stunts. Everyone knows that we do not make a fetish of Parliament and its often outmoded forms. As I said once in the House, when the coals of anger glow in the hearts of our people at some act of omission or commission on the part of authority, we do not, for we cannot measure our steps sedately as some would wish, even within the four walls of Parliament. But we are, if anything, a serious-minded political party. We went in there just because we knew we had there a job of work to do, and we set about learning how to do it as effectively as we could in the circumstances that prevailed."

A. K. Gopalan, while describing Communist party's attitude towards Government, observes: •

"In India, the recent developments in national and international arena have strengthened a new powerful democratic trend which demands fundamental changes in the existing social and economic relations. If the ruling party takes this trend into consideration and brings in legislative measures to expedite these changes, the democratic opposition led by the Communist groups supports those measures. But, on the contrary, if the ruling party tries to suppress the rising progressive trends and bring in legislative measures like the amendments to criminal procedure code, etc, the democratic opposition

pools all its strength to put up an effective opposition to such measure. Hence, there is opposition for opposition's sake, and the attitude of the opposition to any particular measure of the Government is decided by the effect of that particular measure on the vital interests of the common man."—*The Indian Parliament*.

#### CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE ROLE OF OPPOSITION

Parliamentary democracy is Government through debate, the opposition demolishing the battlements of Government, and compelling it to change its policies on many occasions. The opposition should not let anything go unchallenged which it considers challengeable. The opposition in the House of the People was vigilant, active and alert. The lynx-eyed opposition always sat suspiciously and the Government was always compelled to show that it was governing openly and honestly and that it was meeting the criticism not by secret police or concentration camps but by rational arguments. We have seen above that on a few occasions Government acceded to the demands of the opposition. But if a balance-sheet is prepared regarding the influence which the opposition exercised on the policies of the Government, it can be said very safely that losses were great and gains were little.

There were certain reasons for this phenomenon:

Government had a rock-like majority behind it and its leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had an unchallengeable authority. Thus absolute majority and popular leadership provided little scope for the opposition to exercise any great influence on the policies of the Government. If the opposition provides an alternative Government, the Government party is more considerate towards the opposition. In Lok Sabha, the problem of alternative Government did not arise, naturally the Government party was not accommodating as it should have been.

The opposition itself was divided and weak. It was not one opposition, but many oppositions, consisting of many groups and independent individuals. These groups and individuals had different policies and programmes. They could not form a united opposition. How can these divided groups and stray individuals oppose

effectively a majority of 364 members. The late Mavlankar rightly said at the Speakers' conference at Gwalior in 1953:

"The difficulty is that one should reckon with the vagaries of the mammoth official party, which has a three to one majority in the House, while the opposition is a heap of contradictory and conflicting elements."

One important factor, which has prevented the growth of an effective opposition in India is the undue stress laid on personalities in politics. Policies of parties do not influence the electorate, it is the particular person and his personality. Witness the results of elections from the South-East Calcutta constituency. From this constituency at the general elections Dr. S. P. Mukherjee, an outstanding Jan Sangh leader, had been elected with a majority of over 20,000 votes. But after his death in the by-election in November, 1953, Jan Sangh candidate got a little more than 5,000 votes and Mr. Sadhan Gupta, a popular Communist, got a majority of over 20,000 votes.

Opposition members are frustrated and disappointed because they could not get any great encouragement from the majority party. But there is no question of frustration. The example of the Labour party of England should be before them. After a struggle of decades, Labour came as the single party in opposition and then afterwards she formed the Government. The opposition should fight against the majority party with clear-cut policies and programmes. The public should be convinced about the policies of the opposition parties and then success is theirs. An alliance of many opposition parties, simply to oppose the Congress is not going to bear great fruits. It should be the battle of policies and ideologies and not of opportunism. The Labour party had patience and succeeded. Opposition parties in India should also work patiently, but energetically and actively the voter should be approached with a constructive programme. Success lies with him who makes efforts.

Earnest Barker, in his book *Essays on Government* points out that Englishmen, indeed, have some peculiar qualities and equally some peculiar defects, which make it easy for them to work a Parliamentary system.

"They have generally the quality of being tolerant, they have generally the defect of being empirical and illogical, and both the quality and the defect enable them to work a system of Parliamentary debate and deliberation, which demands the gift of tolerance for your opponents, and requires the empiric habit of plodding along with makeshifts and compromises."

The problem of human government is a problem never solved. There is no *nirvana*, no paradise of absorption in the nursing arms of perfection as long as man retains the dignity of man. So there is a great necessity for various parties to work in a Parliamentary system, one ruling and the other reminding and criticising that here you are wrong, here you are mistaken, mend yourself, otherwise in the next election you shall be no more on the Treasury Benches. The lessons learnt from the English system should be a future guide for us and the greatest lesson which we learn from the English system is that the majority party should show tolerance towards minority and the minority party should work with the spirit of patience. Indian political parties should also try to follow these principles for the success of Parliamentary democracy in India, otherwise the future shall be like that of the post-war Germany and Italy. Some Mussolini or Hitler will occupy the Rashtrapati Bhawan and more than 350 million people, who are just free from the bonds of foreign rule, will be in the worst kind of slavery. As a matter of fact, the ugly child of Fascism, to grow up into the bloody monster of today, was conceived in the womb of Parliamentary democracy, and the lack of proper opposition was one of the contributory causes which helped in the growth of Fascism.

#### THE BOOKS CONSULTED

1. W. I. Jennings: *Cabinet Government*.
2. W. I. Jennings: *The British Constitution*.
3. *Debates of the House of the People*, 1952-56.
4. A. B. Lal: *The Indian Parliament*.
5. Harold J. Laski: *Parliamentary Government in England*.
6. Herman Finer: *Theory and Practice of Modern Governments*.
7. Earnest Barker: *Essays on Government*.

# SANSKRIT EDUCATION IN WEST BENGAL AND ITS FUTURE IN INDIA

## Historical Retrospect

By J. LAHIRI, M.A., B.T., DIP. ED (LOND), TEACHERS CERT (CANTAB), W.B.S.E.S. (RTD)

MANY of our present-day problems of Sanskrit Education have their roots deep in the past and, as such, cannot be understood without a reference to the historical forces which have brought them into being. I, therefore, make no apology for placing before you first the landmarks in the evolution of the present lay-out of our educational system in which we have here in West Bengal the unique phenomenon of indigenous Sanskrit Tols, carrying on somehow their somewhat shrivelled existence side by side with the High schools and institutions of higher learning in the Colleges and the Universities under the State system as against the practice in all Western countries where classical education is an integral part of University education and has no existence outside the Universities.

The first landmark in the educational lay-out of the country is the establishment of the Calcutta Madrassah by Warren Hastings in 1781 and of the Sanskrit College at Banaras (then included in the Presidency of Fort William) by Jonathan Duncan a few years later, maintained by the State out of an annual grant of Rs. 30,000, partly to win over the elite of the newly-conquered people of Bengal, through appreciation of their culture and partly to obtain supplies of competent Indian scholars to assist the European judges.

The second landmark is the apportionment of a lakh of rupees by the East India Company for the revival and improvement of literature in 1813, followed by the establishment of the Calcutta Sanskrit College in 1824 for the preservation and cultivation of the literature, laws and religion of the Hindus. While these interesting developments were taking place, the demand for English teaching became more and more insistent—a demand made vocal first by the writings and speeches of Raja Rammohun Roy and, latterly, by Macaulay's Minute of 1835 which was ultimately instrumental in setting up High English Schools throughout the country. Bengal had already taken to English education earlier than most of the other Indian provinces with the starting of the Hindu College by some prominent Calcutta citizens in 1817, i.e., 18 years before Macaulay set at rest the controversy between Anglicists and Orientalists. It is

significant that notwithstanding its name the 'Hindu College' totally excluded all ancient learning from its scope and brushed aside everything that was distinctive in our ancient culture and tradition through Sanskrit learning. When subsequent Government Resolution of 1844 declared English education in terms of "bread and butter" by directing for the first time that for public employment in every case preference would be given to those who had been educated on English lines, the victory of the new education was all but complete, although the two institutions on oriental lines, viz., the Calcutta Madrassah and the Sanskrit College were just suffered to exist in order to cater for people who had "hopeless tastes" and "to encourage certain antiquarian and philosophical pursuits." Young Bengal was, then, carried away by the ferment of new ideas and, as such, could hardly be expected to have attained that balance of mind, that judgment and discrimination which a liberal education should bestow and in the onrush of new ideas they had no time to pause and look back and justly appraise the claims of Sanskrit learning which contained our priceless cultural heritage.

It was not till the end of the last century that this mistake was detected and a reaction set in, which synchronised both with the awakening of our political self-consciousness and a reorientation of our educational policy which demanded, among other things, the adequate study of the national language and literature and, in particular, of classical Sanskrit as the Western system had been "barren of results and had failed to fertilise the intellectual life of the people of the country," the reason being that those who were charged with its direction and control had ignored India's racial psychology, history, literature, philosophy, art and religion. Sporadic attempts were, then, made to strike out new pathways and experiments in "national education" which could not possibly dissociate itself from our priceless heritage, our civilisation and culture, evolved through the ages. But it was not till the dawn of independence that no new and organised plans could be made in the altered condition of the country for rectifying the great mistake made by British rulers in their educational



policy. It will not be extravagant to say that Sanskrit studies furnish to the educated youth of the nation the key to a deeper understanding of our culture—our traditions—of our way of life—of our thought structure and, as such, they should be assigned a well-recognised place in the fabric of our educational system.

#### HISTORY OF SANSKRIT ASSOCIATION

It will be pertinent at this stage to enquire into the conditions which led to the establishment of the Bengal Sanskrit Association. In 1818 the first Title classes to serve as models for non-Government Tols to follow, were instituted. In 1819 Government ordered a survey of "Tols" and decided to provide for increased Government grant to these institutions, the number of which had appreciably dwindled as a direct result of the great impetus that English education received from the Hardinge Resolution of 1844 and the great educational Despatch of the following year. In 1878 the Title examination was first introduced by Government in order to bring about some uniformity in the practice of conferring titles on Sanskrit students. In 1897 all the "Tol" examinations were centralised under the control of the Principal, Sanskrit College, who was called the Registrar of Sanskrit Examination. In 1908 a Board of Sanskrit Examination was formed with 11 members with the Principal, Sanskrit College, as its ex-officio Secretary. This Board is the first predecessor of the Calcutta Sanskrit Association consisting of a deliberative body, i.e., a Convocation with 500 members and an Executive Council of 20 members formed to advise Government generally on all matters connected with Sanskrit learning, and in particular, the conduct of examinations and the award of titles. But this Convocation could never meet under the stress of the war and consequential financial stringency of Government, the Executive Council alone conducting the examinations of the Association. In 1923 Government appointed a Committee to make enquiries and recommendations regarding the working of the Association and the system of aided Tols. Pursuant to the recommendations of this Enquiry Committee, the Calcutta Sanskrit Association which had never been fully operative, was replaced in 1933 by the Bengal Sanskrit Association with a central organisation of 99 members in place of the Convocation and the Executive Council of 10 members, besides the President and the Secretary.

The Committee of 1938 was formed to make recommendations regarding the constitution, working and other matters relating to the Bengal Sanskrit Association. The recommendations of this Committee have not been given effect to as yet. In March 1948, a Committee of 13 members was constituted to enquire into and report on how far effect might be given to the recommendations to the two Committees of 1923-26 and of 1938 and what further steps might be taken to develop the Sanskrit College and improve and organise Sanskrit Education as carried on in the Tols in West Bengal.

#### PRESENT SET-UP OF SANSKRIT ASSOCIATION

The Committee of 1948 recommended that the Bengal Sanskrit Association\* should be a distinct and separate body working independently of the Sanskrit College with separate officers and staff of its own and the Principal of Sanskrit College should not be its ex-officio Secretary. In pursuance of the recommendations of the Sanskrit Education Committee, the Bengal Sanskrit Association renamed as "Bangiya Sanskrita Shiksha Parishat" is functioning as a general or deliberative body corresponding to the Senate of the Calcutta University with an Executive Council or "Karma Sabha" corresponding to the Syndicate, constituted in such a way that it may ultimately be converted into a full-fledged Sanskrit University in the not very distant future. Government also agreed that the "Parishat" should have a whole-time Secretary whose duties and status would be analogous to that of a University Registrar. The general body or the "Samiti" has now a total of 30 members. The Executive body or the "Karma Sabha" consists of the President, Secretary and 8 members of whom 3 are nominated by Government from among reputed Sanskrit scholars or benefactors of Sanskrit learning and the remaining 5 members are elected by the Samiti annually every year, the members holding office for one year only. The main function of the Executive Committee is the conduct of examinations, distribution of grants to Tols, stipends and scholarships to students, construction of curriculum, selection of text-books by Boards of Studies and the grant of affiliation to Tols on the basis of recommendations made by the Inspector of Tols. It is interesting to note how the Bengal Sanskrit Association which was formerly only an examining body and the general adviser of Government in all matters

connected with indigenous Sanskrit learning, has now been developed as an autonomous and statutory body with powers of affiliation, inspection, direction and control of *Tols* and by recent Government order with full control over its income and expenditure and with power to make its own rules and regulations within the framework of its constitution.

#### TOLS IN THE NEW SET-UP—THE ASHRAMA IDEAL AND WHAT IT SIGNIFIES

One of the important terms of reference of the Committee appointed by the Government of West Bengal in the Ministry of Education in March 1948 was the improvement and organization of Sanskrit Education as carried on in the *Tols* of the State. One might ask: why did Government seek to reform *Tol* education and retain it side by side with University teaching which has arrangements for higher Sanskrit education and research in its B.A., M.A. and Ph.D degrees, instead of integrating and strengthening the latter as is the practice in all free Western countries where classical education is an integral part of University education? The reason is this: *Tols* are time-honoured institutions or *académies of Sanskrit learning and constitute an important and distinctive feature of ancient Indian education dating back to the time of the Vedic period* and has a value and importance of its own in our cultural life, the loss of which it would not be possible to replace by pure University education. These are for the most part private academies where Sanskrit learning was cultivated by teachers of renown acquiring celebrity in particular branches of study, whose reputation and scholarship determined the number of students who flocked to a particular *Tol* or academy and who actually lived with their teachers. They have preserved a worthwhile ideal in the proper relationship between the disciple and his teacher instead of fostering what may be called "*an unarmed belligerency between the bench and the chair*" which is becoming all too frequently an unhappy feature of our Collegiate and University education today. They preserve what may be called the *Ashrama ideal* or the *forest home school* where teachers and pupils lived together in communities in the spirit of common service to the cause of education and understanding—where the pupil's life with his Guru was completely dominated by his attitude of reverence, renunciation and

humility—where the pupils learnt some of the deepest lessons of life in a harmonious environment in a spirit of reverent dedication under the guiding inspiration of their Guru, where the programme of work provided for the integrated and balanced development of the growing personality of the disciples through all activities—physical, mental, moral and spiritual and where the imparting of knowledge was of the nature of a sanctification. As Maxmuller and other Indologists have said, the *Ashrama* ideal summarises the educational thought of India, seeking, as it does, the ultimate union of the individual with the Eternal, through self-expression and activity, through harmonious co-operation with Nature and by looking on education as in every sense "complete living." It was not the gorgeous buildings, furniture, laboratories and accessories that made the ideal *Ashrama*—it was something far more real, far more spiritual, far more enduring—and that thing was the conscious growth of the pupil in perfect freedom and spontaneity towards self-realisation. Education in the *Ashrama* was thus a unifying factor, for the rich as well as the poor lived together with their Guru,—who was the living example of a dedicated life—as comrades serving their teacher and begging food for themselves as well as for their teachers. It was quite democratic, therefore, in that it recognised the inherent worth of the individual, the dignity and value of human life—it recognised that the true educator must understand the psychological make-up—the *swabhava* of the pupil and adapt his individual method to the mind of the pupil. Education, according to the *Ashrama* ideal, was then not merely a means of earning a living but also an initiation into the life of spirit, a training of human souls in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue—a *second birth, as it were*.

Considering the background and traditions of *Tol* education, the Sanskrit education Committee decided to revive, reorganise and reorientate it, instead of placing the entire charge of Sanskrit education at the hands of the University. The Committee recognised that *Tol* education had deteriorated in modern times owing mainly to economic causes, as with the abnormally high cost of living it was becoming hardly possible for the Pandits to continue to give free board and lodging to large numbers of students. Zemindars and benevolent people who used to help these

Tols with endowments, grants of lands, no longer came forward to keep them going and, as such, it now became difficult for the Pandits to maintain themselves in the open struggle for existence. The stereotyped method of learning also badly needed a change in view of the pressing demands for scientific and technical education in modern times and so also its curricula in which there was the great need for introducing modern subjects of general education, a modern outlook so as to instil a spirit of research, and to coordinate Tol education with higher humanistic research at the University stage.

Pursuant to the recommendations of the Sanskrit Education Committee Government have expanded the Tol department of the Sanskrit College by appointing additional teachers to teach Kavya, Mimāṃsa, Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Jyotiṣh and have created a Post-graduate department which has been thrown open to graduates as well as to Tol students obtaining the *Tirtha* title. In accordance with the recommendations of the Committee Government have created four professorships in the W.B.S.E.S. for the Post-graduate department, each having a Research Assistant and honorary research workers under him.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF RESEARCH IN SANSKRIT

Research is usually associated with natural sciences but it should be readily conceded that if we develop a community with a large amount of material knowledge, power and energy without the sobering and controlling influences of the humanities, that community is sure to be in a perilous condition in this atomic age for lack of that enlarged knowledge, philosophical thinking and refinement of sympathies for complete living which we owe to the humanities. It is only by a combination, coordination and integration of the results of research in natural sciences as well as in humanities that a true conception of civilisation can survive the disaster that threatens the world today. The humanities have another advantage in that there is no need here of expensive laboratories and those engaged in research can have comparatively greater leisure than in natural sciences. India has been the home of many systems of philosophical school of thought and there is a virgin field for research in humanities, especially in Sanskrit studies. Hundreds of thousands of manuscripts are lying scattered throughout the length and breadth of

the land. These have to be collected and kept properly as in the Baroda Oriental Institute Library, the Royal Asiatic Society, Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and the Deccan College Research Institute etc., so that research workers can carry on extensive research work. Our present fundamental problem at the moment seems to me to adapt our ancient lore to the exigencies of the new era that has opened up in the country and this may well be a subject for research.

#### TOLS—GOVERNMENT AND AIDED

The Committee recommended the establishment of 14 properly equipped and adequately staffed Government Tols in the districts. Government have already established two new Government Tols at Nabadwip and Contai, where there was a good tradition of Sanskrit education and where sufficient materials for Sanskrit learning were already obtainable. The next Government Tol is now proposed to be set up either at Labhpur in Birbhum or Cooch Behar or Jalpaiguri. In establishing these Government Tols Government have in view the immediate objective of raising the level of Tol education, of modernising their curricula so as to develop and instil into the minds of teachers a broad and liberal outlook. Each Government Tol is to have a minimum of 9 teachers, e.g., 2 teachers for Vyākaraṇa, two for Kavya, one each for Nyaya, Smṛiti, Vedānta together with Mimāṃsa, Sāṅkhya, and Yoga and one for modern subjects such as Mathematics, Geography and History besides one for History of Sanskrit Literature and optional English, these latter subjects being taught by trained graduates.

In the pre-partition period Tols used to be given grants-in-aid varying from Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per month, except for private Sanskrit Colleges. Directly after partition there were some 652 Tols in West Bengal with 10,986 pupils. The total expenditure was Rs. 3,52,670 to which Government, the District Boards and Municipalities contributed Rs. 1,18,374, Rs. 16,886 and Rs. 26,397 respectively and Rs. 1,91,013 was received from other sources. The number of centres for the Association's examinations rose from 66 in 1943 to 73 in 1947 but the number of candidates which was 5,617 in 1943 dropped to 4,559 in 1947 due mainly to the unsettled political condition of the country—communal disturbances in which students of the Nistarini Hostel of the Tol Department of the Sanskrit



College were butchered to a man by a Moslem mob and the general economic condition of the country.

When the Sanskrit Education Committee undertook to investigate the condition of the Tols and their decadence, they found that the number of Tols carrying on efficient teaching work would not probably exceed 200. The Committee recommended two different rates of increased grant-in-aid to these 200 Tols which would be found efficient on proper inspection by the Inspector of Tols, viz., Rs. 50 provided that the number of resident students reading in each Tol was not less than 3 and Rs. 75 to Tols having a larger number of resident students receiving instructions in more than one subject from more than one distinguished Pandit. Government also contemplate that funds permitting the number of Tols receiving grants will be progressively raised at the rate of 10 smaller Tols and 2 larger Tols annually till 140 smaller Tols and 30 larger Tols are in receipt of grants, it being laid down that no Tol will be entitled to a grant unless the head of the Tol is competent to teach up to the Tirtha standard and students came out successful in the Upadhi examination in at least three out of the 5 years preceding the year of distribution of grant.

As regards stipends, Government, after considering the recommendations of the Committee about the grant of stipends to poor and deserving students reading in Government Tols, have decided that for the present 10 stipends of Rs. 20 p.m. each should be awarded to Tol students in Calcutta and 10 stipends of Rs. 20 p.m. each to students residing in Government Tols outside Calcutta. As regards scholarships Government agree that 10 scholarship of Rs. 10 p.m. each on the results of the Praveshika and 10 scholarships of Rs. 15 p.m. each on the results of the Madhya examination should be awarded annually. Each scholarship would be enable for a period of 3 years on the usual conditions of good conduct, regularity and satisfactory progress in studies.

Government have accepted the syllabuses and courses of studies for the various stages of Sanskrit education as proposed by the Sanskrit Education Committee, which are calculated not only to widen the mental horizon of Tol students but also to raise their standards. It will thus be seen that although many recommendations have so long been

made by various Committees appointed by Government from time to time ever since 1923, hardly any step worth mentioning could be taken before partition for the development of Sanskrit studies in the State. It redounds to the great credit of the present Government to have implemented so many recommendations of these Committees. It is now hoped that a new era of development of Sanskrit learning will now commence and the very best hopes of Cultural renaissance will be realized in the not very distant future by the establishment of a Sanskrit University with a network of institutions affiliated to the Bengal Sanskrit Association (already there are 33 such affiliated institutions outside West Bengal) spread throughout the length and breadth of India.

#### THE SCHEME OF RESEARCH IN SANSKRIT AND ITS FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

##### THE SCHEME

The Department of Postgraduate Training and Research at Sanskrit College, Calcutta, owes its origin to the recommendation, substantially accepted by Government, of the Sanskrit Education Committee of 1948, presided over by the late Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherji. The Committee was of opinion that if Sanskrit education in Bengal is to be liberalised and made really fruitful, provision should be made for such a Department at the Sanskrit College. The scheme of training and research, as outlined by this Committee, was considered and formulated in detail by a Sub-Committee appointed by Government in 1950; and on the lines of these recommendations the Department was formally opened by H.E. the Governor of West Bengal on March 1, 1951.

The proposed object of this Department is:

(1) To formulate systematic and co-ordinated schemes of research in Sanskrit, all work being based upon a direct and intensive study of original texts;

(2) to train prospective research workers and scholars in the Department in modern methods of research;

(3) to guide research scholars of the Department for the preparation, if they wish, of theses for doctorate degrees of the University, or the Acharya title of the Vangiya Sanskrita Siksha Parisad;

(4) to publish independent pieces of research work accomplished by scholars and professors of the Department;

(5) to prepare for publication critical



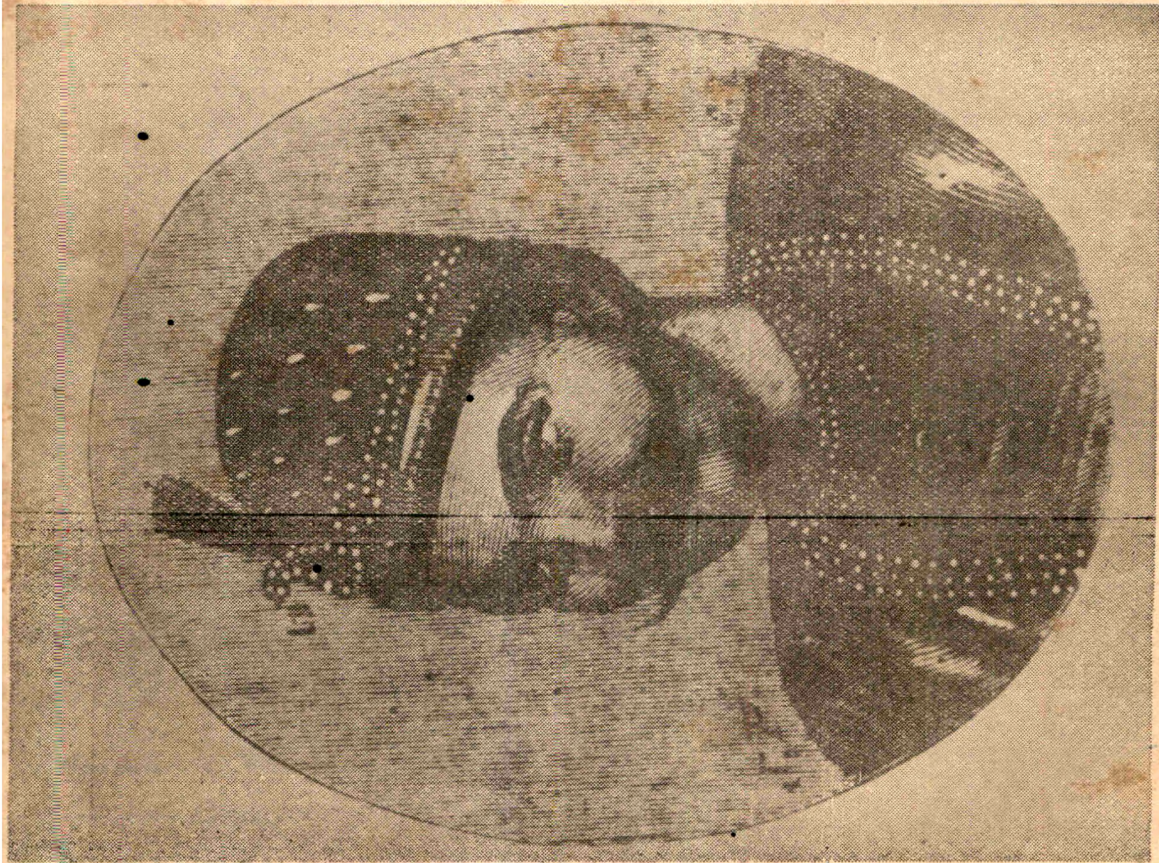


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editions, translations or intensive critical studies of important or unpublished Sanskrit texts;

(6) to co-operate, if necessary, with other recognised research institutions in any planned research work of all-India importance.

To realise these objects Government decided, in accordance with the recommendations of the above Committee, to create four Professorships in different subjects which have importance for Bengal or for which enough facilities exist. Each Professor will have under him one stipendiary and some honorary research scholars. Two Professorships, respectively in Sanskrit Language and Literature and Indian Philosophy, have already been filled up; and selection will be shortly made of stipendiary and honorary research scholars. An Expert Committee has been formed to consider all academic questions relating to scheme and conduct of research, selection of research scholars, library, publication and other research requirements of the Department.

#### ITS REQUIREMENTS

For the proper functioning of the Department and for making it a really useful institution, it is urgently necessary that the following matters should receive adequate consideration:—

(1) The two remaining Professorships respectively in Vedic Language and Literature and in Smṛiti and Purāṇa should now be filled up;

(2) Adequate provision should be made to develop the library and bring it up to date. The Library had all along been nothing more than a College library; it is hardly adequate for the large purpose of advanced research work. There should, for instance, be complete sets of standard oriental journals, standard reference books on oriental subjects, critical editions of texts and critical publications, in all of which the college collection is particularly poor. Lists have been prepared of such publications as are urgently necessary; but for this considerable initial grant will be required in addition to a recurring allowance.

(3) The small (about 5000) but valuable manuscript collection which had so long been a part of the general library, should now have a separate existence for its proper utilisation by the Research Department. Very little has been done, so far, to acquire fresh manuscripts, or take as good care of the existing manuscripts

as they deserve. It should be recognised that original manuscripts are an indispensable aid to research work; and that they should be under the care of one who has special training and experience in dealing with manuscripts. The ordinary librarian, who has other duties, is hardly competent for this purpose. A specially trained Manuscript Assistant will be required if the collection is now to be properly utilised. Apart from fresh acquisition and preservation of already acquired manuscripts, it will be his duty to furnish information regarding particular manuscripts, to get careful transcripts or facsimiles prepared of decayed or rare manuscripts, to arrange for loan of manuscripts from other libraries when necessary, and to revise the existing descriptive catalogue which has outlived its usefulness. Applications are often received, and will be received more abundantly hereafter, for loan of manuscripts from our collection; but since loan is not always possible and since some of the old manuscripts require careful handling, transcripts have to be supplied. As this is a laborious and not always a satisfactory process, it is suggested that a photostat or rotograph machine should be acquired as soon as the Department develops further.

(4) The inter-collegiate arrangement of studies with the Presidency College has, no doubt, released some rooms, but the accommodation available for the Department is not fully adequate. The library, for instance, is now accommodated in rooms which lack proper space, light and ventilation. Small cubicles have now been assigned to Professors by partitioning one or two rooms, but this is hardly a satisfactory arrangement.

(5) As soon as the Department is ready, provision should be made for periodical publication of its output of research work, either in the shape of Bulletins or as independent volumes.

#### ITS FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

As the object of the Department is to provide facilities for Postgraduate Training and Research, any research scheme, to be effective and fruitful, must be a fairly long-term one, involving a considerable amount of expenditure. It is well known that oriental research in this country has had to proceed against heavy odds,

but there is as yet no central organisation for encouraging or co-ordinating research, or for offering necessary assistance to earnest workers. There is also not much provision, as there is in Europe and America, for proper training in methods of research, without which all work, however well-meant, would be haphazard or unsubstantial. We must not also forget that the career of research is a slow, and sometimes a costly, affair. It takes long years of patience and persistence for a piece of work to mature; and sufficient funds should be made available for books, manuscripts and other requirements. The development of the Research Department, therefore, would depend upon carefully planned and properly financed research, and not merely on sporadic and isolated attempts of individual scholars.

The Sanskrit Education committee of 1948 expressed the opinion that "this Department should be constituted on modern lines, as for instance on the lines of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute or the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, both of which provide excellent examples of modern oriental research work." If the Department constituted on these lines proves successful, as we expect it to be, it is bound to develop further as a unique institution of its kind in Bengal, so that it would become the nucleus of a full-fledged Research Institute for Sanskrit studies. This should be our ultimate objective. Other States have their Research Institutes; it is hoped that in course of time West Bengal would have one fully developed from this small beginning.

It is scarcely necessary to say that in every branch of Sanskrit learning there is yet scope for much work and improvement. The field for research is indeed so vast, and the material which is actually brought to light and which is still lying undiscovered in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, in Indian Philosophy and Religion, in Indian Art and Culture,\* in ancient social life and institutions, is so immense that only a fringe of the whole has been touched so far. A Research Department or Institute for oriental learning, therefore, has immense work before it and immense possibilities of development in various directions.

In this connexion attention should be drawn

to an important point. The Department would train and give guidance to research workers and would itself undertake research work through its professors and scholars. This is very important work, no doubt, but this should not be enough. There are numerous problems which can be tackled by such single-handed attempt of individual scholars, but there is also a large number of subjects or schemes which await organised co-operative effort.

In order that our Post-graduate and Research Department gains in usefulness, prestige and stability, it is necessary that it should undertake, in course of time works and schemes of much larger and wider interest and importance. A complete Dictionary, for instance, of Sanskrit on historical and critical principles, on the lines of the great Oxford English Dictionary (the completion of which took 45 years and a large body of workers), is an urgent necessity. The work has been undertaken by the Deccan College Research Institute, but it also depends on the ready co-operation of other research bodies and individual scholars in the different branches of study. In this matter, our Research Department can be of assistance. But more than that. Critical editions of the *Ramayana* on the lines of the Poona edition of the *Mahabharata*, of the principal *Puranas*, of important philosophical works, of many classical dramas and poems including those of Kalidasa, as well as comprehensive critical studies and surveys, have yet to be undertaken. All this cannot be fully realised by individual and isolated effort; and it would spread over a considerable stretch of time and require ample funds. But we cannot refuse to recognise that these are some of the worthy objects of any Research Department or Institute if it is to develop along right lines.

It is hoped that the Sanskrit Education Commission, recently appointed by the Government of India, will give every consideration to the above lines of development on an all-India basis in their recommendations and report which is expected to be submitted to the Ministry of Education by the end of May 1957.\*

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\* Being a Research paper read at a meeting of the Directorate Officers' Club presided over by Dr. P. Roy, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Director of Public Instruction, West Bengal.

## SOME FACTS ABOUT THE SEPOY MUTINY (KANPUR MASSACRE)

### From Contemporary Records

By SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE, M.A.

I was lucky enough recently to read through the good offices of a friend of mine a compilation of some contemporary records about Kanpur outbreak and massacre and the part played therein by the Nana Sahib of Bithoor. These records are statements by survivors and were compiled by one J. F. Bellamy, Englishman Press, in the very same year as the Mutiny, i.e., 1857.

Now that an attempt is being made to have an impartial history of this epoch-making rising, whether we call it a rebellion, a faction, a mutiny or the first war of independence, it is interesting to sift the evidence historically and logically without any prejudice or bias. It is known that different elements with different objects in view, patriots with a high sense of duty to brigands who thrive on chaos or disorder, people with a deep religious sentiment to gay cavaliers, people who wanted Hindu domination to people who wanted the Imperial Moguls to recapture the rapture of their vanished glory, men dissatisfied, men who had an axe to grind, men who had grudges or grievances against the British rule, disgruntled feudal elements, army rebels, all combined to join this movement which, to be more correct, was more factional than national, heterogeneous than homogeneous. We were told that there was no unity of purpose, no methodical approach, no definite idea of what the national commitment was going to be, yet to a certain extent, at least in local areas it was the advance spark plug of a national dissatisfaction against British rule and contained the rudiments of a popular resistance.

At this stage I would confine myself to the extracts from the records quoted above. These refer particularly to the Kanpur incidents. There is no question that the evidence recorded refer to a gruesome story though it has to be examined from other records whether they give the entire picture. A discount has also to be made that it was a record at the heat of the moment and with a sense of injured grievance.

There is also the fact that the tragedy did happen and was not only most unfortunate but cruel as well. Yet a historian's task is to sift facts and present them.

A brief account of the outbreak at Kanpur and the disasters which resulted therefrom to the Christian community of the station is contained in a report dated 29th August, 1857, which was apparently sent to Calcutta. The report says:

"Previous to the outbreak at Cawnpore, reports of different kinds were afloat in the station,—from all of which it was ascertained that the Native soldiery, whenever they should break out into open mutiny, would, on no account, molest or hurt the European community at Cawnpore; and the informers employed by General Sir Hugh Wheeler, on all occasions confirmed the same. They reported that the three Infantry Regiments (1st, 53rd and 56th) appeared well-disposed towards our Government, with the exception of a few sepoys of really bad character, but that the 2nd Regiment Light Cavalry (who were discontented) were endeavouring to persuade them to rebel, when all should join and proceed in a body together to Delhi, after possessing themselves of all the Government money lodged in the Collector's Treasury, which they proposed taking on as a present to the newly created King there, whom they acknowledged to be their true Sovereign.

Under the above supposition, the European merchants and others of the station, though they had at first provided themselves with boats and other means of escape from Cawnpore, abandoned the idea of deserting this place; the only precaution that appeared to be necessary was to avoid the fury of the mutineers, at the moment the outbreak might take place.

For this purpose almost the whole of the non-Military residents were promised shelter in the entrenched camp, then under preparation under the General's direction; this promise appears to have completely satisfied them, and



al. determined to continue to stay at Cawn-  
pore."

\* \* \*

"About this time the 'Nana' of Bithoor, offered his services, and pretending to be a most faithful subject of Government, undertook to protect the Treasury in conjunction with our own sepoy guard, with a couple of his guns, and about two thousand men in his employ; very great confidence appears to have been placed in him, as his services were accepted; and in the meantime about a lakh or upwards of rupees was withdrawn and placed in the entrenchment, under the plea of meeting the salaries of the Troops, etc., for May, leaving about eight and a half lakhs in the Treasury."

\* \* \*

"For the first four or five days of the outbreak, our Artillery kept up a brisk firing, but after that it was considered inadvisable to exhaust our Magazine, for the rebels took great care to always keep well under cover, and we could not do much execution among them.

The heat was very great, and what with the fright, want of room, want of proper food, and care, several ladies, and soldiers' wives, as also children, died with great distress, many officers and soldiers also were sun-struck from exposure to the hot winds. The dead bodies of our people had to be thrown into a well outside the entrenchment, near the new unfinished Barracks, and this work was generally done at the close of each day, as nobody could venture out during the day on account of the shots and shells flying in all directions like hail-stones; our entrenchment was strewn with them. The distress was so great, that none could offer a word of consolation to his friend, or to attempt to administer to the wants of each other. I have seen the dead bodies of officers, and tenderly brought up young ladies of rank (Colonels' and Captains' daughters) put outside the veranda, amongst the ruins, to await the time, when the fatigue party usually went round to carry the dead to the well as above. For there was scarcely room to shelter the living, the buildings were so sadly ridicled that every safe corner available was considered a great object."

\* \* \*

"A message was sent by the Nana to General Wheeler, offering to let him and all his people go to Allahabad unmolested, if he would

consent to vacate the entrenchment and abandon Cawnpore and at the same time make over to him all the public treasure, the guns and magazines in the camp."

\* \* \*

"All hostile proceedings were stopped on both sides from the evening of the 24th. The 26th was employed by the English people in preparing for their journey, and a few officers were allowed to go on elephants, to see the boats provided as above.

On the morning of the 27th a number of carts, *doolies* and elephants were sent to the entrenchment by the Nana, to enable the women and children and sick to proceed to the riverside; it is reported that the persons that came out that morning from the entrenchment amounted to about 450, and a general plunder took place of what property the officers and others were obliged to abandon in the entrenchment. The men and officers were allowed to take their arms and ammunition with them, and were escorted by nearly the whole of the rebel army. It was about eight o'clock A.M. when all reached the riverside, a distance of about a mile and a half, those that embarked first managed to let their boats go, thus three or four boats got off a short distance, though deserted by their crews, but the rest found difficulty in pushing their's off the banks, as the rebels previously had them placed as high in the mid as possible, on purpose to cause delay. In the meantime the report of three guns was heard from the Nana's camp, which was the signal (as previously arranged) for the mutineers to fire upon, and kill all the English, and accordingly, the work of destruction commenced. The boats' crews and others were ordered to get away; some of the boats were set on fire and volley upon volley of musketry was fired upon the poor fugitives, numbers of whom were killed on the spot, some fell overboard, and attempted to escape by swimming, but were picked off by the bullets of the sepoys who followed them on shore and in breast-deep water."

\* \* \*

"One young lady, however, was seized upon (reported to be General Wheeler's daughter) and taken away by a trooper of the 2nd Light Cavalry to his home, where she at night, finding a favourable opportunity, secured the trooper's sword, and with it after killing him and three

others, threw herself into a well and was killed."

There is another account by a survivor which says:

"Next morning the 7th June a letter was received from the Rajah of Bithoor, who was supposed to be on our side, saying he meant to attack us. Soon after, two guns opened upon us from the North-West, and musketry from all directions. On the 8th three more guns were brought against us. The number of guns against us increased daily and on the 11th the enemy had been playing upon us, night and day, 3 mortars, 2 twenty-four pounders, 3 eighteen pounders, one or two twelve pounders, about the same number of nine pounders and one six pounders. On or about the 12th June, the insurgents by firing set on fire the large barracks in which all the women of the 52nd Regiment and the wounded were placed. No sooner was the fire perceived than the assembly was sounded, and every man had to stand to his post as we expected to be attacked. There was no place for the women and children to go to, but the trenches where many of them had to remain night and day. There was no shelter now for the men anywhere during the day and from this date we lost five or six men daily by sunstroke. On the . . . June after having been on half rations for some days the Rajah sent a half caste woman with a note into the trenches to the effect that all soldiers and Europeans who had nothing to do with Lord Dalhousie's Government and would lay down their arms should be sent to Allahabad. General Wheeler gave orders to Captain Moore to act as he should consider best. Captain Moore that evening signed a treaty to the effect that the Rajah should provide boats and carriage for the wounded and ladies down to the river bank whilst on our side we were to give up what treasure we had together with arms and ammunition."

\* \* \*

This is another account called Nujoor Tewarree's Account:

"When the Nana's guns opened on the boat in which Wheeler Sahib (the General) was, it has now been fully ascertained from servants and others who were with the English party, that General Wheeler was not dead before the massacre, but was put wounded on board the boats,

—they cut its cable, and dropped down the river.

"Some little way down, the boat got stuck near the shore; the Infantry and guns came up, and opened fire. The large gun they could not manage, not knowing how to work the elevating screw, and did not use it. With the small gun they fired grape tied up in bags, and the Infantry fired with their muskets. This went on all day; it did not hurt the Sahib-logue much; they returned the fire with their rifles from the boat, and wounded several of the sepoys on the bank, who therefore drew off towards evening. The sepoys procured a very big boat, into which they all got, and dropped down the river upon the Sahib's boat; then the Sahibs fired again with their rifles, and wounded more sepoys in the boat, they drew off and left them. At night came a great rush of water in the river, which floated off the Sahibs' boat, and they passed on down the river; but owing to the storm and the dark night, they only proceeded three or four koss (six or eight miles). In the meantime, intelligence of the Sahibs' defence had reached the Nana, and he sent off that night three more Companies of the Native Regiment (1st. Oude Infantry), and surrounded the Sahibs' boat, and so took them and brought them back to Cawnpore. There came out of that boat 60 Sahibs, 25 Mem Sahibs and 4 children,—one boy, and three half-grown girls. The Nana then ordered the Mem Sahibs to be separated from the Sahibs to be shot by the Gillis' Pulton 1st B.N.I., but they said, 'We will not shoot Wheeler Sahib, who had made our Pulton's name great, and whose son is our Quarter Master; neither will we kill the Sahib logue. Put them in prison, then said the Nadire Pulton. What word is this? Put them in prison? We will kill the males.' So the Sahib logue were seated on the ground, and two Companies of the Nadir Pulton placed themselves over against them, with their muskets ready to fire. Then said one of the Mem Sahibs, the Doctor's wife she was (what Doctor, I don't know the name, but he was either Superintending Surgeon or Medical Store-keeper), 'I will not leave my husband; if he must die, I will die with him.' So she ran and sat down behind her husband, clasping him round his waist. Directly she said this, the other Mem Sahibs said, 'We will also die with our husbands, and they all went and sat

down beside their husbands; then their husbands said, 'go back' but they would not. Whereupon the Nana ordered his soldiers and they going in pulled them forcibly away, seizing them by the arm; but they could not pull away the Doctor's wife, who there remained. Then just as the sepoys were going to fire, the Padre (Chaplain) called out to the Nana and requested leave to read prayers before they died. The Nana granted it, and the Padre's hands were loosened, so far as to enable him to take a small book out of his pocket, from which he read; but all this time, one of the Sahib-logue, who was shot in the arm, kept crying out to sepoys, 'If you mean to kill us, why don't you set about it quickly, and have the work done,—why delay?' After the Padre had read a few prayers, he shut the book, and the Sahib-logue shook hands all round. Then the sepoys fired. One Sahib rolled one way, one another, as they sat; but they were not dead, only wounded, so they went in and finished them off with swords. After this, the whole of the women and children (that is including those taken out of other boats) to the number of 122, were taken away to the Yellow House, which was your hospital. This was the Bithoor Rajah's house in the Civil Lines, where I and four more sepoys were confined, and where I had the opportunity of talking to the Serjeant Major's wife. After this, when we sepoys were taken down with the Nana to Futtehpore, the women and children were taken away to the house where they were afterwards murdered.

"Were any of our women dishonoured by the Nana or his people? No one that I know of, excepting in the case of General Wheeler's youngest daughter, and about this I am not certain. These are the circumstances: As they were taking the Mem Sahibs out of the boat, a Sowar (Cavalry man) took her away with him to his house; she went quietly, but at night she rose and got hold of the Sowar's sword; he was asleep, his wife, his son and his mother-in-law were sleeping in the house with him. She killed them all with the sword, and then she went and threw herself down the well behind the house."

\* \* \*

This is the Deposition of Marian, an *ayah* in the service of Mr. J. Greenway of Cawnpore:

"It was taken on the 21st August, and is a horrible account of the dreadful massacre:

On the 3rd of May all the Native Infantry and Cavalry Regiments at Cawnpore mutinied, and ran off to loot the Treasury, which they took. Then they burnt the Collector's house, and proceeded to Kulinpore, seven miles from Cawnpore and encamped there. At this place the Nana Saheb met them, and said to the mutineers, 'You receive seven rupees from the British Government, I will give you fourteen. Don't go to Delhi, stay here, and your name will be greater; kill all the English in Cawnpore first, and I will give you each a golden bracelet.' On hearing them, all the mutineers agreed to the terms of the Nana. They made a Subadar of the first Regiment, General, and he again made all the Havildars, Naicks, Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns. The Nana said, 'I will supply you all with food.' On the following day the Nana with the above Regiments, proceeded to Cawnpore, looted all the residents' houses, and then set fire to them. All the residents were in the entrenchment; those who did not go there were all murdered, together with the Drummers and Native Christians. It was the intention of some of the officers to blow up the magazine and for this purpose proceeded into the station. When they reached the Canal, all the Regiment fired on the party, killed one officer, Adjutant of 2nd Cavalry, and the rest escaped to the entrenchment for their lives; they unfortunately left a gun behind them which they had taken from the entrenchment. On the party reaching the camp, fire was opened on the English people by the mutineers, and cannons were placed on the three sides of the entrenchment. On the canal side a 24-pounder, on the Hospital side an 18-pounder, on the third side near Subadar, two 12 pounders were placed."

\* \* \*

"Nana Sahib said to Mrs. Jacobi, 'Will you take a letter to General Wheeler?' She said, 'Yes'. The letter was written and sent by Mrs. Jacobi to the General. She was not at first allowed to come near the camp by the soldiers, but when they heard the English voice, they allowed her to do so. The contents of this letter were: 'It is far better for you who are alive to go at once to Allahabad unless you wish to continue fighting; if so, you can do so. Let Cawnpore be given up, and you shall be saved.' On reaching the entrenchment, General Wheeler



went to meet Mrs. Jacobi, and when he read the note, he said, 'I cannot agree to anything sent this way by letter; if the Nana has any propositions to make, tell him to make it in person.' Mrs. Jacobi took the reply back to the Nana. He said, 'If the Europeans will cease firing, I will go and send a reply.' The General said, 'Let both sides cease firing during the conference;' this was agreed to. On the following day the Nana, his brother Baba Bhut, and nephew, and a large party of soldiers came up to the entrenchment. General Wheeler was ready to meet them. The Nana said, 'Take away all the women and children to Allahabad and if your men want to fight, come back and do so. We will keep implicit faith with you.' General Wheeler said, 'You take your solemn oath according to your custom, and I will take an oath on my Bible, that I will leave the entrenchment.' The Nana said, 'Our oath is that whoever we take by the hand, and one who relies on us, we never deceive, for if we do, God will judge and punish us.' General Wheeler said, 'If you intend to deceive me, kill me at once. I am not armed.' The Nana replied, 'I will not deceive you, rely on us, I will procure food, etc. and convey you to Allahabad.' On this the General went into the entrenchment and consulted with the soldiers, who said, 'There is no reliance to be placed on natives; they will deceive you.' A few said, 'Trust them, it is better to do so.' On this the General returned and said, 'I agree to your terms; see us only as far as Fattehpore, from thence we can get easily to Allahabad.' The reply was, 'No, Sir; I will see you all safe to Allahabad.' Twenty boats were then ordered with covers to them. When the Nana saw all was settled, he said, 'Don't let the treasure be taken away, send that to me.' The General said, 'You may have the money.' There were three lakhs in cash at this time. The Nana said, 'You will breakfast on board the boats at 10 a.m. tomorrow and also dine on board and leave the entrenchment clear by 11 a.m.' The General assented to this. They were all ready, when a message from the Nana came, saying, 'The boats will not be ready today, you must leave tomorrow, you had better leave in the evening, etc.' The General's reply to this was, 'I won't leave at night, as you may play us false.' The Nana then said, 'Very well, you can leave at 4 p.m.' On the following

day the Nana took away all the treasure. At this time some delay again took place in their departure. All the ladies and children were dressed and ready. The General asked the Nana, 'Are all our servants to go with us, or do you supply us with servants?' The reply was, 'Yes, you can take them.' The next day, though suspicions were entertained of the faith of the Nana's party, still they hoped all was right. The Nana sent word on Sunday to say the servants were not to go; that the ladies and women could look after themselves. On this being heard they were all alarmed. At 7 a.m. the mutineers surrounded the entrenchment and all the English were in their power. The servants ran away and were cut down, a few escaped; all were alarmed. The rebels entered the entrenchment, and said, 'Come to the boats, all is ready.' The ladies and children were sent on elephants, *doolies*, etc., and the men marched to the river, and then embarked in the boats. When they all saw food prepared and all comfortable they were delighted. When a few had gone on board and others were waiting to embark on the river side, a gun opened on them and canister shot (this gun and others had been masked); one boat took fire and then another gun was opened and four boats were fired. Those who escaped the fire jumped into the water. The sepoys also fired with their muskets. The Sowers entered the water on horseback and cut numbers down; fifteen boat-loads of the English were massacred; 108 women and children escaped this massacre but many of them were wounded. The Nana said, 'Don't kill those, put them in prison.' One boat in which was General Wheeler was paddled off by the soldiers. The poor people were crying in the boats and when in the water were calling out on God for help. A daughter of General Wheeler was taken off by a Sowar, and put into his house along with his wife and children near the Chowck Church. This girl remained with this man till night. He went out, and came home drunk and fell asleep. She then got up, took a sword and cut off his head, his brother's head, two children's heads, his wife's and mother-in-law's and then went to the back of the hut, jumped into a well and was killed.

"All the prisoners were killed. This was duly reported to the Nana who ordered the ladies to be cast into a well and the 25 women and children who remained alive under the heap

of dead bodies were killed by executioners and some of the little children were dashed to pieces against the ground. This took place early on the morning of the 17th July and in the evening the Nana ran off to Bithoor. Many wounded women were thrown into the well alive with the dead bodies and earth."

This is the story of the massacre as recorded in the evidence taken. The following fact emerge:

- (1) Nana had originally offered his services to the English.
- (2) He had, however, subsequently given ample notice of his defection.

(3) Nana had agreed to guarantee a safe journey.

(4) Nana failed to do it. Everybody has assumed that Nana was responsible for this shabby tragedy but it is not clear whether his failure was deliberate or the situation got out of his control or his orders were not obeyed or he was a bloodthirsty man as he has been painted.

(5) Dead bodies heaped on the well also contained bodies of persons who had died a natural death.

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## THE CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR CULTURE

By PROF. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.

(It is quite natural that our cultural history extending from Mohenjodaro and Harappa up to the present time, and looking forward to the future with hope, should have a number of important and noted characteristics. But before we discuss these important characteristics, it should be made clear that we shall try our best to avoid the prejudices (such as, the idea of Racial or Cultural superiority) which almost invariably affect the judgment of those who write on Cultural History. Our honest endeavour is to try to tell the Truth as it is.)

It will be accepted on all hands that the Indian culture is one of the oldest cultures in the world. Long before the modern European nations were civilised, India was at the zenith of her culture. Thus, its roots are very deep. Historically, that has its peculiar importance. It is true, as M. Joubert points out: "The evening of Life brings with it its own light." The Indian culture having reached a long period of historical maturity, has its own light of wisdom to shed on world problem. And with China, another mature civilization, she has become the leader of the nations.)

It will also be agreed on all hands that the Indian culture represents a vast unity and a profound synthesis. It is a peculiar feature of

the Indian civilisation that the various tribes, races and religious communities, that came to India were all absorbed and assimilated in India's great culture. One of our distinguished poets and great personalities, Rabindranath Tagore has pointed out this great synthesis in one of his famous poems, "Bharata-Tirtha" Tagore writes in that poem that in this "Bharata-Tirtha" (India), all who came lost their narrow individuality and became merged in one great dynamic people. The Scythians, Greeks, Hunas, Indo-Parthians, Pathans, Mughals,—all were welded together in one Great People, by reason of the liberal culture of India. The Muslims took some more time to be absorbed, but with the Bhakti movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a new synthesis took place. It was realised in politics by the genius of Sher Shah and Akbar the Great. This synthesis lasted practically for the entire Mughal period, till towards the close of the Mughal period Aurangzeb destroyed it and with it the Mughal Empire. Truly has Prof. Arnold Toynbee remarked that the lesson of history proves in this and similar other cases that "The saviour with the sword fails to save."

Throughout this long period of Indian history there was remarkable peace between the

1. M. Joubert: "Le soir de la vie apporte avec soi une lampe." Quoted in Lord Avebury's *The Pleasures of Life*, p. 102.

2. Arnold Toynbee: *A Study of History* (Somer-ville, page 538).

various sects and religions. Asoka, the famous Buddhist Emperor, writes in his edicts, "All men are my children," Harshavardhana, the famous ruler of Thaneshvara, bestowed his gifts and charity both on the Brahmans and the Buddhists. The powerful Gupta rulers were patrons of all sects and religions. Recently in a very thoughtful article 'Was There Any Conflict Between the Brahmans and the Buddhists?' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June, 1954), it was very effectively pointed out that the theory of a conflict between these two sects is entirely erroneous, and that there was wonderful amity and co-operation between them. Thus the vast unity and synthesis of the great Indian culture was on the whole maintained with wonderful success throughout the centuries.

It will be agreed that one of the greatest recommendations of this culture was its stress on spirituality and certain eternal human values. The strength of a culture depends on how human it is. The broad humanity of the Indian culture comprises in certain human values that it upholds. Spirituality is one of these values, and a very important one. The instruction of the Vedas and the Upanishads is that we should tear the veil of darkness (*Maya*—Illusion) and realise the resplendent, effulgent, immortal spirit, Brahman. Sankara later on taught the same thing in his *Advaitya-vada* (Non-duality) philosophy. The Brahman (eternal cosmic principle) and the individual Atman are the same. When the individual realises his true (Divine) nature, he loses his identity in the Brahman, and gets deliverance from the circles (*Samsaras*) of births and deaths. So, this culture points to a lofty goal and eventual salvation and high hopes.

Moral life was very much stressed in this culture. Thus the Upanishads stress: "Speak the Truth. Follow the Dharma." Further it is said: "He who speaks Untruth is destroyed from the very roots." At one place it is stressed: "Do not desire the wealth of others." "Do not fall into delusion" was another instruction so

very important for moral life. Thus, almost all the fundamental lessons in basic morality were present in this culture.

*Tapasya*, or sincere devotedness to work or duty was always insisted on in this culture. The Upanishads taught: "By *tapasya* Truth is attained, by Truth control over mind is attained, by Mind the Self is attained." In the Taittiriya Upanishad we read:

"He (God) performed *tapas*. Having performed *tapas* he created all these."

Sincere *tapasya* is at the root of all creation or enduring work.

Sense of sacrifice was strongly emphasised in the Indian culture. According to the Gita: "God created man according to the Law of Sacrifice." The Buddha sacrificed everything to find salvation for suffering mankind. The great self-sacrifice of the sage Dadhichi referred to in the Rig Vedic verse (1. 84. 13), and the sacrifice of Sri Rama Chandra, are unique examples of sacrifice in our history and culture.

Thus certain lofty ideals essential in any high and orderly civilisation and culture were abundantly present in the Indian culture.

Education and the eagerness for knowledge was an abiding interest in our history in all ages. The word 'Veda' means 'Knowledge'. It taught the supreme, that is, spiritual knowledge. Chanakya expressed the opinion:

"The country where there is no Honour, no Livelihood, no Friend, and no Learning; —it is better to leave that country."

The Gita expressed the view:

"Knowledge has to be acquired through Devotion and through Self-control. Through knowledge one gets supreme Peace at once."

The students were Brahmacharins, for they had to lead the life of self-restraint, renunciation, and dedication, so necessary for intelle-

7. Prasna Upanishad, II, 3, "Ma moham apadyatha."

8. Maitrayana Upanishad, (Sama Veda): "Tapasya prapyate satyam satyat samprapyate manah. Mana a prapyate Atma."

9. Taittiriya Upanishad, Ch. II, 6: "Sa Tapo tapyate. Sa Tapas taptwa idam sarvam asrajata."

10. Gita, Ch. III, 10. "Saka jaina praja srishthva purobavo prajapati."

11. Chanakya: Arthashastra (1. 8-9), "Jasmin desha na sammano, na vritir, no cha bandhava, no cha vidyagamah kaschit—tam desam paribarjayet."

12. Gita: Ch. IV, 39: "Sradhyavan labhate gyanam tatparah ja sanjatendrya gyanam labdha param santim achirena adhigachhati."

3. Asoka-Kalinga Rock Edict (Jaugada) "Save munisa me paja".

4. Taittiriya Upanishad, Cr. I, sl. 11, "Satyam vada dharmam chara."

5. Prasna Upanishad, Question VI, sl. 1. "Samulo wa eso parisushyati jo anritam avibadati."

6. Isovasya Upanishad, Sloka 1, "Ma gridha kasyasiddhanam."



tual work. Not through the accumulation of material wealth but, "Through Learning one gets Immortality."<sup>13</sup>

This culture clearly recognised the 'changing process in history': *Srishti*, *Sthiti*, and *Vinasha* are recognised as the three stages in the historical evolution, corresponding to 'creation,' 'maturity and growth,' and eventual 'dissolution and destruction.' That has been recognised as the eternal law of all historical change. This law is closely connected with the two paths, *Pravritti-Marga* and *Nivritti-Marga*, or the Path of Assertion and the Path of Return or Withdrawal. Every institution or group, after asserting itself in the period of its growth and development in fulfilment of its historic destiny, when its mission on this earth is fulfilled, follows the Path of Cessation, *Nivritti*, and there is the eventual disappearance or end. It is interesting to note that these different changing features in the historical process of Creation, Evolution, and Dissolution (Destruction)—are treated as the different manifestations or aspects of God. "They are the different manifestations of the World's Creator."<sup>14</sup> Thus, the Non-Aryans, the Aryans, the Scythians, Greeks, Parthians, Hunas, Turks, Pathans; Mughals; and the British—all came on the stage, and after fulfilling their destiny departed.

Creativity was another important feature in our cultural history. This wonderful creativity manifested itself in a thousand manners in Art, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music, Literature, Drama and Theatre, as also in philosophical and material progress. In spite of many ups and downs, in spite of many vicissitudes of the political destiny of the country, in spite of many foreign invasions, creativity has never ceased. It has never been destroyed. Whoever came in this country contributed his share in this wonderful process of creativity. Thus the Scythians enriched the Mathura School of Art, the Bactrians enriched the Gandhara School of Art, to which the Kushans also made their contribution, the Turks left their marks in the Art of the Sultanate period, the Afghans in the Art of the Lodhi period, the Mughals introduced the Persianisation of

Indian art and enriched it profusely, and finally in the British period certain Western features were introduced. as for example, in the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta. Every religion had its peculiar contribution. The Jain temples at Mount Abu are noted for their decorative and ornamental beauty that is unparalleled in world history. Hinduism and its various schools, such as Vaishnavism and Saivism, have their contributions in art scattered throughout the country. The Buddhist fresco paintings at Ajanta, and the Buddhist shrines at Ellora, Sanchi, Barhut, Kailas and elsewhere, are some of the best specimens of art. Islam with its accurate style, and its creed of simplicity, chastity, symmetry, democracy, and monotheism, brought about a profound revolution in art and architecture. It was the genius of Akbar that welded together into the homogeneous Indian National Art, the different artistic gifts of the Hindus and the Muslims. The best example of this is to be found in the Diwan-i-Khas at Fatehpur Sikri. This wonderful creativity in our art was, as the famous art critic Mr. Henri Martin points out, due to its originality, variety and mysticism. "Originality, variety and mysticism, are the three general characters of the Indian art."<sup>15</sup>

Literary progress is an integral part of any culture. The *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, *Manu Samhita*, the *Puranas*, *Rajatarangini*, *Bikramacharita* of Bilhana, *Maha Bhasya* of Patanjali, *Mudra Rakshasa* of Vishakhadatta, Panini's *Grammar*, *Malavikagnimitram* of Kalidasa, his *Raghuvamsha*, the two epics, and *Harshacharita* of Bana, are a few of the outstanding creations in this respect. They are the best examples of Sanskrit literature.

The Buddhist Pali literature was also very well developed. Thus we have *Dhammapada*, the *Tripitakas*, the *Jatakas*, *Deeghanikaya*, *Samyuktanikaya*, *Deepavamsha*, *Mahabodhivamsha*, *Mahavamsha*, *Milinda-Prasna*, as some of the best examples. The *Suttanipata* published by Prof. Fausball is also a very good example. This vast literature serves well for a proper instruction in good moral life as also for a proper understanding of the teachings of the Great Teacher.

13. Kena Upanishad, II, 4: "Vidyaya vindate Amritam."

14. Svetasvatara Upanishad, Ch. V, 13: "Visvasya arisharam aneka rupam."

15. Henry Martin: "L'art Indien et L'art Chinois" (p. 5); "L'originalité, la variété, et le mysticisme sont les trois caractères généraux de l'art Indien."



In the medieval period also the literary activity was great. There were the works of Tulsidas, Ramdas, Dadu, Kabir, Guru Nanak, Chaitanya, Sankaracharya, Ramanuj, Ramchand, Eknath, Tukaram, Raidas, Garibdas, Suradas, Haridas, Malukdas, Mirabai, Dharanidas, Muhammad Jayasi, Bulleh Shah, Charandas, and others.

In the Mughal period, the major Sanskrit works were translated into Persian mainly by the orders of the Emperor Akbar. Besides the Persian literature grew like anything. *Babarnama*, *Humayunnama*, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, *Makhzan-i-Afghana* by Nimatullah; *Akbarnama* and *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl, *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh* by Badauni, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Iqbalnama* by Mutamid Khan; *Badshahnama* by Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Shah Jahanama* by Mohd. Sadiq; *Alamgirnama* by Mirza Mohd. Kazim; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbab* by Khafi Khan; are some of the best examples of good Persian works on historical and general subjects.

In this period Sanskrit works of great importance were also undertaken. Thus, Nanda Pandit, Mitra Misra, Nilakantha Bhatta, Nrisimha, Khanda Devi, Raghu Nath Siromani; Kamalkara, Jagannath Pandit (honoured by Shah Jahan as 'Kavi Raja'), Rupa Goswami, Krishna Nath, the two scholarly ladies, Vaidyanti and Vallabha Devi, are some of the best Sanskrit and Hindi writers of the Mughal period.

Vernacular literature developed specially in the Mughal period, which is probably the most outstanding feature in the literary activity of this period. The Provincial vernaculars and the development of Urdu introduced the modern era in literature and thought.

Lastly, we come to the most important feature in our cultural history, the promotion of Peace. The Indian culture has been one of the most peaceful and tolerant cultures in world history. As such it has great utility in promoting international peace today when devastating Western imperialistic doctrines have made the world a veritable hell, and nothing but chaos, ruin and disaster stare us in the face. The Buddha was and will always continue to be the greatest force for peace. Asoka, Harshavardhana, Kanishka, and other rulers have

always upheld the ideal of Peace. The Buddhist teaching was:

"Never does hatred cease by hating, it ceases by love. This is the eternal religion."<sup>16</sup>

Most *slokas* of the Upanishads end with the peace invocation *Om Shanti*. In the Shukla Yajur Veda, we find possibly the best example of a prayer for peace, where peace is desired for the three worlds, for all men, in all ages. The Mahabharata has a famous passage which reads:

"Absence of enmity towards all creatures in thought, word and deed, compassion on all creatures and charity—these constitute the eternal dharma."<sup>17</sup>

The great wisdom that without peace there cannot be a solid foundation of civilization and culture was realised in India long ago. The attitude of peace and charity, and a sympathetic appreciation of all points of view (even the opposite or inimical point of view) is and will always be the secret of civilization and culture. Today the greatest force for international peace is the teaching of Gandhiji, who was the greatest sage of the twentieth century. His message of *ahimsa*, and love is directly derived from the peace ideal of our culture. Today Gandhiji is no more, but Pandit Nehru is carrying on that glorious tradition in promoting international peace and co-operation. At a time when Western militarism and science spell havoc and disaster, making the world a hell, Gandhiji true to the ideal of peace in our cultural history, tried to promote goodwill and co-operation throughout the world. Peace is the mission and hope of Indian culture and Indian history. This message is spreading in the world to bring solace to suffering humanity.

We have discussed the chief characteristics in the history of our culture. But before we conclude it is necessary to note that we do not for a moment suggest that ours is the best culture in the world or that other cultures are inferior. To suggest that would be against the very

16. Dhammapada: Yamakabagga, 5: "Na hi verena verani sammantidha kudachanam. Averaṇa cha sammanti eso dhammo sanantano."

17. Mahabharata (V.P. 297.35): "Adroha sarva-vuteshu, karamana, manasa, gira, anugrahascha; danang cha satang dharmah sanatanah."



spirit of tolerance and humility that has always characterised our culture. Moreover, we are fully conscious that some of the best features in our culture are also to be found in other cultures and peoples. Thus, the ideal of peace was encouraged in Christianity to a great extent, although the Christian nations taking to other religions, such as 'militarism' and 'imperialism' did not always maintain peace. Voltaire described war as "human folly in all its glory and in all its horror."<sup>18</sup> He was upholding the peace ideal. Coming to more recent times the French Socialist worker, M. Jules Moch, writes:

"There is hardly one choice before

18. Voltaire: "La folie humaine dans toute sa gloire et dans toute son horreur." (Quoted in Alfred Noyes: Voltaire).

humanity which expresses itself in two words—Disarm or Perish."<sup>19</sup>

Mr. Philip Noel Baker observed:

"Our generation must make an end of the armament race,—or else the armament race will make an end of us."<sup>20</sup>

So, the greatness in our cultural history lies in that the wisdom which the modern world is realising now was realised in this country long ago.

19. M. Jules Moch: "Die Menschheit hat nur noch eine Wahl, die sich in zwei Worte zusammenfassen lässt: abrüsten oder untergehen" (M. Jules Moch: "Appell an die Vernunft" in *Geist und Tat*, February, 1955).

20. Philip Noel-Baker: "Unsere Generation muss mit dem Wettrüsten ein Ende machen—oder das Wettrüsten wird ein Ende mit uns machen" (P. Noel-Baker: "Revolution im Weltgeschehen" in *Geist und Tat*, April, 1956).

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## FROM STONE TO BOOKS

BY AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B., (Cal.), SAHITYA-RATNA, (Alld.)

THOMAS Bartholin, the Danish anatomist, scholar and librarian, wrote in 1672:

"Without books God is silent, justice dormant, natural science at a stand, philosophy lame, letters dumb, and all things involved in Chimerian darkness."

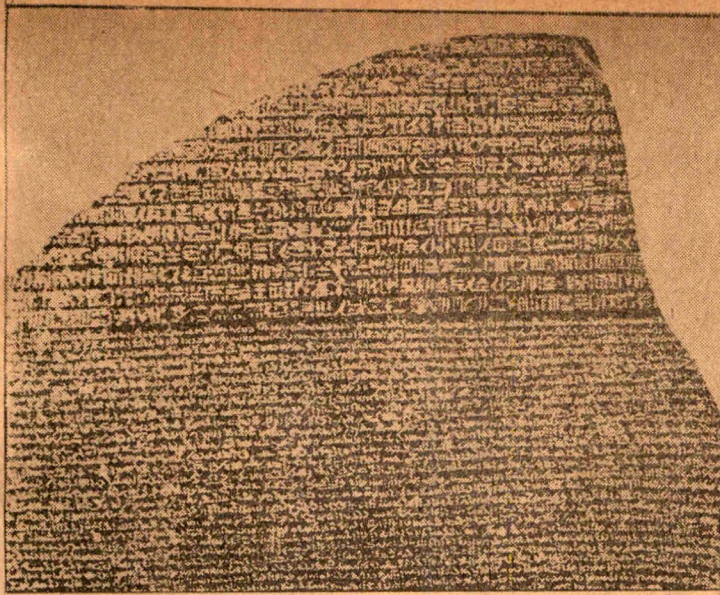


Indus Valley seal (Mahenjo-daro)

Indeed, without books it is doubtful if the progress could at all have been made. Books now occupy such a place in our everyday lives that we rarely stop to consider what we would be or what we could do if we were without books. The story of the evolution of printing which has given the book its present shape is undoubtedly a long one but at the same time the most interesting. The desire of leaving a permanent stamp of his activities in the world led man to record his ideas and imaginations. This transferring of ideas into practice, however, gave birth to the art of writing which culminated in to the art of printing.

Man inculcated the habit of writing from time immemorial. An inscription found in the tomb of an early king of Byblos belonging to the 13th century B.C. shows that the alphabetic writing, one of the most important of all human inventions, may be credited to the Phoenician traders. The Greeks borrowed their alphabets from the Phoenicians and the latter became the ancestor of all the Western alphabets. The Greek method of writing was known as 'boustrophedon' of turning like oxen in ploughing, because the Greeks used to write the first line from right to left, the second from left to right, the third from right to left and so on. This is true for the West





Hieroglyphic text in the Rosetta stone (Egyptian scripts)

as well as for the East, that the first writing was on either a stone or a tree. Stone was by far the most favoured of the materials in Egypt, in Persia and in India, used for recording important royal edicts, and even white marble is found used for this purpose in both Greece and Italy. The Rosetta Stone, the Maobite Stone, the Rock and Pillar Edicts of Asoka bear testimony to this. The stone became moving pictures of episodes narrated with dramatic art.

"The seductive women and leonine men of Bharut (near modern Bhilsa village in Madhya Pradesh, India) stone of ancient world are not mute and dumb; there was life in stone; the stone speaks about praying women, men and gods, riding, conquering, expressing characteristic moods; animals in realistic or stylised shape; armies, fortresses, processions; ineffable beauty as expressed in the head of a small horse, more noble than any to be found on a race course."

Hanging by branch of a tree the stone-carved Yakshi of Bharut is ready to jump down to the earth and with nimble feet escape our hands over to climb another. Indeed, Indian Art did attain mastery in the technique of expressing the subtle, violent or serene moods of men and women, and not merely in figure and face, but in symbolic movements expressed through the shaded curves of the stone. We can, however, get a compact idea about the religion and its ideology and about the cultural life infused in the society of the people of that period through stone. Writing on

stone is still practised in cutting inscriptions on memorials. As for trees Shakespeare noticed that they were carved within the initials of sweethearts.

The discoveries at Abydos, the Holy City of Egypt, revealed convincingly how early was the development of the art of writing whose possession put the ancient Egyptians in the very first rank of the nations of the world. Hieroglyphic writing was the regular means of communication of Egypt. The Egyptians had already discovered the use not merely of phonetic signs standing for a whole syllable, but also of true alphabetic signs, each standing for one consonant. The pictographic seals of the Indus Valley lead us to believe that the civilisation of the Indus Valley was much developed and the art of writing was well known to the Indus Valley people. In China, the earliest records found are those on oracle bones. In Mesopotamia, as well as in India, the earliest writing is found on the seals of haematite, agate, steatite, chalcedony, faience, marble, alabaster, serpentine, conch-shell, etc. Bricks have also been sometimes used as materials for writing. In Ashshur, Nineveh, Tarbis and other places we find bricks bearing names and titles of a number of Assyrian kings that ruled from c.900 B.C. to c.650 B.C. In Nalanda and Gopalpur of India, a few inscribed bricks have been unearthed. In Egypt, Greece and India and many other countries potsherds (Greek—Ostraka) are known to bear inscribed letters.

It is, however, the invention of paper that must have facilitated the craft of ancient scribe. About 800 B.C., in or about the days of Homer





Buddhist Diamond Sutra, world's oldest printed book

linen and then wooden tablets were used, and scratchings were made on clay tablets, sheets of lead, wax and other materials. Paper made its first appearance in Egypt and then in China. At that time a sheet of ordinary papyrus cost about 1 d, and a sheet of the best quality valued about 8 s. It is said that in the year 125 B.C. a Chinese Minister of Agriculture succeeded in making paper out of cotton. Gradually in China paper was made of the stem of a fibre plant of the same name, that grows to over 20 feet. The stem was split into thin strips, which were joined together by gum or paste into a sort of "smooth, tough, pale-yellow paper." One of the largest of such papyrus is No. 9999 of the British Museum, which is as much as 135 feet in length.

Writing in ink was already known in Egypt: at Chunhu-daro, a small pottery jar that could hardly be anything other than an inkpot was found. Potsherds, written over with ink, have been found at Luxor and other places in Egypt, right down from the time of XIIIth dynasty. The most interesting record relating to the use of ink is a remarkable Buddhist copper-plate found at Kasia where the first line is engraved and the rest of its lines were written in ink. The cir-

cumstance reveals how copper-plates were inscribed. The inscription was first written out in ink on the plate and then given to the engraver to cut the written letters into metal. Even in the Pyramid Age we find that scribes of the office of revenue and treasury had begun writing in ink by means of a pen made of reed. Such reed-pens are still in extant in India; in Bengal we call them 'Khangra' and the Maharashtrians term them 'Boru.' In Mohenjo-daro certain thin pottery plaques, rectangular in shape, are found; these may have been intended for writing tablets. The plaques are of small size, ranging from four to seven inches in length and there is no doubt that they were once covered with a smooth substance, from which the writing could be washed after the fashion of wooden tablets still used in India.

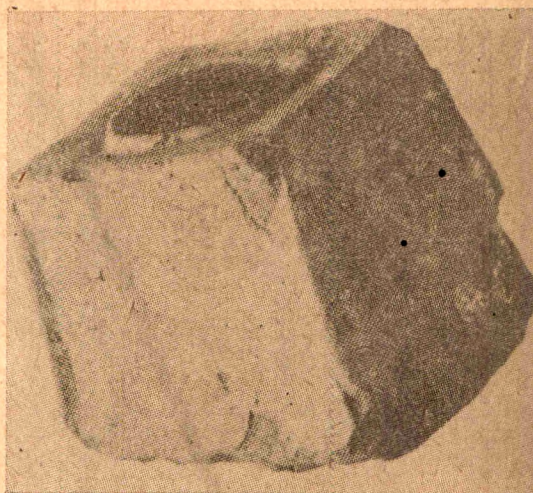
Woodpaper was invented at Rogensburg in 1760 and the modern paper-making machine was invented by a French clerk named Louis Robert in Didot Paper Mills at Essone, France in 1798 A.D. With the invention of paper progressive measures were adopted in producing books, although neither these books were printed, nor were they available for the common people. They were mostly in manuscript form and controlled by the



rich, the nobles and the kings. In fact, these hand-written books were too costly and there being no access of them for the public they shed little light into the abysmal darkness of public ignorance. In 1150 A.D. an edition of Levy, an author then recently recovered from antiquity by the finding of a MS, cost 120 gold crowns for which sum a fine estate can be bought. The high cost was mostly due to the decoration of the MSS volumes. There were Bibles studded with precious stones, bound in Babylonian leather, and with ivory pages. Later, the monasteries established 'scriptoria' or writing-rooms, to the end that literary output might be increased. Reference in this connection can be made of the Mauryan scribes as described by Kautilya. But books would no longer remain confined and would come forward to fight out the demon of ignorance from the habitable world.

It is, however, a curious reflection that printing began so quietly that no precise date can be assigned to it. The invention has, however, revolutionized the whole outlook of mankind. Presses had been in existence before Gutenberg arrived in Strassburg for producing 'block-books.' In fact, the "block-books" were the first books printed in Europe. These consisted of pictures and text cut on the same wood-block, a position midway between the single-picture and the book printed in movable type, thus forming a link in the evolution in printing. Movable type was used by the ancient Roman potters to imprint on their productions the names of their firms, but no one thought of adopting the idea to print books. The oldest book extant in China was a block-book which was a copy of the Buddhist Diamond Sutra, printed in China in A.D. 868 and found 1032 years later in the Chinese Province of Karsu. In Europe these 'block-books' or Xylographica were produced chiefly in the Netherlands and Germany. The earlier were printed in their pale brownish ink on one side of the leaf only. Since the content of each individual page had to be engraved upon a block of wood, the making of a block-book was a laborious process. These books were generally of a popular nature, mainly concerned with religious instruction or pious edification. Typical examples were *Biblia Pauperum*, a series of pictures from the life of Christ, accompanied by parallel subjects from the Old Testament. The epoch-making difference between typography and Xylography blocks is that while the latter could be used only for the particular work for which they had been cut, the movable type, being composed of separate letters, could be used over and over again for any book, with correspond-

ing economy in time and material. But owing to the varied and different characters of the Chinese script movable types had an absolutely different influence in China. This is because of the peculiar word-unit character of Chinese scripts. A very interesting point may be cited in this connection; Shakespeare, in course of his

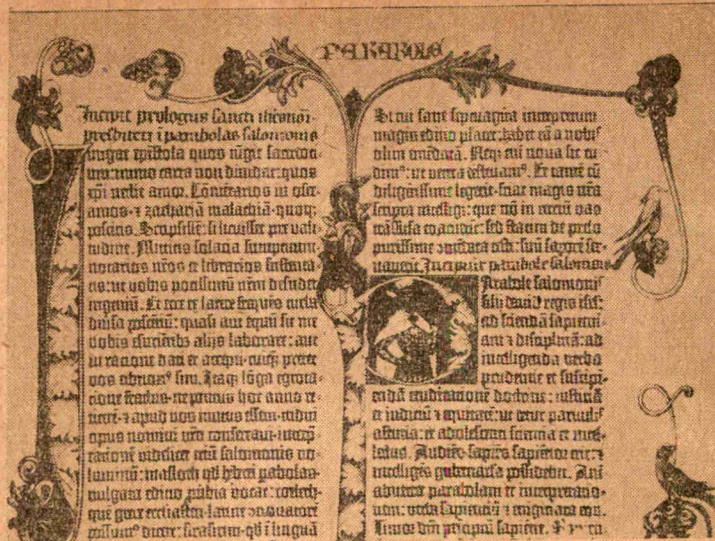


Pottery inkpot (Chanhu-daro)

writing out different dramas had used about 20,000 different words and a Chinese compositor would need a type-case of the size of a tennis court to meet the demands of Shakespeare's works. Whatever might be the effect of the invention of this new art over other countries it began to be highly appreciated by the men of the continental Europe during the 15th century.

With the 15th century the scribes under the careful and wise direction of the artists and scholars turned aside from their inherited black letter and devoted their energy in the transcription of classical texts. Born in 1397 in Mayence Johannes Gensfleisch (Gutenberg) discovered that individual types might be joined together in some way to print words. The Mainz Catholicon was perhaps printed by him in 1460; the credit of printing the famous 36-line Bible, completed at Bamberg before 1461, also goes to Gutenberg. Some scholars think that this Bible was the first printed book in Europe and sometimes known as the Mazarin Bible or the most commonly known the 42-line Bible. The first book to be printed in the English language was a translation Recvil des Histoires de Troye; the credit of printing of this historic book goes partly to William Caxton. The second book to be printed in the English language was a translation of a French allegorical treatise on the game of chess. Caxton was determined to simplify the





A portion of the fascimile page from the famous "42-line Bible"

complex English language. Another Englishman, John Baskerville, invented a process of "surfacing" paper. In India, Ambalakaddu, near Trichur, South India, was the place where the art of printing started about 1577 A.D. It is said that Shivaji, the Great Maratha ruler, was the first Indian who wanted to set up a press, but owing to certain difficulties he could not set his ideas to practice and sold the press in 1674 to Bhimaji Parakh of Gujarat. Bengal, under the leadership of William Carey, Ward and Marshman and with the assistance of the genius like Panchanan Karmakar and his nephew Monohar gave a new vent to the history of printing in

India. The 19th century carried the printed work a little deeper into the lives of the common people. It also saw the foundation of the periodical press on a national scale. But with the intervention of the two world wars, 'printing flourished as a trade and slowly died as an art, so to say.' It is in the hands of the artists and typographers that our hopes for the future rest. This is in short the most interesting story of mankind from stone to books. From the engraved stones of different countries we know the rich treasures and the legacies of the past; on the printed books of to-day we will leave our ideas, our imaginations, our present heritage to posterity.





## ALLURING CANNES : THE FRENCH RESORT

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

"Is Cannes a paradise on earth?" is what the world tourists often ask. It is a challenging question that needs a deft answer. If paradise refers to a place of perfect bliss and celestial charms of Nature, surely then Cannes is a paradise, for it makes one live and enjoy life in the real sense.

Situated opposite to the picturesque Esteral Hills, Cannes, the Pearl of the French Riviera, is one of the most sought-after seaside resorts facing the Mediterranean. With its warm and lovable climate, green vegetation and lofty structures, the town is inhabited by 50,000 care-

Cannes is God's Chosen Land for lovers of fun and pomp. There is no end to the bewitching programmes which make the people spell-bound. The leading aristocrats and celebrities



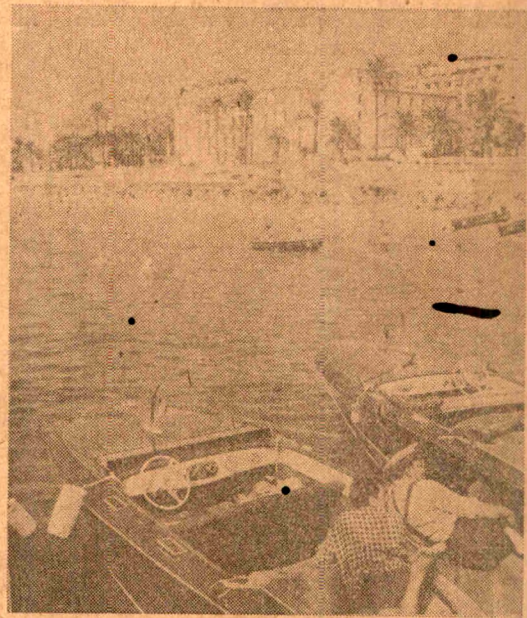
Girls gathering flowers at Grasse, the "perfume town"

free and fashion-loving people. With its glistening restaurants and dainty shops of the Croisette, galas and fashion-parades, regattas and beach-games, Cannes welcomes the tourists from all corners of the world.

Ah, the ever-new charms and the hilarious life on the golden sands of Cannes! There is unceasing activity at all hours on the beach gently washed by the graceful tides of the ocean. The display of fashions and tastes by the holiday-makers heightens the scenic beauty of the resort. People of every shade and creed can be seen relaxing in the lap of the shore. One can see here the latest fashions displayed by the most beautiful women of the whole world.



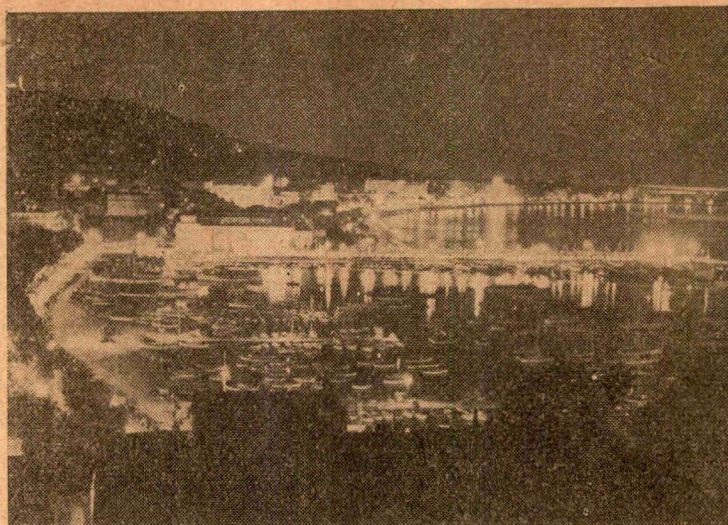
Cannes women in a festive mood



The beach at Cannes. The boat-race is about to commence

of society life assemble at the Municipal Casino to participate in the fabulous fetes and dancing competitions. The Palm Beach Hotels and the





Alluring view of Cannes taken at night

Casino are packed with people, elegantly dressed in their best, who gather here for fun and exhilaration. The International Sports and Games Competitions, "Battles of Flowers" and musical evenings are an added attraction to the novelty of Cannes. The International Film Festival held here every year is perhaps the most outstanding event which attracts the greatest film artistes and the fans alike.

Many an exciting excursion can be arranged from Cannes. Go to Grasse, the neighbouring "perfume" town of great natural beauty. The name of Cannes is automatically associated with this lovely place where many thousands of jasmines, daphnes, roses and violets bloom. The

scent-making industry of France is indebted to this quiet town of different flower-fields. Small boat-trips can also be arranged to the picturesque Lerins Islands which are renowned for serene and peaceful atmosphere.

The people of France are by nature fond of festivals and fun. Yachting, regattas and motor boating are as essential to them as food and drink. They cannot live without spending some delightful hours on the beaches. They alone are responsible for having created a new way of life, so very attractive and exhilarating.\*

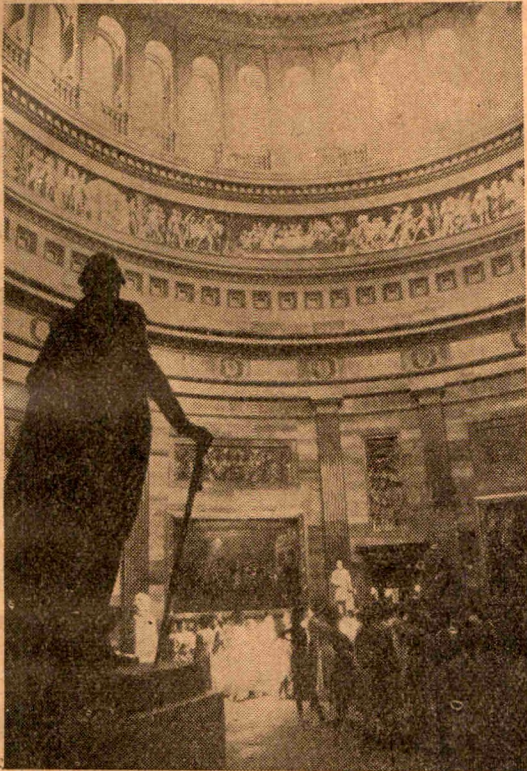
\* Photos by the courtesy of the Director, French Government Tourist Office, Bombay.





## INSIDE THE U.S. CAPITOL

THOUGH they may tramp their weary feet off in the track of the trumpet-voiced guide, the hundreds of thousands of tourists who yearly surge through its history-laden halls see only a fraction of the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C. There is much more in the massive building where U.S. laws are made than the fabulous collection of sentimental relics and the brief glimpses of the Congress' two houses—Senate and House of Representatives—included in the official tour.



The great Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol in Washington

Variety and motion pulse throughout the building. Just before noon, for instance, when out front tourists swarm the thickest, it is also busiest backstage.

In a committee hearing room, Members of Congress and witnesses, many known to newspaper readers worldwide—personalities diverse, positive and articulate—may be hotly debating a great public issue. At this hour, in a beautiful old office Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House, an almost legendary figure whom reporters call “the second most powerful man in the country,” usually holds his press conference. In the Senate kitchen, readying for the luncheon

rush, chefs and helpers hurry sizzling meats and steaming rolls from the ovens. At opposite ends of the Capitol, House and Senate chaplains pace the lobbies behind the two great chambers waiting the stroke of twelve to open each session with prayer.

The original portion of the Capitol was designed by a doctor in the West Indies, William Thornton, an amateur architect (and poet and horse-racer), who in 1793 submitted his simple, classic concept in response to an advertisement

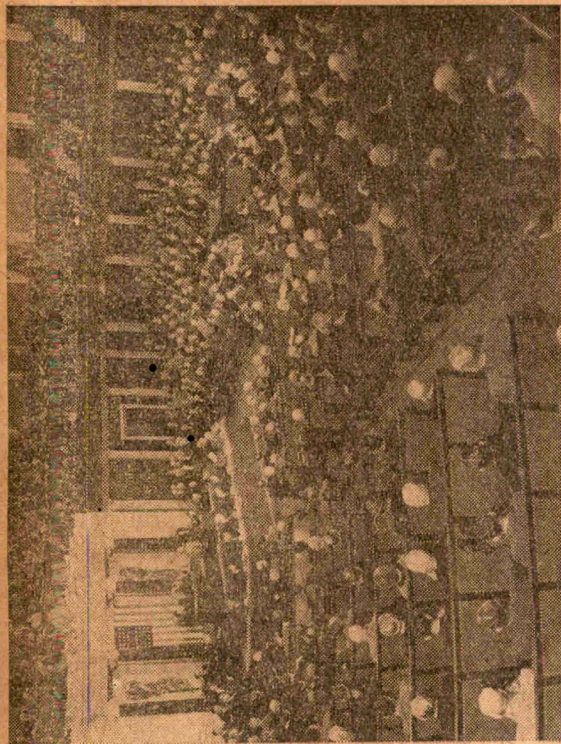


Prayer room set aside for use by individual Congressmen

offering a \$500 prize for “the most approved plan.”

As 1790's agrarian population of some 3,929,000 swelled to today's complex industrial society of 170,000,000, the number of States grew to forty-eight, each sending two senators to Washington; the number of representatives in the House, which is based on population, increased to 435, and the number of problems raised by this dynamic nation multiplied beyond measure. The Capitol added wings and then a new dome to balance the wings. Within, successive revisions left odd nooks and crannies, bizarre architectural compromises. On Capitol Hill other buildings went up to fulfil functions that one had originally served: House Office

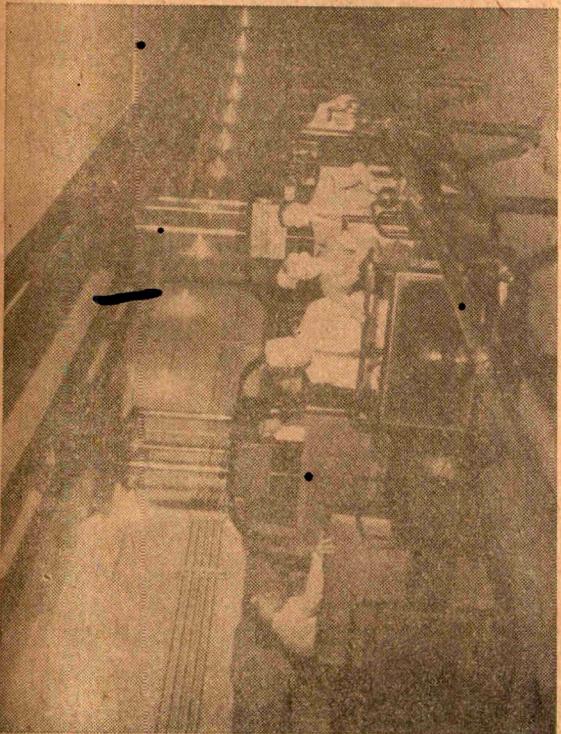




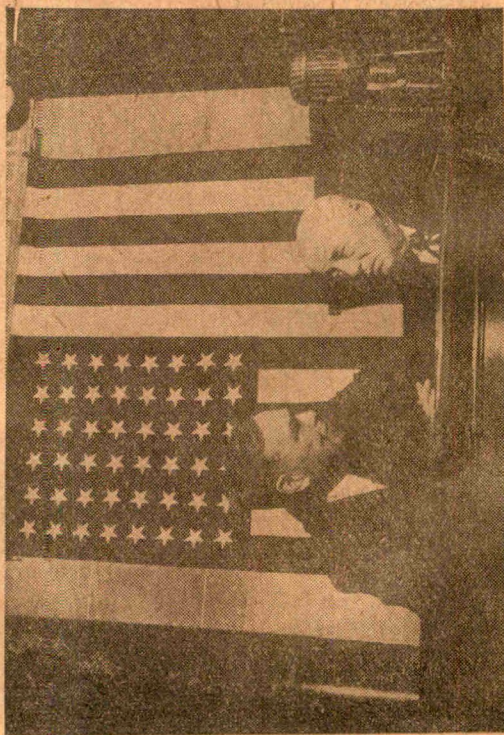
President Eisenhower delivers his State of the Union message to the two Houses of Congress, meeting in joint session in the House Chamber



Members of the legislative branch of the U.S. Government and representatives of the Executive branch



Senators ride between the Capitol and the Senate Office building on an underground monorail system whose rolling stock consists of these two cars



Leaders of the two opposing political parties confer at the rostrum of the House of Representatives



Buildings, Senate Office Buildings, the Supreme Court Building, the Library of Congress.

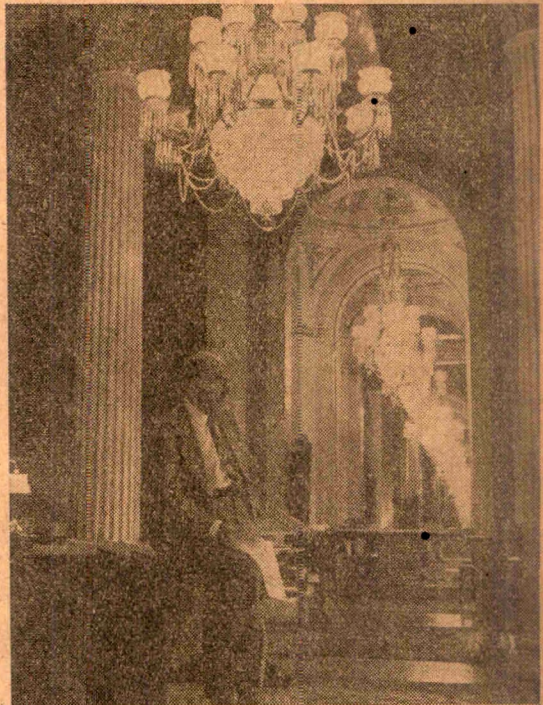
Today Congress is charged with some of the biggest problems in the history of Statesmanship. Pressures—for momentous and sometimes trivial, idealistic and sometimes selfish causes—bear on Members from every side, through personal contacts, by telephone, by wire, by mail. The task of balancing such pressures, of managing a vast nation and solving its highly specialized problems within the framework of constitutional government, has made necessary the committee

making decisions on complex issues and problems Congress has come to rely more and more on research in addition to debate. It is dreary but vital work, calling for painstaking detail. But the decisions arrived at—whether or not they stand the test of history—are at least guaranteed the benefit of full knowledge and balanced weighing of all the factors.

If a matter is of great importance, will affect many people or is controversial, a committee holds public hearings on it. Interested persons receive an opportunity to testify and answer



The famous bean soup cooked in the Senate Restaurant



An old senator in the marble Reading Room

system. Ninety per cent of the work of Congress is now done in committee rooms, leaving the legislative chambers as the scene only for formal debate and action. All bills, after being introduced by Members, are referred at once to appropriate committees. Each house has committees on agriculture, appropriations, the armed services, banking, labour, foreign affairs, the post office and government operations, to name but a few.

A committee has enormous power; it can report a bill back to House or Senate in its original form, vote against it, change it and report it out, or allow it to die by failing to act on it.

Oratory has lost some importance. In

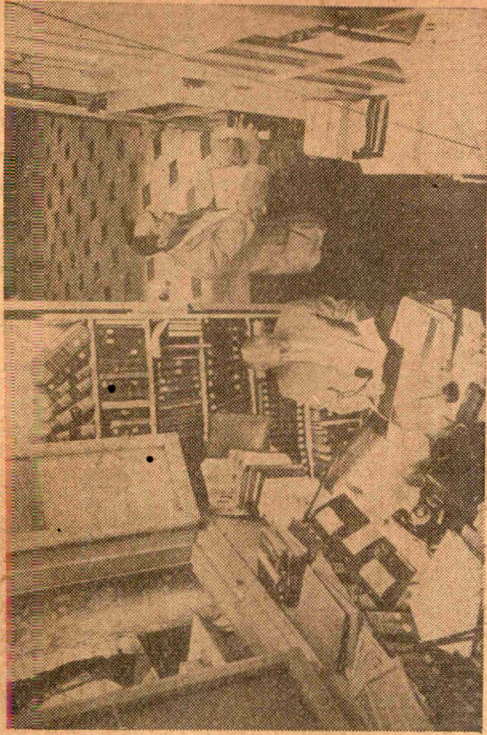
questions. • Anyone may request this opportunity. Other interested persons compose the audience. In the larger, modern committee rooms of the Office Buildings, Washington ladies often come and bring their knitting. Most important, there is criticism or approval from a highly articulate, widely informed, crusadingly watchful and utterly free press.

The anomaly of newsreel floodlights under chandeliers brought from seventeenth-century Paris expresses the whole Capitol's fascinating inconsistency. Blotting sand and snuff are kept in supply for Senators just because they always have been, although their use—except for an occasional head cold—is mainly as visiting constituents' souvenirs. Long-time functionaries keep fresh the lore essential to ritually prescribed

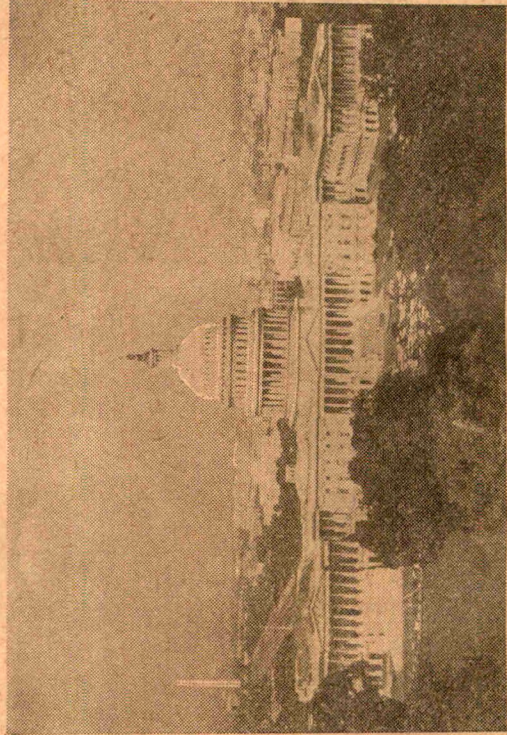




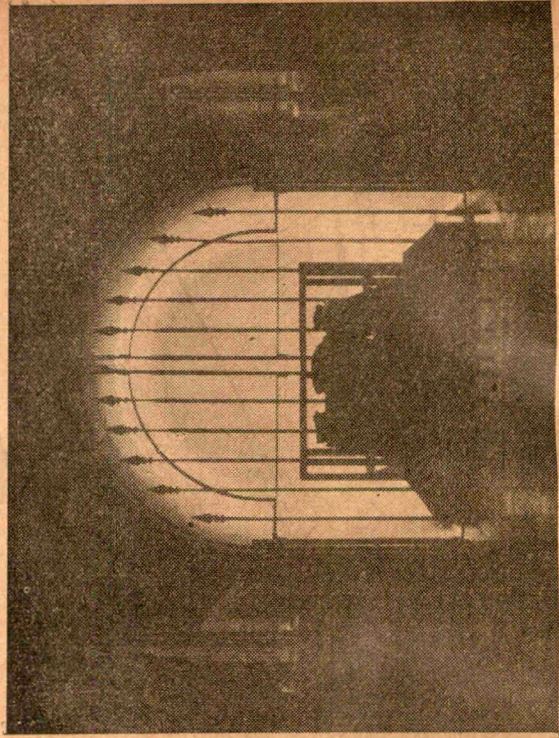
A Senator, before he appears on the floor of the Senate, must deal with his office work



Statutory Hall contains one of the world's smallest libraries



The Capitol grew as the country grew, sandstone buildings some distance apart (now topped by small domes) housed the Senate (right) and House of Representatives (left)



Under the very centre of the Capitol, George Washington's Tomb holds only an empty, black-draped bier in a glass case



duties. Similarly, sentiment deters the Congress from moving to a new, modern, wholly utilitarian building, as has often been proposed, and leaving this labyrinthine and sometimes inconvenient old structure to the swarming sightseers whose free men's pride in free men's ability to govern themselves has made of it a national shrine.



Testimony taken in committee hearings is printed and bound by machine

A complex and dynamic nation is governed in the beautiful old chambers of the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C. Successive revisions and enlargements of the building have left odd nooks, crannies and other architectural compromises, for the number of senators and representatives to the U.S. Congress is based on the numbers of states and of citizens and these figures have vastly multiplied over the years. But the notion of moving Congress to a new, streamlined, wholly utilitarian building has long been held off by the sentimental and the reverent. Perhaps, after all, the structural compromises are appropriate being symbolic of the processes of free men's government, in which all factions enjoy the right to expression and each new generation the right to amend.

The tour of the building will show visitors chambers where debates have altered the course of world history, plus some fine art like Houdon's statue of the first U.S. president, George

Washington (foreground) and much art only of sentimental value.

The Capitol grew as the country grew, with but one setback when fire set by British troops in 1814 gutted the two earliest units, sandstone buildings some distance apart (now topped by small domes) which housed the Senate (right)



Curving around Statutory Hall, the House of Document Room contains printed copies of bills. Afterwards they pass into laws

and House of Representatives (left). The cornerstone had been laid in 1793 when Washington was a raw young town and 15 states comprised the Union. By 1859 the nation stretched to the Pacific Ocean and 32 states were sending legislators to sit in the huge new marble wings of House and Senate. Finally—balancing these additions—the present great cast-iron dome replaced a small wooden one.

Congress' daily labors are performed mostly in committee. Senate and House members meet in a joint conference to evolve a mutually satisfactory version of a pending bill, in the Committee room. This room and many others in the Capitol were decorated with frescoes by a political refugee from 19th-century Italy—Constantino Brumidi, who proudly signed one painting, "Citizen of the United States."

Under the very center of the Capitol, George Washington's Tomb holds only an empty,



black-draped bier in a glass case. The first President is buried at Mount Vernon, his country estate in Virginia, as his will directed. Ponderous walls up to ten feet thick sustain the 4,455-ton dome high above.



The mace, symbol of authority in the House of Representatives, is borne into the House by the Sergeant at Arms as the daily session opens

Senators ride between the Capitol and the Senate Office Building on an underground monorail system whose rolling stock consists of two cars. Representatives reach their office buildings through a tunnel, too, but they walk. (The Second Senate Office Building, now under construction, will be ready for occupancy after January, 1958.)

Seated where once Supreme Court justices sat, members of the legislative branch of the U.S. government question representatives of the executive branch on the conduct of their administration. The Constitution of the United States provides that the three equal branches of government—legislative, executive and judicial—check and balance each other.

Curving around Statuary Hall, the House Document Room contains printed copies of bills in the various stages through which they pass into law; as introduced, as reported out of committee, as altered on the floor of the House,

and so forth. All these modifications of a bill illustrate the operation of different pressures of disagreements and compromises, under the system of legislative checks and balances.

An odd little pocket of space off Statuary Hall contains what may be one of the world's smallest libraries. This is a station of the Library of Congress, where references are quickly looked up for Members of Congress, and research or books ordered from the main Library are received through a pneumatic tube in seven minutes.

In the hushed and secluded Prayer Room, set aside for use by individual Congressmen, light falls on an open Bible. The cloistered retreat, non-denominational, represents the Congress' recognition of the need for divine guidance and blessing and is almost the only place on Capitol Hill where a Member of Congress can find tranquillity.

The mace, symbol of authority in the House of Representatives, is borne into the House by a Sergeant at Arms as the daily session opens. It is a bundle of thirteen ebony rods, symbolizing the thirteen original States of the Union, surmounted by a silver globe and eagle. On the very rare occasions when a session has become stormy and disorderly the mace has been presented before the offending persons and effected immediate order.



Congress' daily labours are performed mostly in committee

The millions of words of testimony taken in committee hearings are printed and bound mostly by machine. But the Senate Library's copies are hand-sewed.—*USIS*.



# THE PLACE OF HOME SCIENCE IN THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

THE majority of Indian women get married at a comparatively early age, and do not go in for a professional career. The home is the proper field of work, and their main occupation consists in home-making. Although the present economic condition of the country sometimes renders it absolutely necessary for women too, to earn their living or to act as the bread-winners of their families, still a great majority of them do not take up outdoor employments and adopt a career. They are mainly occupied with household duties and the rearing of children, which engross most of their time and energy. But these prospective mothers and house-wives of the country, too, need to be trained in the art of home-making, so that they may thus be able to run their future homes on sound and efficient lines. "The greatest good of the greatest number" is a principle that holds good in the present case also. It is a great pity that so far very few attempts have been made to adopt the curriculum to the special needs of women or to prepare them for the important function of maternity as well as a domestic career. As a rule, identical education is being provided both for men and women, and the same courses of study are being prescribed for the pupils of both the sexes. The fact that, biologically, women are fitted and equipped by nature to fulfil a different function from men, and that the biological needs of the two sexes are quite different can hardly be ruled out. When drawing up an educational programme for women as such, the educationists of the day should not lose sight of this important fact. The emancipation of women being the watchword of the feminist movement all the world over, the educated women of the country are clamouring for equal rights with men. In the new constitution of India, equal rights have been declared for both the sexes, and no discrimination is to be made in the matter of education and appointments on the ground of sex only. Today a much bigger number of employments and professions for which formerly men only used to be considered eligible have been thrown open to women, too, the sex being no bar to such appointments. In this respect India can claim to be on a par with the other civilized

countries of the world. She can pride herself on her women M.P.s, women politicians, women ministers and ambassadors, women M.L.As. and M.L.Cs., as well as women doctors and lawyers and female officers holding very responsible positions in each State and at the Centre as well. During the last few decades, the impact of the last two World Wars on the national economy of the country has helped to precipitate matters and facilitate the emancipation of her womenfolk to a great extent. At the present moment the middle class people really find it hard to keep their body and soul together and to make both ends meet with the meagre income of the male members of their family. Innumerable women rendered destitute by famine and communal riots have been thrown back entirely on their own resources. They have to eke out a bare living and struggle for existence, along with men. Sometimes women are being compelled to supplement the family budget by taking up odd jobs. The disruptive forces of the last political upheaval, in which Indian women fully participated, and fought side by side with men, so as to free their motherland from the shackles of the foreign yoke have also much to do with the present changed social and economic set-up of the country. Today, Indian women have been able to achieve their economic independence to some extent, and are trying to fight out their rightful place at home and outside, as also to contribute their share to the political, economic and civil life of the country. They have mostly been able to shake off the *purdah* system. The gradual abolition of the *purdah* system is occasioning a good deal of the free mixing of the sexes. Equal educational facilities are being made available to women, too, who are very often achieving brilliant results at the public examinations, and are topping the list of successful candidates at these. All this amply testifies to the intellectual ability of women, and belies the common belief that they are intellectually inferior to men. In India, although much lee-way is yet to be made up in the field of female education, still education is no longer considered to be the special prerogative of men only. Co-education is being practised

at every stage of education, with a view to affording both the sexes equal educational opportunities and facilities. The present number of girls' schools and colleges being still too small to cope with the ever-increasing demand for seats, co-education has to be resorted to very often, and the former prejudice of the average guardian against it is fast disappearing. The demand for a more adequate number of educational institutions of all types for women is getting more insistent everyday. The number of the educated women of the country is going up by leaps and bounds. Indian women are proving their worth and efficiency in every sphere of public activity. So the equality of the sexes can be taken for granted at the present time. But still there is some fundamental difference inherent in the very natures of men and women, which cannot be overlooked. There is no denying the fact that the psychology of a woman is quite different from that of a man. Tagore has very aptly remarked in his famous article entitled "Woman and Home":

"If woman begins to believe that, though biologically her function is different from that of man, psychologically she is identical with him; if the human world in its mentality becomes exclusively male, then before long it will be reduced to utter inanity. For life finds its truth and beauty, not in any exaggeration of sameness, but in harmony."

A similar idea finds expression in the oft-quoted lines of Tennyson too:

*"Woman is not undeveloped man,  
But diverse; Could we make her as the  
man,  
Sweet love were slain; his dearest bond  
is this,  
Not like to like, but like in difference."*

Quite apart from this psychological difference, psychologically women are handicapped by certain inequalities, which cannot also be ignored altogether. This fact should be kept in view by the educationists of the day, when formulating a scheme of education. But unfortunately so far very "little thought has been given to the education of women as women," as has been stated in the report of Radha Krishnan Commission. Very little efforts seem to have been made as yet to provide an educational course more befitting women as women; and suited to their requirements. It does not, of

course, mean that women should be debarred from going in for higher education or from adopting a career, if they so desire. Their general education should be the same as men's, and they should be afforded equal opportunities too. But the opportunities need not necessarily be identical. Higher education cannot but result in the general broadening of our outlook on life and widening our mental horizon. So the educated women of the day cannot be expected to be thoroughly satisfied with a limited sphere of action and to confine their activities within the precincts of their home. But that is no reason why they should not be taught to discharge the duties, appropriate to them as women, properly and efficiently—to rear their offspring and to run their homes on modern scientific lines. Mainly, as a result of their economic dependence on men, they were relegated to a subordinate position at home and in society. At the present moment the educated women of all the civilized countries of the world are awakening to the need of asserting their civic rights and legitimate claims, and are voicing their protest against the legal and social disabilities they have been labouring under for ages together. So all of them can hardly be expected to be contented with a purely domestic career. They may feel inclined to equip themselves for a more ambitious career or for a profession that calls for a good deal of administrative ability, technical skill, and specialised knowledge. Today a good many qualified women are scrambling for gainful occupations and lucrative jobs in open competition with men. But they are exceptions rather than the rule. A vast majority of their less ambitious sisters need to be educated and trained for the immensely responsible task they are destined to fulfil in life as mothers and wives. So far the women of our country have been able to secure very little vocational guidance in such important matters from those entrusted with the shaping of the educational policy of the day. "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." There is no gainsaying the truth of this statement. So one of the most pressing educational problems of the country should be how to turn out more efficient mothers and house-wives, who have got a significant role to play in the rearing and training of children on proper lines.

Besides, one of the main defects of the

present-day educational system of the country is that the instruction imparted in the classroom is totally unrelated to the everyday activities of children, and is entirely divorced from their practical interests in life. Attempts are seldom made to link the activities of the school to those of their everyday life and to teach the school subjects in and through actual life-situations, whenever possible. So, the average guardian does not believe in female education and fails to realize the necessity and importance of it. If female education is to be popularized in the rural areas of the State of West Bengal, which are still very backward, instruction must be made both useful and attractive. Grown-up daughters, as a rule, prove of great help to their mothers in performing household duties and rearing children. The average indigent mother, who can hardly afford a house servant, very grudgingly sends her grown-up daughters to school, and naturally looks upon the years of their schooling as sheer waste of time. If schools aim at providing an adequate training for girls in the art of home-making, their mothers can be easily induced to send them to school, as they cannot but appreciate the value of such training. This necessitates the provision of an alternative course in Home Science for women in general, which will help to divert the terrible rush for admission to general colleges and will thus relieve the congestion in these institutions to some extent.

Now the problem is how to evolve and provide a sound and well-thought-out course in Home Science, designed to turn out more efficient mothers and home-makers. Such a course should be an extensive one, and should include such subjects as house-wifery, cookery, laundry work, needlework and tailoring, hygiene and mothercraft, home nursing, and the care of children, domestic farming and the like. Instruction should be imparted both in theory and practice. The students of Home Science need to be given a sound knowledge of health and sanitation. An advanced course will be incomplete without an elementary knowledge of psychology and physiology, which is essential for teaching and nursing as well. The pupils should be taught on practical lines how to balance their budget and to take care of babies. They also need to learn how to select and provide the right type of food and dresses for the members

of their family. They should be given an elementary knowledge of dietetics. They need to be taught how to make their own dresses as well as those of the other members of their family. Attempts should be made to teach them some decorative arts, too, which will enable them to furnish and decorate their homes tastefully with the minimum of expenditure with simple and most inexpensive materials. They should be trained in some useful arts and crafts, also, which may prove of some help to them in supplementing the family budget, and contributing their share to it. In a word, the students of Home Science should be acquainted with all the technical knowledge and practical skill essential for the art of home-making. Such pupils as will specialise in an advanced course of Home Science should also be provided with suitable employments in this line. They may be employed as teachers of Home Science in high schools and colleges of Domestic Science or Home Science on decent and attractive salaries. New avenues of employment will thus be opened for women.

It is a pity that Domestic Science colleges and training colleges are still so few and far between in our country. More colleges should be set up on the lines of Lady Irwin College of Delhi, which awards a B.Sc. degree in Home Science, and in which provision has also been made for a teachers' training diploma of the Delhi University in Home Science. The Home Science College of Baroda also awards a B.Sc. degree in Home Science of the M.S. University of Boroda. The Bihari Lal Mitra Domestic Science Training College of the Calcutta University also awards a teachers' training diploma in Domestic Science. But according to some provisions in the Deed of Trust executed by the donor, women other than Hindus cannot be admitted to this training college. So the pupils of all communities fail to avail themselves of the facilities afforded therein. The trainees are mostly undergraduates, the minimum academic qualification that is insisted upon being the Intermediate examination certificate. The standard of the course as well as of the examination does not seem to be very high. Degree colleges of Home Science should be started, and provision should be made for a B.Sc. degree at the end of prescribed course. After graduation from such colleges, the students may undergo a



course of post-graduate training in Home Science and may be awarded a teachers' training diploma. So post-graduate training colleges, also, need to be set up for the purpose.

That Home Science has been included in the new syllabus prescribed for the Junior High Schools for girls in West Bengal from Class VI upwards seems to be a move in the right direction. But it only touches a fringe of the problem. Home Science is an optional subject that can be offered by girls only at the School Final examination. The subject is very poorly taught at the average girls' high school in West Bengal. Trained teachers are very hard to find. More stress is laid upon theoretical instruction than upon practical training. At the School Final examination too, candidates are examined in theory only, there being no provision for a practical test. In only a handful of good schools, practical lessons on laundry work and cookery

are arranged. In such girls' schools as are held in the buildings of boys' high schools in the morning, there is hardly any time for such practical lessons, the hours of tuition being insufficient. Quite apart from anything, a practical bias needs to be given by all means to the purely bookish education that is generally imparted at the average school today. In girls' schools, such domestic work as is taught in the Home Science classes may constitute an important basic craft, in correlation with which quite a number of subjects may be taught through the activity methods, envisaged in the curriculum of basic education. Such methods involve the important psychological principle of "learning by doing" or "learning by living", too. The acquisition of knowledge is thus motivated by children's innate urge to solve certain live problems, to which they may be pinned down in the class room.

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## THE LIFE AND ART OF ROBERT LYND

By PROF. MIHIR KUMAR SEN, M.A.

### I

#### LYND THE JOURNALIST

BORN in Belfast on the 20th of April, 1879, Robert Lynd, the last great writer of the short essay in English, came of a line of Ulster Presbyterian ministers traceable to the United Irishmen of the 18th Century. The second of his parents' seven children, Robert was educated in the Royal Academical Institution and Queen's University, Belfast.

After a brief career on the staffs of *Northern Whig* in Belfast and *Daily Dispatch* in Manchester, Lynd found out that his 'style was too flowery for a daily paper' and became a free-lance. His first noteworthy work as a Columnist was the sketch of an Oxford-Cambridge boat-race—which he never saw—for Jerome K. Jerome's *To-day*. Earlier he had done a few short sketches for *Outlook*, London. His honeymoon with Sylvia Dryhurst in Achill Island on the edge of poverty made him realise that the security of regular farthings was preferable to earning an occasional penny. Shortly afterwards (1909) he applied

for and got the job of a leader-writer in *Daily News*, where Andrew Lang and A. G. Gardiner had been two of his predecessors in office. Lynd retired in 1947 as literary editor of *News Chronicle*, the successor of *Daily News*.

While on the staff of *Daily News*, Lynd gave his free-lance career a fresh start. He started writing essays and reviews for *The New Statesman* and *The Nation*. In the last years of his life Lynd's work appeared mostly under his pen-name "Y.Y." on the columns of the *New Statesman* and the *Nation*. For a number of years, he was John O' London in *John O' London's Weekly*. From time to time his writings were collected and published by Methuen and Dent. He passed away, full of years and honours, on the 6th of October, 1949.

### II

#### LYND THE MAN

Robert Lynd was tall, had raven hair, a thinker's forehead, beaked nose and fine facial bones and looked gently charming. But he

took no care of his appearance. A lock of hair used to hang down over his forehead. A cigarette always dangled between his lips. His clothes were good and from Saville Row. But he took little care of them. He used to put his grey felt hat on the table and rest his arms on it! He would also thrust letters, proofs, newspapers, and even books into his trouser pockets, so his clothes often looked strange in their scarecrow outlines. As he was a chain-smoker, whenever he rose after a long sitting, his coat and waistcoat were covered with cigarette-ash. Once Lynd in such odd garments was taken for a pedlar of pornography and refused entry in a tea-shop by the manageress! Mr. Lionel Hale who had for some time worked for Robert Lynd, has written to me that Mrs. Lynd had occasions to ring up his assistants and request them to take him out to buy new shirts, jerseys or trousers.

Lynd was essentially gregarious and talked wonderfully well while sipping in tiny tots of Scotch Whiskey and Apollinaris. As Mr. Norman Collins, the novelist who worked with Lynd for some years on *News Chronicle*, tells me in one of his letters, Lynd's house in Hampstead—within a stone's throw of Keats's house—was an evening saloon for writers such as Joyce, Wells, Beerbohm, Bennett, Walpole, Priestley, Galsworthy and many others. His wife Sylvia, herself a noted poet and critic, used to preside over those informal meetings in their residence. Lynd felt happiest when in conversation, and the table-talk tone in his *belles lettres* is not to be missed.

Lynd sincerely believed that every human being had something praiseworthy in him or her; that is why he was never heard speaking unkindly about another person. It was difficult for others in his presence to think or speak meanly or ungenerously about anybody. 'Gentle' was the word for describing him though he became tired of being referred to in the same breath as 'gentle Lamb,' another Irishman.

Few can beat Lynd in versatility of interests. He had the Irishman's passion for backing horses (though with small sums only); rarely missed an International rugger match; developed a naturalist's fondness for birds and insects; appreciated painting; read books omnivorously; loved to call at eating-houses, and was fond of occasionally looking up his horoscope. He be-

lieved that, born on the same day as he, Adolf Hitler must have had the same horoscope and rejoiced in the event of a personal misfortune, thinking that the Fuehrer, too, was suffering at the same time!

### III

#### LYND THE LITTERATEUR

Lynd could love his fellow-creatures without being sentimental because he looked at the world from odd angles. This twist of observation is a noteworthy feature of his style. Goldsmith sympathised with the citizen of the world; yet he drew our attention to the oddity in the man-in-black. Lynd, also Irish, viewed the temperamentally forgetful man with lenience—what with his broad human sympathies, what with he himself being one—yet he has helped us look at the forgetful man from unusual angles and to laugh at his expense.

"It is the efficiency rather than the inefficiency of human memory that compels my wonder," Lynd says in his memorable essay on forgetting. "Modern man remembers even telephone numbers. He remembers the addresses of his friends. He remembers the dates of good vintages. He remembers appointments for lunch and dinner. . . . How many men in all London forget a single item of their clothing when dressing in the morning? Not one in a hundred. Perhaps not one in ten thousand. How many of them forget to shut the front door when leaving the house? Scarcely more."

Then he snaps up, ". . . . At the same time, ordinarily good memory is so common that we regard a man who does not possess it as eccentric. I have heard of a father who, having offered to take the baby out in a perambulator, was tempted by the sunny morning to pause on his journey and slip into a public house for a glass of beer. Leaving the perambulator outside, he disappeared through the door of the saloon bar. A little later, his wife had come out to do some shopping which took her past the public house, where to her horror she discovered her sleeping baby. Indignant at her husband's behaviour, she decided to teach him a lesson. She wheeled away the perambulator, picturing to herself his terror when he would come out and find the baby gone. She arrived home, anticipating with angry relish the white face and quivering lips

that would soon appear with the news that the baby had been stolen. What was her vexation, however, when just before lunch her husband came in smiling cheerfully and asking: "Well, my dear, what's for lunch to-day?" having forgotten all about the baby and the fact that he had taken it out with him. How many men below the rank of a philosopher would be capable of such absentmindedness as this? Most of us, I fear, are born with prosaically efficient memories."

Then comes the last twist of Lynd's knife: "If it were not so, the institution of the family could not survive in any great modern city."

The above passage has all the criteria of an essay that Sir A. C. Benson had laid down in *The Art of the Essay*.

"One does not go to an essayist with a desire for information or with an expectation of finding a clear statement of a complicated subject; that is not the mood in which one takes up a volume of essays. What one rather expects to find is a companionable treatment of the vast mass of little problems and floating ideas which are aroused and evoked by our passage through the world, our daily employment, our leisure hours, our amusements and diversions; and above all, by our relations with people—all the unexpected inconsistent various simple stuff of life."

Lynd always forgave but never forgot those who borrowed money from him. He makes the typical borrower the object of the sallies of his wit in *The Money-lenders*. He starts that essay raconteur-like, as did Goldsmith in *The Citizen of the World*. But his is a sharp break from Goldsmith's. After giving an account of how one day he was hoodwinked by a gang to sign his name and incidentally help them some money, he ends thus:

"... It was the highest price, I must say, that has ever been paid for anything I have written. Mr. Arnold Bennet, I believe, gets something between a shilling and a guinea a word. But those two words that I wrote were, even in the illiterate eyes of a money-lender, reckoned to be worth between six and seven pounds each."

Lynd covered, in his various writings, all manner of topics under the earth ranging from the butterfly to the sea, from the money-lender

to the forgetful man, nice behaviour to silence, from pleasing the foreigner to critical appreciation of modern poetry. For he was deeply interested in a wide variety of human occupations and natural phenomena. It appears that he set to work with a positive belief that roughly what interested him would interest a great many other people as well. He never under-estimated the 'fundamental brainwork' of the 'common reader'; and there lay the key to his popularity. A 'personal' note running through all matters of 'human' interest never missed the mark. And how easily does he mix 'instruction' with 'delight' in his discourse on *Going Abroad*:

"Time passes, however and, even though abroad, we begin to feel at home. Things no longer please us merely because they are novel. We pass the shops with as little interest as if they bore above their windows such accustomed inscriptions as 'Family Butcher,' 'Stationer,' or 'Italian Warehouseman'! We cease to notice that the policemen differ from any other policemen. The trams no longer excite us by their unusual colour and design. The streets become our familiar walks. We find it extraordinarily easy to pass the church without going inside. The flavour of the food becomes monotonous."

This passage clearly indicates how very easy, pleasing, fluent his style of writing was and how uncommonly keen were his observation of human conduct and insight into human nature. It did not really matter what the subject of his essay was. He wanted to establish friendship with his readers, whose intelligence he neither over-estimated nor under-estimated. And this he undoubtedly did by giving his writings, above everything else, a good-humoured and rational shape. It is also remarkable that Lynd used the same 'pleasing style' throughout the entire gamut of his panoramic sketches, be the subject reflective or descriptive, serious or half-witty, literary or political. This is a striking feature of his writings.

Lynd's 'sympathetic' attitude to his readers might have been a lesson that years of practical journalism taught him. The daily newspaper picks out an universally intelligible style for communicating its message to a heterogeneous body of the reading public. Lynd obviously thought it wise to cut his cloak according to his cloth,



and the readers of *The New Statesman and The Nation* were never disappointed in their expectation of something exceedingly delightful from the weekly notes from "Y.Y." In course of time, "Y.Y."s essays deservedly became indispensable to the anthology-compilers in England and abroad. Lynd has often been said to have been 'confidential' like Lamb and 'a pleasing story-teller' like Goldsmith; yet his style was absolutely free from the urbanity of Lamb and from the 'sentimentalism' of Goldsmith's.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, his style was simply an age racier than Lamb's or Goldsmith's.

Lynd firmly refused to write his autobiography. In a letter written to me, Lynd's elder sister—Mrs. R. M. Jones—rightly holds that Lynd would live in his works. His was a unique art that made us feel that we were coming across the topics for the first time in our lives. It is due to this 'perfected' art of imparting freshness to whatever topics he dwelt upon that Lynd's writings are always fresh in our memory, in spite of the fact that no biography has so far been written of him.

## IV

## LYND THE PAMPHLETEER

Lynd had emigrated to England when he was barely 21, with a view to launching on a journalistic career; yet he never lost touch with Ireland.<sup>2</sup> There was a tradition of independence in the Lynd family, and his grandfather had runaway slaves in his manse as guests.<sup>3</sup> "Ireland's struggle for freedom," writes his daughter—Mrs. Wheeler<sup>4</sup>—"was the thing he felt most passionately about." The reasons are not far to seek, therefore, for Lynd's early enthusiasm for the Gaelic League. He wrote for the Sinn Fein ("Ourselves") movement (in which he

was joined by two of his younger sisters who are living) from its inception, under the Irish form of his name—Roibeard O' Fhloinn. His daughter Sheila (now Mrs. Wheeler) still respects her father's nationalistic feelings baptising her with a Gaelic name—Sighle (the Gaelic form of "Sheila") by using it occasionally. She is, by the way, a prominent member on the staff of the *Daily Worker* and is known for her sympathies with the underdog.

Lynd detested the sectarian bitterness that caused a schism in Ireland's body politic in those days, and sounded his caution in *The Orangemen and the Nation* (Belfast: The Republican Press, 1907). One notices the same liberal attitude and racy style in this tract as in his writings of a purely literary nature. In *The Ethics of Sinn Fein* (Limerick, 1910) Lynd exposed the new policy for self-government initiated by Arthur Griffith. An essay of his—"If the Germans Conquered England"—played an interesting part in the insurrection of 1916. These more-or-less political writings of Lynd's are not half as known as his other writings, for no faults of their own! To make the readers familiar with these we shall quote representative extracts from them. In *If the Germans Conquered England* Lynd wrote:

"The Irish national cause is the cause of every nation—England included—which is fighting against tyranny. Ireland does not demand any kind of liberty which she does not wish to see England, France, Belgium, Poland and all the other nations enjoying in equal measure. . . . Ireland, in her struggle against English Imperialism is the close counterpart of England (and closer still Belgium) in their struggle against German Imperialism. Germany, if she conquered England, could do no wrong that has been done or is not done even now being done by England in Ireland. The chief horror of conquest does not consist in atrocities: it consists in being conquered

An intelligent person writing out his feelings, making no bones about them, in crystal-clear language—this is how the passage strikes us.

Such passages abound. Grant Richards of London published in 1919 *Ireland a Nation*, wherein Lynd made an exhaustive study of his

1. Vide M. K. Sen: "Robert Lynd" in *Calcutta Review*, April, 1950.

2. From the excellent account of Lynd's life published by the Irish Department of External Affairs in their weekly bulletin—*Eire*—on 17th October, 1955, we learn that Lynd conducted an Irish class in London at the Haverstock Hill branch of the Gaelic League.

3. Writes Sir Desmond MacCarthy in his admirable account of Lynd's life in his Introduction to "Everyman" *Essays on Life and Literature* by Lynd that Lynd's "Great-grandfather had left the church in Scotland and emigrated to Ireland because his congregation had objected to his wearing silver buckles on his shoes."

4. In a recent letter to me.

mother country. His loyalty to the native tradition is revealed in lines scattered throughout this book. His pride on being on an Ulster ministerial line pops up through intervals in between his liberal views. The qualities of his most effective writing stand out—light, incisive and serious yet unoffensive—in such passages as the following :

"The English attitude to Ireland is somewhat paradoxical. Englishmen can hardly be said to dislike the Irish personality. On the whole, I think, they like them better than they like most foreigners. They like them, however, as a holiday people—rather than as a serious people. Even the most fanatical Irishman who, without the faintest gleam of humour in his composition, gives his life for a passionate ideal, is explained away as a person with a hilarious love of fighting for its own sake. In the early days of the war *Punch* had a drawing of an Irishman to whom someone says : 'This is a terrible war, Fat, 'Yes, sorr,' replied the Irishman, 'tis a terrible war; but, sure 'tis better than no war at all.' I do not think it is unfair to suggest that this joke vividly represents a common English view of the Irish character. Set out with the idea that the Irishman is an irresponsible creature, and you do not need to consider his demand, for he obviously does not mean it. If he gives his life in the armies of the Allies, it is not because he is a soldier of freedom, but because he is always spoiling for a fight. If he gives his life on the Republican side, well, boys will be boys. If the Irish had not the Germans or the English to fight, we are told, they would fight each other. Is not Ireland the nation of the shillelagh—that knotted bludgeon which is never seen in Ireland except in the windows of shops that cater for the tastes of tourists? How is it possible to regard Paddy with the shillelagh as a potential Abraham Lincoln—a statesman with a constructive mind, tolerant, prudent, and endowed with the civic and commercial virtues? All such a happy-go-

lucky creature needs is to be ruled with a firm hand. He is like a high-spirited animal that only becomes naughty if ridden with a loose rein. What he requires is firm and expert government in Ireland, so far as it has a theory, depends upon the belief that the Irishman is a fine specimen of animal, but not a fine specimen of man."

Giving vent to his typical nationalist sympathies in controlled utterances, to his fondness for horse-racing and other characteristics, discussed earlier, this book, through passages like the above, brilliantly studies Irish history and literature. Of particular interest and poignancy are the chapters on Ulster's fear of Home Rule and the Ulster Problem, punctuated with those touches of unassuming yet brilliant humour that go with Lynd's name.

In spite of his pronounced sympathies with anything Gaelic, Lynd, mainly for his unoffensive way of showing things in their true colour, never had to face the wrath of the British censor. Not only that : London *Times* came out with the following words in an obituary note on his death :

"A person of great humour, kindness, curiosity and breadth of mind, and of unfailing sympathy and tolerance, he was an Irishman of firmly Protestant type, loyal to the native tradition, dedicated to familiar good sense, and always watchful where a suspicion of obscurantism obtruded itself."

A fitting tribute indeed to his unique gifts of humour, sympathy, observation, patriotism, liberalism, insight, incision and flow !

Lynd wrote another pamphlet in 1920, when the Anglo-Irish war was at its zenith, for the London Peace with Ireland Council, and that was named *The Murders in Ireland : Who Began It*. As it is usual with Lynd, liberal views and controlled language distinguished this pamphlet from others on the subject. All such writings, however, show that though Lynd was something of a dreamer in his outward ways and manners, he was a society-conscious writer, the type of "those who soar but never roam, true to the kindred points of heaven and home."



# CHRISTOPHER FRY AND THE COMIC SPIRIT IN MODERN POETIC DRAMA

PROF. N. S. SUBRAMANYAM, M.A.

For the reason of laughter, since  
laughter is surely

The surest touch of genius in creation....

—*The Lady's not for Burning*

"Christopher Fry, gaily, cleverly, triumphantly offers us," remarks the veteran critic Scott-James, "not despair or renunciation, but life and poetry seasoned with so much philosophy as we may care to add."<sup>1</sup> The primary fact about Fry is that he has been interested in developing a powerful phraseology and in order to achieve that, he uses images from several sources,— mythology and modern science in particular, and juxtaposes them in his lines, as in the few examples taken at random :

"I've a heart this morning as light as a  
nebula"  
(*Venus Observed*)

". . . . . if Paris had no trouble  
Choosing between the tide-turning beauty  
Imponderable and sexed with eternity  
Of Aphrodite, Hera and Athene,  
Aren't you ashamed to make heavy  
weather of a choice  
Between Hilda, and Rosabel and Jessie?"  
(*Venus Observed*)

". . . . . Surely she knows,  
If she is true to herself, the moon is  
nothing  
But a circumambulating aphrodisiac  
Divinely subsidized to provoke the world  
Into a rising birth-rate—a veneer  
Of sheerest Venus on the planks of Time  
Which may feel the ocean but which  
fools not me."

(*The Lady's not for Burning*)

In both these well-known plays of Fry, there are extraordinary expressions of abuse, which are interesting etymologically, as the following samples :

'Nattering wheygoose'—ugly toadlike, pale-  
with-fear dull-witted man.

natterjack—toad; whey—buttermilk (as  
pale as)

'a lot of amphigonrious stultiloquential fiddle-  
faddle—so much of nonsensical, absurd,  
trivial talk' (amphigouri—nonsensetalk;  
stultify—reduce to absurdity; loquential  
—using too many words; fiddle-faddle  
—trivial)

'God give me a few lithonriptical words'—  
words powerful enough to break up  
stones in the physiognomy (from  
Medicine) (lithon-thruptika—communitive  
of stones according to the Oxford  
Dictionary)

'operculated prig'—a conceited person, very  
secretive.

(Biology : operculum—fish's gill-cover)

All the plays that Fry has written hitherto, do not have such riot of words or humour. In his two serious religious plays—*Thor with Angels* (Canterbury Festival of 1948) and *The Firstborn* (Edinburgh Festival of 1948), Fry is an adept at switching over to the mood in which man accepts his Destiny without squirming over it :

"A man has to provide his own providence  
Or there's no knowing what religion  
will get hold of him."

(*The Dark is Light Enough*)

This latest play of his, *The Dark is Light Enough* (Aldwych Theatre, 1945), Fry takes his title-theme from the allegorical idea of a storm through which the lighter butter-fly goes unharmed, but the heavy screech-owl 'would not dare to forsake the olive tree.' Fry boldly makes out a case for light-heartedness, despite any soul-vibrating crisis—a view all in opposition to the heavy seriousness of Eliot and his followers in the Mercury Theatre :

"There's a dreariness in dedicated spirits  
That makes the promised land seem  
older than the fish."

Fry's contribution is, he is making the  
contemporary poetic-play broadbased to include

1. Scott-James: *Fifty Years of English Literature*,  
p. 239.





Mendip, but to all who preach self-immolation,  
for whatever reason :

“ . . . And do you think  
Your gesture of death is going to  
change it ? ”

(*The Lady's not for Burning*)

The 'comic' approach is after all associated  
with the recognition of the rights of life—the  
view that life has its own dues. The laws of  
Ethics are the products of brains who actually  
did not experience any event on which they  
theorise and therefore have no intrinsic value :

“ . . . And what is madness  
To those who only observe, is often wisdom  
To those to whom it happens.”

(*A Phoenix too Frequent*)

This assertion that 'Life' has to be accepted  
at its own value, put forward by Fry, is very  
timely on the poetic-stage—due to the fact that  
there have been too many self-immolations and  
martyrdoms in contemporary poetical plays.

One of his early play : *A Phoenix too Frequent* (Mercury Theatre, April, 1946,  
produced by Martin Browne), is interest-  
ing for the clever use of the regenerating myth  
of the Phoenix. Dynamene, a young woman,  
thinks of dying inside the tomb of her husband,  
Virilius. But she is wooed and won over by a  
youthful corporal, Tegeus. When he is in loving  
conversation with her, one of the six corpses he  
is set to guard, outside the morgue, is stolen  
away. The two cement their love by Dynamene's  
bold proposal to exhume the corpse of Virilius  
and make it take the place of the stolen body.  
Tegeus is saved by this very unorthodox strategy.  
The justification for such an act—usually  
considered sacrilegious, is, that death is for  
renewal of life, not spreading further misery  
round about :

“How little you can understand, I loved  
His life not his death. And now we  
can give his death  
The power of life. Not horrible :

wonderful !  
Isn't so ? That I should be able to feel  
He moves again in the world,  
accomplishing

Our welfare ? It's more than my grief  
could do.

Similarly Mendip in *The Lady's not for Burning*, is dissuaded from his misanthropic love of death by the force of love for the supposed witch, Jennet Jourdemayne.

Even in his serious religious plays, Fry comes back to the theme of the value of Life. In the magnificent play, *The Firstborn* (Edinburgh Festival of 1948), Moses leads the Israelite people out of their captivity in Egypt, only after the vengeance of Jehovah falling on the Firstborn of the land, starting from the Pharaoh's own son, Rameses. Moses laments that we can 'go forward only by the ravage of what we value.' Moses stands for many a sensitive revolutionary of our own time. In the anxiety to liberate, we have to kill what is to be spared. Man's intention is always to remove what is harmful and preserve what is useful. But in effect what happens is, both good and the bad perish together in the fires of Revolution and War :

“I do not know why the necessity of God  
Should feed on grief; but it seems so.

And to know it  
Is not to grieve less, but to see grief

grow big  
With what has died, and in some

spirit differently  
Bear it back to life . . . .”

When human attempt to change forcibly the state of life is attended by destruction of what is to be preserved, the proper course is not that of Moses, but that of Countess Rosmarin in *The Dark is Light Enough*, that of detachment.

Fry has still a long period before him to evolve this concept of life as a necessary episode in the scheme of things, through the dramatic form. Leaving aside his 'feat of verbal legerdemain' (a phrase of J. C. Trewin), Fry has really hit upon a welcome attitude, not touched seriously by any of the contemporary practitioners of verse-drama, namely, the acceptance of life instead of its sacrifice for the sake of higher values.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

### BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR AND LADAKH:

By J. N. Ganhar and P. N. Ganhar. Published by the authors. New Delhi. 1966. Pp. 245. Price Rs. 15.

Written on the occasion of the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's *Parinirvana*, this work seeks to trace the fortunes of Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh from the earliest times to the present, to explain the contribution made to the development and propagation of the faith by the people of that valley and to assess its influence upon their art and architecture, religion and culture. The first and introductory portion deals briefly with the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha. The second and the longest part traces the history of Buddhism in Kashmir from its supposed first Buddhist king of Kashmir, "Surrendra" down to present times. The third part deals specially with Ladakh and its Buddhist people, while the fourth and the last part describes the present position of Buddhism in the Kashmir State. While full credit is due to the authors for the industry with which they have collected their materials and the lucidity with which they have presented the same, it is possible to make a few remarks for their consideration when a new edition of the work is called for. The authors' decided view that Buddhism was not a revolt against Hinduism (p. 4f) fails to take note of Buddha's rejection of such fundamental Brahmanical beliefs as the authority of the Vedas and the doctrine of the soul. Occasionally we have uncritical appraisement of incidents as in the authors' acceptance of the stories of the early kings of Kashmir in Kalhana's work including the chronicler's account of the first king Gonanda I related to king Jarasandha of the *Mahabharata* fame, that of the first Buddhist king "Surrendra," that of Lalitaditya's expeditions extending "from Bengal to Kathiawad" and "from Malabar to Central Asian deserts" and that of Jayapida's tour of conquest in northern and eastern India ending in his defeat of five Gauda princes and crowning his father-in-law Jayanta as their overlord. The paper and print are of high quality as also the illustrations. Dr. K. N. Katju contributes an appreciative Foreword. On the whole the present work is likely to be useful to those for whom it is meant.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ANNIE BESANT: By Sri Prakasa. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaurpatly, Bombay*. 1954. Illustrated. Pp. lxiii+173. Price Re. 1-12.

This is the revised and enlarged edition of the book originally published in 1940 by the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras, with a Foreword by George S. Arundale, its President. In the present edition, the author has left out Notes, and appended an Introduction instead, which deals with our freedom struggle since the death of Mrs. Besant in 1932. This should be stated at the outset that the book is not a regular biography. It rather gives a continuous account of the author's memories of this great lady since his childhood. This covers the life and activities of Mrs. Annie Besant for forty years, that is, almost the latter part of her existence in flesh and blood. Besides "Introduction," the book contains the following chapters: I. Early Memories; II. Some Great Characteristics; III. Personal Loyalties; IV. Letters, Lectures and Recreations; V. The Gathering Storm; VI. Some Problem of Life; VII. England and India; VIII. The Parting of the Ways; and IX. As She Lived and Died.

In these chapters the author, while depicting the activities of Mrs. Besant which he experienced himself, throws immense light on many facets of her life. A first-rank Theosophist, Mrs. Besant came to India as a pilgrim goes to a *tirtha* or holy place like a devotee. She remained here and adopted the country as her Motherland. In order to serve her truly and faithfully Mrs. Besant applied seriously to the study of Hindu religion, thought and culture embalmed in our ancient literature. She travelled throughout the country and chose Benares as her field of work. She chose education as the most useful medium of serving her fellow-men. She started the Central Hindu College at Benares in the nineties of the last century in collaboration with Babu Bhagawan Das, now a nonagenarian, father of the author. Since then till her breach with the latter, the author came in close touch with Mrs. Besant and was inspired by her life and action. During the World War I, Mrs. Besant joined active politics and started the great Home Rule movement. She was incarcerated for some time in 1917. For her devoted service to the Motherland for the quarter of a century, the Indian National Congress honoured her with presidentship in its Calcutta session in 1917. But her political career was short, and with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in Indian politics Mrs. Besant withdrew, never to join political movements actively. But her work for the welfare of India continued as before.

In the course of the narrative, the author presents some interesting facts which are little known to the present-day people. She was a strict disciplinarian and had a love for decorum. It was for this reason that, on



the fateful 16th October of 1905, she refused the bare-footed Bengali students entrance into the school! She believed in Indo-British connection, and strove hard to build it on a strong foundation. It was a severe wrench for her to give up her connection with the Central Hindu College, her favourite child as it were. Babu Bhagawan Das took charge of the Institution, which became the nucleus of the Benares Hindu University of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The authorities of the University invited leaders of thought and culture to speak in the inauguration-ceremony week, and Mahatma Gandhi was one of them. He spoke like a people's man. The speech was full of so many home-truths that the Princes, Government officers and *johukums* retired, and the President Pandit Sunderlal dissolved the meeting! The author is a consummate writer: and the narrative is not only full of important facts and events, but also humour and hometruths. The interest is sustained all through. This is a valuable edition to the biographical literature.

JOGESHI C. BAGAL

- A VISIT TO NEW CHINA: *By Saila Kumar Mookherjee. A. Mukherjee and Co., Ltd., College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The author paid a visit to China in 1954 as a member of a goodwill mission sponsored by Indo-China Friendship Association. The book under review describes what he saw in China and his re-actions thereto. Shri Mukherjee, full of admiration for New China as he is, yet points out—rightly, we think—that it would be an injustice to the great Chinese people to “confine New China’s rapid progress and developments of the Chinese people to the last five (1949-1954) years. The last phase was only the culmination of a long course of history of a great Eastern people struggling against the worst type of feudalism and colonialism” (p. 17).

A few mistakes mar an otherwise excellent account of China’s past history given in Chapter III. The First Anglo-Chinese War broke out in 1840, not in 1837. Nor was opium the cause of the conflict as the author would have us believe. The real cause lay much deeper. Opium, in fact, was “no more the cause of war than the throwing overboard of the tea in the Boston harbour was the cause” of the American War of Independence. Kan Youie referred to by the author is evidently Kang Yu-wei, who made a bold bid to set the Manchu house in order in the closing years of the 19th century. He began his reforms during the summer of 1898 and not in 1897.

Chapter X marks out the volume from many another on the subject. The author poses herein a vital question—should India follow China? His answer is ‘No.’ He, however, is not dogmatic and observes that India’s path and policy for the transformation of human nature are different from those of Communist countries and that history alone will show which are better and yield more enduring results.

In consideration of the volume, binding and get-up of the book and the excellent photographs included therein, it is quite moderately priced.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

PROGRESSIVE GERMAN READER (For Arts and Science students): *By Dr. Haragopal Biswas, M.Sc., D.Phil. (Cal.). Published by the University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 12-8.*

International understanding and good-will largely depend on constant communion between nations of the world. It is redundant to point out the necessity of learning foreign languages in this context. Dr. Biswas by bringing out the book under review has undoubtedly helped the Indian students intending to acquire a workable knowledge of German language and literature. Dr. Biswas has admirably performed a linguist’s task in giving the Indian students ample opportunity for learning German language. But he did not stop at that. His imagination took him somewhere beyond and its impress is evident on nearly four hundred pages that follow the brilliant introduction by Prof. F. W. Levi. His labours in selecting the relevant topics, illustrative passages, exercises, short stories and biographical sketches have been amply rewarded for they have made the book interesting. Selected passages from noted works on Arts and Science have enriched the volume. The introduction of ‘Didactic Pieces’ and ‘Ponderable Pieces’ is an added attraction of the book and they take away the last vestige of monotony that is usually found in such primers. The book has also admirably suited the needs of advanced students of arts and science and the research workers on humanities and scientific subjects will find the book very helpful. It does not present us the conventional type of a linguist’s publication intended for giving a working knowledge to foreigners. It intends to present much of German wisdom and it has successfully performed its self-appointed task. “The author has undoubtedly laid the Indian student under a deep debt of gratitude by removing the keenly felt need of a book of this type.”

Prof. Biswas has been teaching in the university language department for a number of years and his long experience in teaching the subject has made him conversant with the difficulties of Indian students. He has suitably simplified the not-too-easy German grammar and has admirably presented it with copious illustrations making it accessible even to the casual reader. We have been spared the pains of having to refer to the orthodox grammar books with all their technicalities and boredom of unnecessary details. Dr. Biswas, rich in experience both as a scientist and as a teacher of German language and literature, has proved himself to be an invaluable guide in initiating the ignorant into the mysteries of a foreign language and literature. German savants from Goethe to Immanuel Kant have been introduced to the readers of the *Reader* and we can say with confidence that a perusal of the book will not only enrich one’s knowledge of German language and grammar but will give him a wealth of knowledge both in arts and science from the store-house of Universal Knowledge. The vocabulary is exhaustive and the book will obviate the need of a dictionary.

We welcome the publication of the volume under notice and recommend it unhesitatingly to the reading public who are keen on learning German language and literature.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

OUR FUTURE—ABUNDANCE OR ANNIHILATIONS?: *By Laurence Benjamin. Published by People’s Publishing House Private Ltd., New Delhi. Pp. 298. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This book investigates the two conflicting ‘ways’ today operating in the world: Planning for Life and Planning for Death.

In the first part, the two ways—USA and USSR—Capitalism and Socialism in operation are discussed. The author makes a statistical presentation of facts to prove how and why the capitalistic method is self-destructive being the cause of periodic slump and recurrent war.

In the second part, he analyses the socialistic planning in USSR and quotes figures of production from *United Nations' Statistical Year Book*, *League of Nations' Monthly Bulletin* and statistics to prove tremendous advance in industrial production. From post-war figures, he contends that industrial production in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria has increased immensely compared to countries following capitalistic production. According to him, the rate of production of USA, the most efficient of capitalistic producers, is not significant compared to East European countries which came under USSR orbit and took to socialistic production after the War. The production of European countries which escaped ravages of war was not also very big as they followed capitalistic method. To the author, capitalistic production is production for death and annihilation whereas socialistic production is for the abundance of the common man and woman and for life and prosperity. To the author, East Germany is more productive than West Germany because of the ideological and methodical differences of the two units of the same people.

In the third part, the author describes the capitalistic production for profit with some ability and has made USA a target of his attack. He has a few good words of praise for Roosevelt, Willkie and Hillman but no other American. He holds USA responsible for all evils and troubles of modern times and opines that world-co-operation is possible if peoples of all countries took to socialism. The author in his enthusiasm has made the discussion in Part III more political and controversial than economic and scientific.

The subject-matter of a book of this nature is sure to be controversial but the figures as presented points out the modern economic trends in countries—capitalistic and socialistic. India which follows a mixed economy has lessons from both. No system can claim perfection. Besides human beings do not thrive on bread or material wellbeing alone. The author has drawn widely from UN and other sources to prove his case and as such it is an interesting study although the presentations of facts and figures are not free from bias.

A. B. DUTTA

**SHASHVATA DHARMA IN SRIMAD BHAGAVAT GEETA:** By Sri Magdal Rama Chandra. Published by the author from 121 Gilashram, 6th Cross, Channarayana, Bangalore-2, India. Pp. 234. Price Rs. 3-4.

The author of the book under review has been immersed in the study of the Gita for over forty years. As a result of life-long study he has come to the conclusion that the Gita is an independent work, rather than an adjunct to the extant Vedantic literature. He is definitely of opinion that the Gita deals mainly on Buddhi yoga. Sri Bhagavan tells that He grants Buddhi yoga to the devotees who attain Him by means of the same. Accordingly, the author wrote a book named *Buddhi Yoga* in the local vernacular of Kannada and a subsequent English rendering of it. Both the books have received generous appreciation from the press and the public.

The sub-title of the present book is 'the Lord's Science of Eternal Religion'. In the eleventh and fourteenth chapters, the term Shashvata Dharma occurs twice at least. Sanatan Dharma and Shashvata Dharma are synonymous terms and scriptural epithets of our ageless faith. It is the invariable and absolute aspect of Hinduism that is termed Sanatan, in contradistinction to Yuga Dharma, the variable aspects adopted by different sects. It has to be borne in mind that the former is only one, whereas the latter are many. The author asserts in the preface that he attempts 'to adapt the ancient teaching of the Gita to modern conditions.' We are afraid, it falls short of the avowed assertion. It may be at best a common sense commentary or running explanation of the Gita. The Hon'ble Sri P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice of Madras High Court, has contributed a short foreword to this book. He is inclined to think that the Gita is more a symposium of religious doctrines than the presentation of any one religious system. It also appears to him that as if Lord Krishna intends different parts of the Gita for different levels of spiritual capacity. If that be so, then it is better to call the Gita a synthesis rather than a symposium.

The Hon'ble Justice finds this book original and thought-provoking. In fact, it contains more novelty than originality and appears to me at most a new reading, a clear understanding. The technical Sanskrit terms have been throughout retained without giving their English synonyms. It is, indeed, a demerit, since a knowledge of connotations or denotations of important terms is essential for a proper understanding of the Gita.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

### BENGALI

**KAVYA-JAGATE MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN O MAHENDRANATH:** By Ahibhusan Roy, 101-A-7, Brindaban Mallik Lane, Kadamtala, Howrah. Price Rs. 2-12.

Compared to Madhusudan, Mahendranath is almost unknown as a poet, and perhaps he has little claims to be recognised as such; but the writer of the present book thinks otherwise. He lays emphasis more on ideas than on the power of expression. Mahendranath was one of the brothers of Swami Vivekananda and wrote several mythological narrative poems, such as, 'Pasupata Astralabha', 'Prihannala', 'Usha-Aniruddha', etc. The ideals of heroism and social service in his works have been extolled herein and in these ideals the author finds a point of comparison between the two poets.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

### HINDI

**URULI KANCHAN NISARGOPCHAR ASHRAM KI OR SE:** Published by Nisargopchar Gram Sudhar Trust, Uruli Kanchan, District Poona. Pp. 122. Price twelve annas.

One of the last activities of Gandhiji was the setting up of a Nature-cure Trust, so that our villagers, who can neither procure nor pay for present-day costly medical treatment, may be served effectively and without running up the usual doctor's heavy bills. The Trust started a clinic at Uruli Kanchan near Poona. The present brochure gives an account of the clinic's working since its inception, together with very useful

Information about diatectics, principles of Nature-cure and cow-keeping. The clinic is conducted by a band of devoted workers, headed by Shri Balkoba Bhawe. A clinic like that of Uruli Kanchan in every district will go a long way in facilitating the solution of the difficult problem of how to keep our weak-bodied villagers in good health.

ANKHUN DEKHA ROOS: *By Satyendranath Majumdar. Alma Ram and Sons, Delhi-6. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a Hindi translation by Shri Vishnudatt "Vikal" of the author's racy account, originally in Bengali, *Amar Dekha Russia*, of what he saw in Russia when he went there in 1951 as a member of the Indian Delegation of Artists. It confirms the belief of all dispassionate observers that the Soviet Union has much to teach us in raising the material standard of living of the masses.

G. M.

### GUJARATI

DAKSHIN AFRIKANA SATYAGRAHANO ITIHASH—GANDHIJI (Gandhiji's account of Satyagraha in South Africa): *Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2.*

This is the third and revised edition of the book. It is divided into 49 chapters, the first 24 chapters comprising the first part give us an inkling into the background explaining the history of the movement,

the coming of the Indians to South Africa, the birth of Satyagraha, the different stages of the struggle including the publication of the *Indian Opinion*; the second part comprising the last 26 chapters begins with the treachery of General Smuts, the break-up of the struggle, the account of Tolstoy farm, the entry into Transvaal and the preliminary solution. There is a rough sketch map attached, in order to afford sufficient explanation. The whole thing is prefaced by Gandhiji himself in a writing dated 5-7-1925, and that increases the worth of the book.

P. R. SEN.

MUMBAINI PRAGATI KUCHA: *Published by the Publicity Department of the Bombay Government. 1951. Paper cover with an illustration of Minister Tapasi. Pp. 48. Price two annas.*

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Intuition in Indian Philosophy

Dr. D. Gurumurti writes in *The Aryan Path* :

It has been the fashion among some Western thinkers to consider Indian philosophy as a system which does not give sovereign place to reason but subordinates reason to scriptural authority, and hence is not a pure system of philosophy like Kant's or Hegel's intellectual constructions. An examination of this contention will take us into the heart of our subject. The question hinges upon the function of philosophy and the place of reason in providing a solution to the riddle of the Universe. Philosophy is the intellectual attempt to explain the nature of Reality and employs the reasoning faculty as its tool. In doing so it assesses the conclusions of the sciences and works them up into a consistent picture giving due place to all the separate insights of the various sciences, reconciling contradictions and dovetailing all the particular bits of knowledge into a connected whole.

In achieving this end, Western thought, beginning from Rene Descartes in the 17th century, has been able to put forward an impressive series of philosophical systems by some of the foremost mind of the Occident, notable among them: Spinoza, Leibnitz, Hume, Kant, Hegel and Bergson. An examination of these systems shows clearly that by reasoning alone we are never able to obtain a satisfactory account of reality. Each of these great thinkers is constrained to seek assistance from a faculty different from reason in order to complete his account of reality.

Descartes, the father of modern philosophy, after clearing his mind of all ideas that can be doubted, came to the foundation of thought, the self-certainty of the thinking self, which, in spite of Descartes' misleading language was not a result of reasoning but a direct insight due to intuition. "It is not an inference, but the expression of a unique fact. In self-consciousness, thought and existence are indissolubly united." Spinoza admits intuitive knowledge, which consists, according to him, of an immediate union with the thing itself. Leibnitz's view of reality as a system of monads in all stages of development is itself due to a brilliant flash of insight, and not due to the conceptual structure that he works out. Kant, by his formulation of the Ideas of Reason as regulative principles of all empirical experience, comes near to the admission that "reason," as used by him, is another name for "intuition." "The highest idea is not derived from sense, or proved by logic, but is founded in the secret places of the soul, and its validity is self-established by reason of the soul's trust in itself." Again, Hegel in his postulation of the One Absolut, which is the central feature of his system, is announcing an intuition and not the result of a demonstration by reason.

Bergson, among modern philosophers, by his theory of Creative Evolution and the *elan vital*, has clearly

demonstrated the roles of intellect and intuition in our attempt to grasp reality. Reality being life, movement, duration, concrete continuity, conceptual knowledge can give only static immobilities, timeless and dead. If all knowledge is of this conceptual kind, truth is beyond grasp. Intuition, rather than intellect, is the proper organ for grasping reality. Among contemporary thinkers. Dr. Radhakrishnan with his theory of Spiritual Idealism has established the autonomous function of intuition as the means of right knowledge. Accepting boldly the challenge of critical reason to be the sole interpreter of reality, he has carried the war into the enemy camp and exposed the limits of reasoning and clearly established the primacy of creative intuition as the means of comprehension of reality. In a very ably argued chapter on "Intellect and Intuition" in his masterpiece, *The Idealist View of Life*—an epoch-making work in modern philosophy—he has once for all unequivocally asserted the vital contribution of intuition in interpreting human experience.

Knowledge, as analyzed by Dr. Radhakrishnan, is produced only in three ways: sense experience, discursive reasoning and intuitive apprehension. While the senses give us knowledge of the external world, discursive knowledge is obtained by analysis and synthesis, and is indirect and symbolic in character. Both these enable us to acquire control over the environment and serve a practical purpose. But they are inadequate to the apprehension of reality. In contrast to sense knowledge and conceptual explanation, there is a knowledge by which we see things as they are, as unique individuals, which is non-sensuous, immediately arising from a fusion of the mind with reality. "It is awareness of the truth of things by identity." The most convincing illustration of intuitive knowledge is the self-certainty of each individual self. Shankara in his commentary on the *Brahma Sutras* (I, 1. 1. says: "*Sarvo hi atmasitvam pratyeti, na nahamasmitti.*" (Each self verily cognizes the existence of himself; no one cognizes "I do not exist.") The intellect working with its distinctions of the Knower, the Known and the Knowledge cannot attain to self-knowledge. Intuitive self-knowledge alone suffices. Further, the deepest things of life are known only through intuitive apprehension. This is borne out by the testimony of the geniuses of humanity in science, art, literature, heroism and saintliness. "Intuition," says Dr. Radhakrishnan "is the ultimate vision of our profoundest being," possessing certainty and incommunicability as its tests. The function of logical knowledge is to prepare for the rise of intuition. Intuition is not at war with logic but leads beyond its limitations. It is wisdom gleaned by the whole spirit in man beyond the partial revelations of the intellect "with its symbols and shibboleths creeds and conventions."

In Indian philosophy intuition is given primary position. As Dr. Radhakrishnan says:

Hindu thinkers affirm that the sovereign concepts which control the enterprise of life are profound truths of intuition born of the deepest experiences of the soul.

This intuition is also known as *Arshapralyaksha*—the direct insight of the *Rishis*. It is a form of cognition which achieves truth directly without the need for the relative terms of knowledge. This is the *yogic* method of direct comprehension. The *Rishi* or seer is able to place himself at the heart of an object, and grasps its nature entire by an act of identification, putting into tune with the object of study. Keats wrote in one of his letters: "If a sparrow come before my window I take part in its existence and pick about the ravel." This kind of cognition is normally practised by the mystics of all nations. All human beings, some one or other, do exercise this faculty, but it becomes systematic and normal in *Rishis* and seers. When a problem exercises the mind for a certain time and the intellect goes about it and about, there often comes a point when it is baffled. Then comes a flash which at once transforms the situation, which throws a new light on all the details and enables us to see the thing in a new way. This is intuition. Without the help of this faculty our mental puzzles would remain un-

Years ago, the present writer had an opportunity of hearing a celebrated man, the late S. Ramanujam, a well-known mathematical genius, whose acquaintance he had made in college days. Shri Ramanujam explained intuition by an example of a person running a race. In the ordinary three-dimensional way of looking at things, the beginning of a race is one point, and is another point and the running is spread out in space and time. But, to the intuition, both the beginning and the end of the race are already there. The race is cognized as one unit. What is spread out in time and space is comparable to the work of the intellect. What is grasped is a central event comprising all the details in a single flash. This has been described, in contrast to length, breadth and depth, as "through," looking at a thing's very heart. This is the way of putting oneself at the heart of a subject and touching its essence without the laborious task of traversing all its details.

When we go into the presence of a great sage he has no need to inquire into our history and background in order to know what we are. By a flash of intuition he is able to sense the kind of persons that we are, enter into our very heart and know instantaneously our ins and outs. In the same manner all intellectual problems are solved by intuition. The sages of the Upanishads seized the meaning of reality by the exercise of this faculty.

Indian philosophy is primarily not an intellectual pursuit but a guide to life. As such, it emphasizes a good life rather than an intellectually complete view of life. All the systems of Indian philosophy place in their forefront *moksha* or salvation of the soul, and Indian philosophy is for the purpose of helping souls to realize it. For this purpose intellect is not adequate. Shankara in his commentaries gives a list of the means to attain *Vidya*—Spiritual Knowledge. They are: *pravana*, *manana*, *nididhyasana* and, ultimately, *prashatkara*—hearing, thinking over, deep contemplation and, finally, direct realization. This last feature is intuition. The ecstatic seer of the Upanishad stood before the setting sun and exclaimed:

O thou resplendent truth hidden behind the disc of the blind, unveil, O Sustainer, in order that we may behold the real truth.

This is a case of intuitive realization of a great truth. The glitter and glamour of the intellect have lifted their veil over the truth by their symbols and

antinomies. We have to pierce the veil in order to behold reality face to face. Most of the great utterances of the Upanishads and the Vedas are the result of such flashes of intuition. In the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan:

"The acceptance of the authority of the Vedas by the different systems of Hindu thought is an admission that intuitive insight is a greater light in the abstruse problems of philosophy than logical understanding."

Hence, Shankara, the highest representative of Indian speculation, regards *anubhava* or integral experience as the highest kind of apprehension.

Indian philosophy terms all its views *darshanas*. This is the result of *drishti* or insight by those who are qualified to exercise it—the *Rishis*. The results of the intuition of the seers have been embodied in the Vedas and the Upanishads, and have formed the bedrock on which all the systems of Indian philosophy have been built. When the philosopher takes the fundamental insight and works it out into an ordered scheme of thought, the work of the mind is an intellectual construction which we admire as a brilliant piece of workmanship, but the essential insight is provided by intuition. A purely intellectual system of philosophy is only a wearying of the mind unless it is illumined by the power of intuition. The highest achievements of human genius are due to intuition. The reason that Indian philosophy attaches special importance to Vedic authority is that scripture itself is a record of emancipated seers. As he recorded account of the intuitive apprehension of reality, scripture is regarded in Indian philosophy as the highest authority. The Indian philosopher does not mean to worship its letter, but honours the direct experience of the seers. Hence scripture is spoken of as *Apta-vacana*, reliable testimony, which is a higher source of real knowledge than ratiocination.

The emphasis on intuition in the foregoing is not to be understood as derogatory to, or apologetic for any weakness in, Indian philosophy as speculation. Shankara's Advaita Vedanta is regarded by Oriental scholars as the summit of brilliant speculation. Ramanuja's Vishishtadvaita system is the prototype of all personalist theories of ultimate reality. The Sankhya stands as one of the fundamental systems of human speculative thought. But the main argument is that intuition is the basis of our comprehension of reality.

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### The Influence of Buddhist Philosophy in East and West

In the course of an article in *The Maha Bodhi*, Helmuth Von Glasenapp observes:

On the occasion of the two previous meetings of our Symposium the Contribution of Buddhism to Art and Letters was dealt with. We proceed now to our discussion on Buddhism's Contribution to Philosophy. Making use of a simile employed by Anandavardhana on poetry I may say this: Art is the beautiful corporal frame of Buddhism, literature is its *prana* or life-breath, philosophy is its mind; so that the topic of our deliberation is, as it were, a task of penetrating gradually more and more into the depth of the inner

core of the great spiritual movement which has so much to the world.

I feel deeply honoured by having been asked to preside over this session. I take it as a distinction, so much for my own humble endeavours to follow the profundity of Buddhist philosophy but an award of honour bestowed upon my country, be it especially in Germany, philosophers have since a time shown great interest in Buddhism.

The first Germans who had heard the name of Buddha were probably theologians who had read the works of St. Hieronymus, one of the fathers of the Christian Church. For this saint mentions the glorious birth of the Buddha. But on Buddha's death nobody seems to have had any detailed knowledge during the Middle Ages. It was not until the

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bury that a German philosopher obtained some knowledge of Buddhism. It was Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) who took a very keen interest in China, whose philosophy had just been made known in Europe by the works of French Jesuits. Leibniz drew from their books some points of the Buddhist doctrine as taught in the Chinese Empire. In his most famous book, the *Theodicee*, he speaks of the Chinese call the Buddha and refers to the dhyamika-System and its doctrine of Emptiness.

A wider range of knowledge we find with Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). It is not much known that Kant at the University of Königsberg delivered not only lectures on Philosophy but also on Geography. Without ever having left his native town he had acquired considerable knowledge of all the parts of the globe from reading books on travel. He, therefore, in his lectures speaks about Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma, China, Japan and Tibet. He draws a very pathetic picture of the Buddhist monks in Burma. He says: "The Talapoins of Pegu are praised as the kindest men. They live on the food which they beg at the houses and give to the poor what they need for themselves. They do good to all beings without making any discrimination of race. They think that all religions are good which are men good and amiable."

Kant already knew that Buddhists do not believe in a creator and ruler of the universe who judges men and death. For he writes: "They reject the idea of providence, but they teach that vices are punished and virtues are recompensed by a fatal destiny." Kant did not yet know anything about the Buddhist doctrine of Karma and Rebirth, and his philosophy has in no way been influenced by Buddhism. But the doctrine of metempsychosis appealed to him in several periods of his life. Even a short time before his death, when asked by his friend Hasse about the future of the individual after death Kant expressed himself in favour of the doctrine of transmigration. On another occasion he called it one of the most attractive teachings of Oriental philosophy. He had taught a pre-existence of the soul before man was born and he was of opinion that after death man has to continue his way to perfection in infinite progress. He may have, therefore, in this point much in common with Buddhism.

Kant lived at a time when Buddhist texts had not been studied and translated by European scholars. Only after his death that English and French scholars began to occupy themselves with the Buddhist texts. In contradistinction to Kant the German philosophers at the beginning of the nineteenth century were better informed about Buddhist philosophy. Thus we find with Schelling and Hegel some more detailed remarks on Buddhism, and in later times with Nietzsche and many other philosophers. An enthusiastic admirer of the great religion of the East was Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860). Since he was introduced to Indian Buddhism as a young man of 26 years of age until his death at the age of 72 he read almost every book published on Buddhism and came to the conviction that Buddhism together with Plato and Kant was one of the greatest illuminators of the world. He was much influenced by Buddhist thought in framing his own system of metaphysics. He believed in a strong connection of his doctrine with that of the Buddha. So he said: "If I were to take the results of my philosophy as a yardstick for the truth, I would concede to Buddhism the pre-eminence of all religions of the

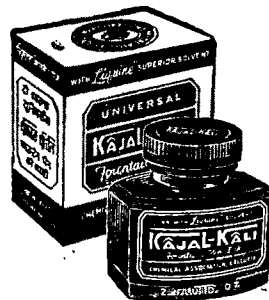
world. In any case I can be happy to see that my teaching is in such great harmony with a religion which has the greatest number of adherents on earth." There are, indeed, many points in which the German philosopher agrees with Buddhists; they both deny the existence of a personal God, they teach that neither a beginning nor an end of the cosmic process can be established. They both assume the existence of a plurality of world systems, they see no essential but only a gradual difference between men and animals and are therefore ardent advocates of the protection of animals against cruelty. They do not believe in permanent immortal souls and metempsychosis, but in a rebirth caused by the will (*samskara*) which manifests itself in the doings of the previous existence. They both acknowledge a moral law (*dharma*) as the moving factor in the universe. Though they both have a pessimistic outlook on life, they are optimistic in so far as they are both convinced of the possibility of a liberation from the trammels of existence. Just as for Buddha so for Schopenhauer too the state of deliverance cannot be explained with the help of terms and words belonging to our world of phenomena. Schopenhauer's system being an original and independent outcome of his own thinking it differs, of course, in many other points, from Buddhism. This partly finds its reason in the fact that at the time of Schopenhauer Buddhism was not yet sufficiently known in Europe.

Schopenhauer was the greatest herald of Buddhist Wisdom, ever arisen among the philosophers of the Western world. His work had a deep influence on many other thinkers rendering them, in their turn, very keen on studying the sacred writings of the

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Buddhist faith at least in translations. A remarkable witness of the overwhelming impression that Buddhism made on him are the following words of a great musician, the famous composer Richard Wagner (1813-1883). He wrote: "Buddha's teaching is such a grand view of life that every other one must seem rather small when compared to it. The philosopher with his deepest thoughts, the scientist with his largest results, the artist with his most extravagant imaginations, the man with the most open heart for everything that breathes and suffers—they all find their unlimited abode in this wonderful and incomparable conception of the world."

It is an uncontested fact that Buddhism has played a very prominent role in the realm of Indian Philosophy during the one thousand five hundred years of its existence on the sub-continent. Not only because it produced a great variety of metaphysical systems many of which belong to the most elaborate and sublime ones which the fertile Indian mind has ever created. But the contribution of Buddhism is still greater. Through its very existence it has compelled the Brahmanic and Jaina philosophers to defend their teachings and to improve and remodel them. The discussions kindled by the struggle waged between Buddhist philosophy of permanent flux and the Upanishadic philosophy of unchangeable being have raised Indian metaphysical thought to that high level which has gained it the admiration of the world. Since the celebrated passage in Majjhima-nikaya 22 where Buddha argues controversially against the doctrine of the Vedānta, and Kathaka Upanishad 4, 14, where the Brahmins reject the Buddhist theories of dharma, the antagonism between Vedānta and Buddhism permeates the whole history of Indian philosophy, just as the fight between the conception of the world of Heraclitus and Parmenides dominates Greek philosophy. As so often in similar cases, each of the two opponents has learned much from the other and taken over some of his ideas. To my mind the monistic Mahayana shows the deep influence which Vedānta has exerted on later Buddhism. On the other hand, the lofty idealism of Yogavāsishta, of Gaudapada and Shankara are indebted to Nagarjuna's and Asanga's theories on the unreality of the world.

But the contribution of Buddhism to philosophical thought is not confined to India. Buddhism has been the originator and promoter of philosophy in many countries that had not yet developed a philosophy of their own when the doctrine of the Buddha reached them. Buddhism has stimulated the intelligentsia in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Kamboja, Laos; in Korea; Japan, Tibet and Mongolia to philosophical endeavours. In China, too, which already possessed a philosophy of a high level Buddhism has greatly developed the indigenous metaphysical thought. It is well known that Taoism, at least in its later phases, has been influenced by Buddhist theories. But also Confucianism is indebted to it. It seems to me that the founder of the Neo-Confucianist school, the celebrated Chu Hsi (1130-1200) though a staunch opponent of Buddhism, has much learned therefrom. And Idealists, such as, Shao Yung (1011-1077) and Yang Yangmin (1472-1525) have deeply drawn from the fountain of Mahayana.

Buddhism having had such an enormous direct and indirect influence on philosophical thought in the whole of Southern and Eastern Asia proves that it must have appealed in a high degree to Asian mentality.

It is noteworthy that in contradistinction to the overwhelming importance Buddhism has had in the

East, it has till now not been able to fertilize in comparable way thought in the West. The reason for this fact may have been that its sublime doctrines not easy to understand for Westerners, though emperor Ashoka had already sent missions to Greek kings.

### Buddhist Art and Architecture in India After 250 A.D.

Dr. Niharrajan Roy writes in *The Indian Review*:

Art has no lessons to teach; it can only show human sensibilities, and by doing so make man more and more conscious of the realities of life and nature.

Nor is there any art that can, strictly speaking, be called "Buddhist" art. Yet one readily recognizes that this is a most convenient phrase to denote that art that was, for centuries, pressed to the service of Buddhism, and to bring out in visual form some specific contents of Buddhist spiritual ideology and way of life.

Buddhist art of India as much as that of Japan and Central Asia, of Nepal and Tibet, Ceylon, Burma and Thailand, of Java, Sumatra and Cambodia is that chapter of each cultural history which deals with Buddhist themes. In form and technique, Buddhist art conforms to the general principles of contemporary art of the respective regions, but in certain phases and periods, it has a Buddhist content of ideas and conceptions called and conditioned correspondingly specific language and form. It is only such phases and periods of art that can legitimately be called Buddhist.

All forms of art, according to the teachings of the Master, the Lord Buddha, are expressions of and to *vasana*, desire and nostalgia; they are instruments of 'muhurta' *sukha*, pleasures of the moment, and therefore, to be shunned by one who aspires to *nirvana*. In its attitude to art, orthodox Buddhism is thus close to Jainism, the Sankarite Vedānta and Islam.

Yet, paradoxically, as within the folds of the three faiths mentioned, so within that of Buddhism did play a role, a great and significant role, one may say, not only in extending the physical boundaries of the religion but also in expressing the subtlest and most sublime ideas and thoughts of the faith; the concretization of the most elusive, abstract subjective visions.

To prove this statement, one has only to look at the Buddha and Bodhirattva figures of the Mathura and Sanchi of the sixth and seventh centuries, some of the segments of the wide stretches of the walls of Bagh and Ajanta, a number of *Vajrayana* and *Tantrayana* cult images in stone and metal of Eastern India of the ninth through to the eleventh century A.D. Needless to say, the list is not exhaustive; does it include examples from outside India? Indeed, the achievements of art in Buddhism and the services it rendered to the faith are eloquent of creative potentialities of the faith, its depth, refinement, its appeal and strength.

Early Buddhist sculpture in India is fundamentally narrative in character; its main purpose is to tell a continuous narration, edifying tales, simply and attractively, against the background of contemporary life, tales that were supposed to underline the main principles of the faith and its important historical episodes. Architecturally, the art consisted of solid, massive stupas with elaborate gateways and railings all round

erved in relief, and rock-cut caves-vihara and *chaityas* with or without sunwindowed doorways and pillared halls. A somewhat primitive solidity and massiveness belonged as much to the spirit of the age as to the rock itself that was their receptacle.

But already by about the second century A.D. certain fundamental changes in attitude seem to have taken place, changes that were ultimately responsible for a definite shift in the form and content of Buddhist art. Buddhism was no longer a simple way of life that the Lord Buddha spoke of, nor the Lord himself simply the mundane historical being that shed the dust of Rajagriha, Budh Gaya and dozens of other cities and villages and ceaselessly strove his way to Supreme Wisdom. The message of the Master was no longer confined within the borders of India nor to sons of the soil. It has come into intimate contact with other peoples, places, cultures and religions including Judaism and Christianity.

Within Buddhism itself and out of its own seeds had grown up powerful sects, each with their own specific emphasis and way of life. The Sangha itself in its hold on the rich agricultural and commercial communities, sometimes also on the royalty and nobility, had increased in extension. Even from earlier times the Sangha had been drawing its material sustenance from the *Śrāsthis* and *Sārthyahas*, the rich trading and trading communities, and the relatively more substantial *Grihapatis*, the agricultural householders. As years rolled on, the Sangha came more and more to lean on these segments of society, and in the second and third centuries of the Christian era, one of its main sources of material sustenance, the therewithal of the elaborate monastic establishments, was the rich Indo-Roman trade of the times.

All this could not but have its inevitable impact on the contemporary Buddhist art of India, and nowhere is the impact so clearly marked than at Mathura and throughout the lower valleys of the Krishna and the Godavari, in the rich and elaborate monastic establishments of the two places the viharas and *chaityas* and the still more elaborately carved stūpas and gateways, a fraction only of which have yielded to the excavator's spade. This is true, to an extent, at any rate, of the contemporary Buddhist establishments of Western India as well.

With the creation of a real bourgeois society a change in the social taste and also in the attitude towards life was but inevitable. What this change was is writ large on the sculptures of Mathura of the second and third centuries A.D., but more on the stupas of Amaravati and Nagarjuna Kunda, Goti and other places of the Krishna-Godavari Valley, and belonging to the first three centuries of the Christian era.

In the meanwhile, the image of the Buddha had come to stay, the Buddha as understood either in terms of supra-human physical form and temporal power and dignity, or in terms of Hellenistic iconography, or in those of both. The inner meaning of the term 'Buddha,' the Illuminated one, in whom shone the effulgence of the light of supreme wisdom, whose body had shed all its earthly weight and had become like melting butter with *Karuna* or compassion, also aglow with spiritual light and energy, was yet to make itself felt in visual art.

Frankly, this was a matter of spiritual realisation, and that realisation becoming a common property of the people including the artists. But the story of India's inner life during the third and fourth centuries

is not sufficiently known. Many things happened during these two centuries, and we can only somewhat vaguely feel that a tremendous inner turmoil and searching of hearts had been going on inside all the Indian religions and philosophies, Buddhism and Buddhist thought not excepted, as much as within the various cadres and orders of social and economic life. Out of the seeds of these two hundred years emerge such names as those of Vatsyana and Kalidasa, of Udyotakara and Dinnage, of Asanga and Vasubandhu, and such facts as the final reaction of India's two great epics, of the Puranas and perhaps also a large section of Pali-Buddhist literature, as new Buddhist logic and a new Buddhist ideology.

The last, this Buddhist thought and ideology was crystallised into what is known as *yogachara* very closely related to the evolved *yoga* system of contemporary Hinduism and Jainism. The fluid and luminous ideology of the *yogachara* coupled with the Mahayanist ideal of *Karuna* or compassion, imparted to the age-old Theravada and Sarvastivada ideologies, a new vision and a new meaning, and brought out fully what was latent in the teachings and practices of the Lord Buddha, himself. Indeed, the full connotation of the term Buddha, the great conqueror of the body and the mind, the supremely illuminated being, yet at the same time soft, tender and melting in compassion for all sentient beings, emerged at last and slowly but surely took shape and form under the hammer and chisel of the sculptor, and the brush and colour of painter.

And thus was born the supremely refined and sensitive and profoundly spiritual Gupta-Buddhist sculptures of the Ganga-Yamuna valley, particularly of Sarnath, of Bengal and Bihar, of Sanchi, and the paintings of Bagh, Ajanta and Sigiriya, all belonging to the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries.

This is, indeed, the peak period of Buddhist art in India as anywhere in the world, and once and for all set the standard of vision and imagination, of form and technique, of conceptions of volume and plasticity, of later Buddhist art in India, of contemporary and later Buddhist art of Central Asia, China and Japan, of Nepal and Tibet, of Ceylon, Burma and Thailand, of Java, Sumatra and Cambodia.

All these local schools and periods drew their sustenance from this golden period of Buddhist art in India and sought to work on their specific local tastes, ideologies and atmospheres in terms of standard of achievement of these few centuries. Indeed, the measure of the aesthetic and spiritual value and significance of all later schools and periods of Buddhist art in India and outside, is the measure of the extent they reached towards the attainment of this ideal.

The first of this high peaks of Buddhist art is the human figure which is the receptacle of an inner dynamism lying latent almost in a state of rest and yet imparting to the body, its limbs and face, to its fingers and its gestures, a form that is vibrant with life and a meaning that suggests calm and contemplative joy. This is true not only of the Buddha figure but of those of the Bodhisattvas and of ordinary human beings, and in an extended manner, of plants and animals as well. Stories from old life of the Master and sometimes from the Jatakas, continued to be sculptured and painted but they had all but lost their narrative character, except in the paintings of Ajanta, and the emphasis centred more and more round the figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

The story of later Buddhist sculpture in Bengal,



har, Orissa, as much as in Nepal and Tibet, where Buddhism came practically to be confined during the fifth and the following centuries, is the story of the consolidation of the values learnt and imbibed during the sixth and seventh centuries but with slow but sure lessening of the understanding of inner dynamism of the essential life process as well as of specific Buddhist content of inner spiritual illumination. This led inevitably to a hardening of the plasticity of volume, and increasing petrification of what was once fluid and luminous.

This somewhat stagnating process was, however, relieved to a great extent by the increasingly varied and complex pantheon reared up by the highly esoteric vajrayana and other later forms of Buddhism. These later schools and sects of Buddhism, all saturated by intricate ideas and ideologies, had a vigour and vitality of their own which imparted a quality of dynamic naturalism, of a somewhat sensuous character, to the added plasticity of volume and to the complexity of the vigorous compositional structure. In the expression of sheer vitality and strength, of external dynamism, and in craftsmanship, some of the strength, of Vajrayana—Tantrayana images in stone and bronze, also in manuscript painting, reach the high tide of mediaeval art in India, and did largely influence the contemporary Buddhist art of South-East Asia.

Even in a short survey this purports to be, the paintings of Bagh and Ajanta, deserve more than a passing notice, not merely for the high, noble and

dignified quality of the painter's art that Ajanta, as Bagh record for a continuous five or six centuries, a fact which has found recognition all the world over but for the picture they afford of the specific Buddhist way of life as understood and lived by the contemporary Buddhist Sangha.

Buddhist architecture in India after the third century, has not much to show except in the sphere of structural viharas or monasteries, and in one or two instances of Chaityas and temples.

But contemporary Buddhism made the most significant contribution to Indian and Eastern architecture, in the sphere of vihara or monastic establishments. From primitive rockcut viharas to the elaborate structural viharas built of brick and intended for residence, worship, study and congregation it is a long story of gradual evolution from simple and rudimentary to complex and elaborate establishments in different segments and in several pyramidally receding storeys. The ruins of the long and elaborate rows of viharas of the university city of Nalanda in early mediaeval times, the ruins of similar viharas at Paharpur and Lauriya Nandangarh, provide sufficient evidence of what these elaborate monastic establishments were like and what architectural grandeur and magnificence they had reached. They are the great pride of Buddhist architecture in India, these structural viharas, and served presumably as models of the storeyed temples of Pagan in Burma and of the group of Brahmanical temples of Prambanam in Java.

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In the years he was in exile in the South (1820-1824), Pushkin acquired a first-hand knowledge of actual life in Russia. He met the members of the Decembrist society in the South and its leader Pestel; he promptly responded to the political developments both inside Russia and abroad and took an active part in discussions on Russia's revolutionary future. Pushkin's friends, the Decembrists, for the sake of the poet's safety did not take him into their organization which was engaged in a struggle against the tsarist regime. This experience made him the bard of the new ideas amid the Russian people.

During these years Pushkin wrote lyrical verses, "The Captive of the Caucasus," "The Men of the South," "The Brothers," "Fountain of Bakhchisarai." He also began to work on the famous novel in verse *Eugene Onegin*. It took him eight years to complete. The popularity these works brought to Pushkin and his revolutionary ideas which had become timore more marked during the years of exile in the South, were a source of worry for tsar Alexander

I. In the summer of 1824, on the tsar's personal order, Pushkin was sent to another place of exile under the supervision of the local authorities—the village of Mikhailovskoye in the Pskov gubernia, which belonged to his parents.

The years Pushkin spent in exile in Mikhailovskoye marked the strengthening of the principles of realism in his poetry. During that period, to use his own words, he became "the poet of reality." The romantic personages figured in the poems he wrote in the South were superseded by true pictures of Russian life, sweeping generalizations of the current reality, which acquired features common to all mankind and reflected the actual revolutionary spirit of the author. In this sense a good deal of significance attaches to his poem *The Gypsies*, completed in Mikhailovskoye, in which he cast down the romantic cult of the individual hero. Pushkin continued to work on his *Eugene Onegin* and wrote a tragedy *Boris Godunov*, a work in which he reached Shakespearean summits, and that marked a turning point in Russian dramaturgy on historic subjects. In this tragedy he brought to the forefront the pre-eminent role of the people in the historical events.

It was in Mikhailovskoye that Pushkin learned of the insurrection of December 14, 1825, in St. Petersburg, and of the savage execution of the Decembrists by the new Russian autocrat, Nikolai I. He was shaken by the news. In a number of poems, "Message to Siberia," sent with the Decembrists' wives who decided to share their husbands' fate, "Arion" "October 19," etc., the poet boldly paid homage to the exploits of the insurgents, affirmed the indefeasible bonds that linked him to them, and expressed his faith in the triumph of their great cause:

The heavy—hanging chains will fall,  
The walls will crumble at a word;  
And Freedom greet you in the light,  
And brothers give you back the sword.

In the autumn of 1826 Pushkin was recalled

to St. Petersburg. In his poem *Eugene Onegin* which is an encyclopaedia of Russian life, the poet gave a realistic picture of Russian society, prevalent among the nobility. The poem was typical among the poets of the time, depicting with biting sarcasm the customs of the nobility. It was a place of honour as it was the beginning of a flourishing period.

In the same period Pushkin wrote a number of different poems on folk-tale subjects, as well as works of a patriotic nature, as, for example, the poem "Poltava," depicting

an historic episode during the reign of Peter the Great, a theme that always fascinated the poet. Another poem called "The Bronze Horseman" is very much akin in spirit and subject to "Poltava." It is one of Pushkin's outstanding creations.

Not confining himself to poetry, in 1818 Pushkin wrote "small tragedies" like *Stone Guest*, *Mozart and Salieri*, etc., which are among the world's best dramaturgical works. He also turned to prose writing, and we owe to him *The Tales of Belkin*, *The Story of the Old Goryukhino*, both distinguished by an austere and laconic style, and the latter containing a sharp criticism of serfdom; his other works include the universally known *Dubovik*, *The Queen of Spades*, and an historical novel dealing with the Pugachev revolt, *The Captain's Daughter*. Pushkin's prose played an important part in further development of Russian literature along realistic and popular trends. "The most continuously studied treasure," said Tolstoy on Pushkin's tales.

He also wrote many interesting articles on literature, and historical essays like "The Revolt of Pugachev," etc. The periodical *Sovremennik* he founded a short time before his death, was an important contribution to the subsequent progress of Russian journalism.

Pushkin met with a tragic end at the time when his creative genius had developed to its full and when he was contemplating to write a number of important works. Infamous intrigues forced the poet to fight a duel with a French officer serving in the Russian army, Dantes, the adopted son of the Ambassador of the Netherlands in St. Petersburg. Pushkin was fatally wounded and died on January 29 (old style) or January 10 (New Style), 1837.

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